Indo-Pak Peace Process And Jammu-Kashmir Problem

I

The declaration of the resumption of talks between India and Pakistan on the entire gamut of their concerned matters, including the issue of Jammu-Kashmir, after a gap of three years, is a highly welcome step. Because, it is a move that leads towards normalisation and eventually to the lowering of tensions in South Asia and the strengthening of the world process of peace and development. Obviously, it serves the interests of all— India, Pakistan, South Asia as well as the world. No dramatic results may follow from one or two rounds of Indo-Pak talks due to the domestic political expediency of the two national ruling groups. But the very beginning of this peace process is bound to lead to its own logic in future.

The new development has arisen out of three main reasons.

(a) One is the growing realisation in the two countries that they can, in view of their respective weak economies and the prevailing economic crises, not sustain for long their old line of confrontation without risking political destabilisation and that they would, if remain stuck up in the confrontationist mire, soon become world paupers as they had been already left far behind by many East and South-East Asian developing countries.

(b) The other reason is the all-pervading globalisation process which has been generating general peace process all over the world in a two sided manner. On the one hand, it has been, by giving rise to regional trade communities and the inter-nationalising of investment, trade, technology and culture, creating new awareness among the contending countries to change over to the non-confrontationist course and resolve their disputes through peaceful means or face the threat to their survival. And, on the other, it has been orienting non-combatant countries the world over to make common efforts in diffusing all

tension points by bringing pressure on the contending countries to take the path of negotiations. Many countries, developed as well as developing (including the South Asian ones), have already counselled both India and Pakistan to resolve their conflict through a dialogue. The global imperative has impressed upon both India and Pakistan not to push matters to the extreme.

(c) The third reason is the law of human social development which necessarily demands peace and development as the basic features of the general process of human society, with confrontation and war as merely periodic interjections in this long course.

II

Looking at the 50 year long process of Indo-Pak confrontation, it is obvious that its core tension point has always been the issue of Jammu-Kashmir which had already resulted in three wars between them. The issue is highly complicated and has so far defied all solutions. Whatever may be its various versions, its disputed nature has been accepted by almost all countries, including India and Pakistan. India may call it a bilateral issue as per the 1972 Simla Agreement and Pakistan may characterise it as an international dispute in the light of the UN resolutions, but both interpretations denote that Jammu-Kashmir is an unresolved problem between them.

Some diehard lobbyists may, by quoting the December 1993 unanimous Indian parliamentary resolution which declares Jammu-Kashmir as an integral part of India, label the charge of anti-nationalism against those who consider the issue of Jammu-Kashmir as a disputed matter and stress the need for its peaceful resolution. As a matter of fact, however, the diehards themselves are victims of self-deception of the top politicians on the nature of Jammu-Kashmir question. On the one hand, these politicians declare the Jammu-Kashmir state as an inalienable part of India, and, on the other, call it a bilateral problem between India and Pakistan and have since 1947 continued to hold talks with Pakistan on this issue. It has been none else but the government and the top politicians who have been the chief violators of that parliamentary resolution.

Retrospectively, the same thing happened to the October 1962 unanimous parliamentary resolution concerning the Sino-Indian border dispute. It enjoined upon India not to have any talks with China till every Chinese soldier was thrown out of the

Indian soil. The Chinese forces have been still staying on where they had been in 0ctober 1962, but India had, in clear violation of the said parliamentary resolution, signed a standstill border agreement with China in 1993, while two former Indian Prime Ministers had earlier prepared the ground for that agreement by paying goodwill visits to that country. Atal Behari Vajpayee, the great crusader for parliamentary sanctity, was the first top India dignitary who did, as a foreign minister, violate the October 1962 unanimous parliamentary resolution by visiting China in 1979.

It does not mean that the path of dialogue with China adopted by India around 1990 was any wrong. It was in fact the most appropriate way demanded by our national interests. It should have been taken 40 years ago. It would have prevented country's humiliation in the 1962 Sino-Indian border war and saved to our poor national exchequer billions of rupees spent during the four decades on the extra defence of the Sino-Indian border. What had been wrong in this act was the concealment of the fact that the 1962 unanimous parliamentary resolution was unrealistic and hence inoperative. The other wrong in this matter had been the adoption of a double approach towards two similar cases— conciliatory dealings concerning the Sino-Indian dispute and confrontationist way in the conflict with Pakistan. The basis of this approach rests with political opportunism that bullies the weak and kneels down before the strong.

The national interests of a country cannot be served by unrealistic standpoints, double speaks and double dealings. The harm to Indian national interests during the past 50 years has been chiefly done by unprincipled and corrupt rulers, a sectarian and charismatic nationalism and a centralised and authoritarian constitutional-legal system. The sooner India rectifies these fundamentals, the better for it. Any further delay may not become the proverbial last straw on the camel's back.

Historical experience shows that, while the confrontationist and the military based national lines of both India and Pakistan did fail to develop their respective countries during the past half a century, the post 1945 non-militaristic German and Japanese national models had transformed these two war devastated countries into world economic superpowers and the non-confrontationist path of national development as adopted by the East and the South-East Asian countries has turned this Asian region into the emerging economic engine of world growth.

III

Understanding of a given social reality demands not only a look at its present state but also a glance at its past history and future direction. That is, to perceive a thing in its totality.

Thus, looking at the whole process of the Indo-Pak confrontation as well as the problem of Jammu-Kashmir, we find that their starting point had been the 1947 partition of India which itself had been the result of the pre-1947 conflict between the sectarian and the chauvinistic nationalisms of the Congress and the Muslim League respectively. While the Congress nationalism has been characterised by Hindu majoritarian secularism, the Muslim League one has been regulated by pan-Islamism. In the post-1947 period, the theory and practice of Indian nationalism (now personified by its constitutional-legal system, state apparatus and the main political parties, etc.) has, by boosting communalism and casteism, led to the weakening of country's social and political cohesion, while Pakistani one had, by favouring Sunnism and encouraging Punjabi chauvinism, resulted in the 1971 break-up of Pakistan (i.e., the emergence of an independent Bangladesh) and the sharp divisions not only between the majority and the minorities but also among various Muslim sects (e.g., Sunni-Shia, Sunni-Ahmediya, etc.) as well as between the Punjabi and the non-Punjabi communities.

Since 1947, the top most item on the national agendas of the two countries has been how to harm each other, whatever the cost. Both have, despite suffering from many economic and political ailments, desperately gone on their confrontationist paths making things harder for them.

The tragedy with the confrontationist path is that it does not reconcile with the dynamics of the post-cold war globalisation process which demands friendship and cooperation with all countries and the methodology of dialogue and negotiations in the handling of bilateral and multi-lateral disputes. It conflicts with the starting point of the globalisation process, i.e., the integration of every national economy with the global market alongside the formation of the regional economic communities. The sooner a national economy performs this task, the better its further prospects.

Today, the Indo-Pak confrontationist path has been the biggest hurdle in the development of SAARC and consequently in their own growth. The new social needs call for the transformation of sectarian and chauvinistic Indo-Pak nationalisms and their

confrontationist paths into a globular nationalism and its peaceful path. Obviously, the key to this transformation lies in a just and fair solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem.

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The foregoing facts put a very high responsibility on all peace loving and democratic forces to work out a realistic line for sorting out the core point of Indo-Pak dispute, i.e., Jammu-Kashmir problem. This line may comprise the following main points.

(A) Basic Nature Of Jammu-Kashmir Problem

As accepted by the UN and almost all countries, including India and Pakistan, it is a bilateral dispute between India and Pakistan which is to be, and can only be, resolved by the involvement of the Jammu-Kashmir people. That is to say, it is in fact a trilateral problem.

(B) Nature Of Jammu-Kashmir People

The Jammu-Kashmir people do not constitute a single entity (i.e., a nation, nationality or ethnic community). They are a collective of about eight ethno-regional identities with varying urges and aspirations.

(C) Ground Realities (International, Sub-Continental, Jammu-Kashmir State)

As regards the world ground reality, none of the various world bodies (UN, WB, IMF, NAM, OIC, APEC, ASEAN, SAARC, etc.) or any country (except Pakistan) seems to be in a mood to take any new initiative on the Jammu-Kashmir question.

As regards the sub-continental ground reality, more and more people now want a breakthrough in the Indo-Pak deadlock, despite having a keen desire to get the Jammu-Kashmir problem resolved in favour of their respective country.

As regards the Jammu-Kashmir ground reality, each ethno-regional identity is characterised by its own concerns, with the Kashmiri community (constituting the majority ethnic group in the state) waging an armed struggle to change the present Indian political structure concerning the Jammu-Kashmir state.

As regards the NC Government, it is totally isolated in the valley and has now started losing ground in Jammu and other regions due to its shortsighted policies,

As regards New Delhi, it lacks a political vision, wants a

military solution and totally relies on the gun and the divisions among the Kashmiri militants.

(D) Perspective

The perspective of the Jammu-Kashmir solution formula or Indo-Pak peace process should be globular nationalism (now being practically pursued by almost all countries in varying degrees), South Asian community, globalism or rational humanism.

(E) Aim

Corresponding to the above perspective, its aim should be the organising of an Indo-Pak peace process or the forging of relations of cooperation and friendship between India and Pakistan by removing all irritants between these two countries in general and by sorting out a proper solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem through a trilateral process (involving India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people), in particular. By consensus among the three parties, it may be an Indo-Pak or SAARC Condominium, which, while handling defence, foreign affairs and currency, ensures semi-independence to Jammu-Kashmir and maximum autonomy to each of its eight ethnic identities. The various other options, like self-determination, plebiscite, accession with either of the two countries, keeping the state under UN control, division of the state on the present line of actual control, or some other basis, do not serve the purpose of bringing India and Pakistan closer together.

(F) Path And Strategy

Corresponding to its perspective and aim, the path of Indo-Pak peace process should be the adoption of a peaceful path of trilateral dialogue, involving the three concerned parties. As such all those who agree with the nature of Jammu-Kashmir problem as a trilateral dispute constitute the political forces of peace process; the different ethno-regional groups in Jammu-Kashmir form its basic forces; the democratic forces in India and Pakistan who lend support to a peaceful solution make up its active supporters; and the international peace-loving forces consist of its sympathisers. All those who characterise the Jammu-Kashmir problem as a military question, opt for its military solution, commit atrocities and violate human rights in Kashmir comprise the negative forces of the Indo-Pak peace process.

(G) Organisation

In conformity with the fundamental principles (i.e., perspective, aim, path, strategy and multi-ethnic nature of the state) of the Jammu-Kashmir solution or the Indo-Pak peace process, it is necessary to have a federal type mass organisation in Jammu-Kashmir with its units in every ethnic region from the region down to the village level. To start with, it may be built in the form of the broadest possible front (say, the trilateral front or the forum for the peaceful resolution of Jammu-Kashmir problem or Indo-Pak peace process forum or something like that). It should stand for a peaceful solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem and include all those who accept that problem as a trilateral dispute, with India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir people as the three parties concerned. Even those who acknowledge Jammu-Kashmir issue as a bilateral problem between India and Pakistan or those upholding a peaceful solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem should be admitted in this front. To build a broad based front on the basis of one or the other group is not possible.

(H) On APHC

APHC (including Shabir Shah led Peoples League) has a positive stand demanding of India and Pakistan to sort out Jammu-Kashmir question on a peaceful trilateral basis. But it is not clear about its goal and many other essentials.

It places three political goals before the people: self-determination, plebiscite and trilateralism. The three concepts do not have an identical meaning.

Self-Determination

Briefly stated, self-determination is an inherent right vested in a given people (possessing the necessary features of a nation or nationality or ethnic community) to decide about their future. Such people have not yet been able to constitute themselves into a state but are aspiring for the same. Contrarily, plebiscite and trilateralisrn are not inherent rights.

Plebiscite

It is only a direct voting right of the people of a country or any of its regions granted by its Constitution or law to be exercised for or against any option which is referred to them by the plebiscitary authority. When UN, with the concurrence of the

parties concerned, give the plebiscitary right to a given people, it does not turn out into a right of self-determination. In this case also, the people have the voting right, while the power of deciding the terms of reference of that option rests with the plebiscitary authority (i.e., UN).

Trilateralism

Trilateralism means a doctrine concerned with three parties or a formula worked out by three sides. Here, it implies that the three parties, i.e., India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people, are involved in the Jammu-Kashmir problem with equal political rights. They have the right to evolve any agreed formula.

Thus, while self-determination is not a dispute but an inherent right of a given people to decide their own future and have their own state, plebiscite is merely an acquired voting right of a given people to be exercised by them in regard to any issue referred to them by the plebiscitary authority and tritaleralism refers to a doctrine related to three sides, with no special or veto right for anyone.

Obviously, the APHC's three different political aims, though not contradictory, create a vague state of affairs, hindering the political unification of different political forces and the different sections of people.

As regards APHC's other essentials, there is less emphasis on the forging of closer relations with Jammu and Ladakh regions, uniting of all those political groups that stand for a rational solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem, involving of different sections of people in the discussion of Jammu-Kashmir problem and its way out, organising of the people at the grassroots level, not upholding the Indo-Pak peace process, etc.

(l) On Militancy

It is necessary to demand the initiation of an unconditional dialogue with the militants by New Delhi on the question of arriving at an agreement on ceasefire, preceded by the withdrawal of the security forces to the barracks, the ending of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and the releasing of all those detained without any substantial charge. Further, it is necessary to demand the taking up of necessary steps by New Delhi for the start of trilateral talks on Jammu-Kashmir problem alongside the dialogue with the militants.

(J) Methodology Of Mass Mobilisation

To initiate and carry the Indo-Pak peace process forward, it is necessary to do five things.

One is to become perfectly clear on the essentials of the peace process (or its agenda).

The other is to build the organisation both qualitatively and quantitatively. The quality should be developed by raising the social knowledge and consciousness of every member as well as of collective, while the quantity should be organised by employing the whole organisational capacity into productive use.

The third necessity is to build the broadest possible united front of all pro-Indo-Pak peace process forces.

The fourth necessity is to build the various types of mass organisations (women, students, youth, etc.) and trade unions (workers, peasants, employees, etc.) on the basis of new social needs and new methods of work.

The fifth, but a very important, reality is to motivate and involve the people in the peace process by all means—political, economic, cultural, etc. Here, all efforts should be directed at achieving a two sided aim, i.e., to change the old social consciousness of power worshipping and self-seeking and to inculcate rational approach among the masses. The emphasis in our explanation should be how the public agenda (concerning every given audience) could be realised through the agenda of the peace process.

On The Political Front

To involve the people in the discussion of various dimensions of the Jammu-Kashmir problem, including its solution, and various other political issues through various types of mass activity.

To establish unity of thinking and action with the democratic forces working in various parts of Jammu-Kashmir state, including "Azad Kashmir".

To summon a conference of democratic groups and individuals belonging to different areas of Jammu-Kashmir for building the broadest possible front on the minimum agreed agenda.

To hold conferences in various ethnic regions of the state for creating a political consensus on the Jammu-Kashmir solution.

To strive for calling a conference of all shades of leaders from both sides of the ceasefire line at an agreed place.

To try to hold a well representative meeting of different democratic elements from India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir at some appropriate place and, if possible, at Jammu or Delhi.

To establish closer links with the democratic forces in India, Pakistan and other SAARC countries.

To win the sympathy and support of all peace loving and democratic forces in the world.

In The Economic Domain

To involve the people in the discussion of important and urgent mass issues and to organise them for the redressal of their basic economic issues as well as their day to day demands.

In The Cultural Sphere

To involve the people in the discussion of important cultural issues, help in the development of different types of human culture and support and organise the flourishing of each ethnic culture on a rational basis.

V

The cause of Indo-Pak peace process or of the people of Jammu-Kashmir, India and Pakistan can be better served by resolving the Jammu-Kashmir problem through the establishing of an Indo-Pak or a SAARC Condominium over Jammu-Kashmir state, which handles Jammu-Kashmir's defence, foreign affairs and currency and ensures semi-independence to Jammu-Kashmir, with maximum autonomy to each of its ethnic regions. This Condominium would, by ending regional tensions, stopping arms race and establishing widespread stability, unleash an era of peace, democracy, economic development, environmental improvement, crime prevention and elimination, etc., in Jammu-Kashmir, India, Pakistan and other SAARC countries.

20-03-1997

Post-Election Punjab Situation And Its Demands

I. Present State Of Affairs In Punjab

The post-election situation in Punjab is still marked by peoples expectations from the Prakash Singh Badal government. Nearly forty days after the formation of this government, they are closely watching how this government, which has come into power on the pledge of bringing peace and prosperity to Punjab, fulfils its promises in practice.

No doubt, the Badal government has, since its assumption of office, taken certain helpful measures, like the providing of free power and water to the agriculturists, concessions to the prisoners, the on spot action on individual and collective public complaints, etc., to provide relief to certain sections of people. But this constitutes only a very small part of the social needs of the Punjabis.

The challenges facing Punjab are varied and gigantic. The principle ones are: the agricultural crisis (as reflected by the land degradation, air and water pollution and deforestation), unemployment, poverty, corruption, defective educational system, poor health services (particularly the increasing pollution of the drinking water), inadequate infrastructure (particularly the erratic supply of power), the nominal rule of law, securing autonomy for Punjab, Punjabi unity (or the establishing of close Hindu-Sikh relations), the stability of the present government, etc. So far, the Badal government has found no time to attend to these issues.

II. Government's Attitude Towards Challanges Facing Punjab

How does the Badal government propose to tackle the above problems in the days ahead has not yet appeared in a concrete form. However, the official signals concerning these issues do

not indicate any change in the desirable direction.

(a) On the agricultural front, the Badal regime seems inclined to pursue the same old policy of chemotherapy, with certain enhanced concessions to the farmers concerning the supply of inputs and the marketing of output. This means that it has no alternative options to the present crisis-ridden agricultural policy. Obviously, Punjab is going to face a grave threat from the severe degeneration of its agricultural land, pollution of drinking water, exhaustion of water resources, deforestation of its already depleted forest cover—thus resulting in the unsustainability of its agriculture, fall in its agricultural production and, above all, worsening the health of its people.

(b) On the question of unemployment, it has not unfolded any new policy, except continuously making general promises to provide employment to all (while there is little scope for absorbing even a fraction of the present huge number of unemployed, both in the rural and urban traditional sectors).

(c) On the question of poverty too, it has no fresh plan to fulfil its electoral declarations. The maximum it could do is to somewhat reinforce the central poverty alleviation schemes. But this is only a course of offering doles to the poor and not of eradicating poverty.

(d) On the question of corruption, it has not gone beyond making statements for its eradication. Instead, its response to the CBI's recent enquiry against its favoured principal secretary, R.S. Mann, on corruption charges has raised doubts about its genuineness towards ending corruption. Whatever the motive and the nature of the CBI enquiry, the social morality demanded that the Badal government should not have gone to the extent of blocking the CBI investigations and defending an allegedly offending officer.

(e) On the question of reform in the educational system, no concrete step has yet been taken in this regard. May be, its sectarian vision may complicate the matter further.

(f) On the question of bettering the health services, the old order remains fully in place. The problem of the supply of unhygienic drinking water causing many gastric troubles goes on spoiling the peoples health.

(g) On the infrastructural front, no new planning has yet come to light. The erratic supply of power to all sectors—household, agricultural and industrial—stays on as usual.

(h) On the question of improving the rule of law, there seems

no visible sign of any significant change in the behaviour of the law enforcing agencies in the state, except that they have become more cautious to cover up all traces of evidence making them liable for prosecution in the courts. The recent killing of Kashmira Singh in Taran Taran has raised doubts about the government's sincerity to the cause of protecting human rights and upholding proper law and order.

(i) On the question of securing autonomy for Punjab as promised in its manifesto, there is hardly any official reference to it. It appears that the coalition government, with the two different approaches of its two constituents on this issue, lacks the capacity to undertake any initiative on this issue.

(j) On the question of Punjabi unity, no ruling politician talks of it any more. The reason is that the two coalition partners each swearing by its own religious politics, understands this question not as a problem of common Punjabi identity and forging emotional integration between different sections of Punjabis but the united front of two disparate religious identities as represented by the SAD-BJP alliance.

III. Need For A Realistic Agenda

The present challenges facing Punjab, though complex, are quite soluble, provided they are addressed to through a realistic agenda, based on the existing social realities. This agenda may comprise the following fundamentals.

(a) The first fundamental should be the issue of Punjabi unity, based on the future vision of uniting several crores of Punjabis the world over.

(b) The second fundamental should be the issue of granting special status to Punjab within the Indian framework. It should be modelled on the pattern of pre-1952 autonomy to Jammu-Kashmir state which vests the residuary powers in the state and which implies the restructuring of India on a federal basis. The special status would help in resolving the issues of Sikh identity, Hindu security, Punjabi unity and decentralisation of power from the state to the village levels, on the one hand, and in linking Punjab's agriculture to the world market, boost its agro-industry and develop human resources, on the other. It insures the interests of the entire Punjabi community in contrast to the slogan of Khalistan (which divides not only the Sikh and the Hindu masses but also the Sikh community, i.e., between those living in Punjab and those in India and abroad) as well as the

SAD's demand of autonomy (where the residuary powers vest with the centre).

(c) The third fundamental should be the issue of sustainable development which ensures the harmonising of the interests of nature (or environment) and society, on the one hand, and the balancing of the interests of various social groups, on the other (i.e., conserving of environmental resources of land, forests, water and air, on the one hand, and the developing of environment friendly technology, on the other). It uses market mechanism for attaining productive efficiency, on the one hand, and state mechanism for accomplishing social justice in society (i.e., concentrating on the removing of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, disease, poor infrastructure, particularly in the rural areas, bridging the gap between rich and poor, woman and man, and urban and rural, etc.), on the other.

(d) The fourth fundamental should be the issue of the substitution of the present unsustainable agricultural pattern (which has resulted in land degradation, water pollution and decrease in its availability, deforestation, new threats to human health, etc.) by a sustainable agricultural model which ensures environmental protection, on the one hand, and more productivity, on the other,

(e) The fifth fundamental should be the issue of the elimination of poverty and unemployment by ensuring productive employment to at least one member of every family. This can be done both by developing the traditional sectors as well as by opening new work avenues, like the regeneration of land, de-pollution and efficient management of water, all-round forestation, establishment of agro-industry, diversification of agriculture (i.e., horticulture, floriculture, sowing of vegetables, fishery, poultry, livestock, dairying, bee-keeping, etc.).

(f) The sixth fundamental should be the issue of the development of a democratic culture by organising a campaign for the eradication of all sorts of social crime, particularly corruption (which has become a way of life in India), and for inculcating value based norms in all social processes.

(g) The seventh fundamental should be the issue of the establishment of a participatory democracy in India (which fully federalises the Indian social structure; gives maximum autonomy to the states; follows the rule of law in letter and spirit; decentralises the system of power at all levels; empowers the people, especially the women, with the maximum practicable

decision making power at all levels; makes the executive, bureaucracy and political parties accountable to the people; abrogates all the undemocratic laws, like the Official Secrets Act, Contempt of Courts Act, Special Privileges to Legislators, army's right to court martial, all detention laws, etc; legalises the state funding of all types of elections; provides the right to information to every citizen; guarantees human rights as per the UN charter and its covenants, etc.) instead of the present parliamentary democracy (which centralises the whole power in the executive and the administration; generates an environment in which crime flourishes and corruption becomes a lifestyle and where money and power become the be-all and the end-all of the human existence).

(h) The eighth fundamental should be the issue of the adoption of a foreign policy of peace instead of the existing confrontationist one. Today, a genuine peace can be ensured only by reconciling the interests of various nations and the national peace can be achieved only by balancing the interests of various social groups within a nation. Applied to the sub-continent, this means the establishment of the relations of friend-ship and cooperation between India and Pakistan by sorting out a proper solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem through a trilateral process (involving India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people). By consensus between the three parties, it may be an Indo-Pak or SAARC Condominium which, while handling defence, foreign affairs and currency, ensures semi-independence to Jammu-Kashmir and maximum autonomy to each of its eight ethnic identities. The establishing of peace in South Asia can, by ending the arms race and reducing the defence expenditure by billions of rupees, unleash an era of social harmony and justice, democracy, development and prosperity for over 120 million people of this region.

(i) The ninth fundamental should be the issue of the upholding of the perspective of globular nationalism (now being practically followed by almost all countries in varying degrees, while parroting the respective names of their traditional sectarian and chauvinistic nationalisms), South Asian nationalism or rational humanism.

(j) The tenth fundamental should be the issue of following a realistic approach towards the Badal Ministry—welcoming those of its measures which benefit the people, while opposing the anti-people ones.

(k) The eleventh fundamental should be the issue of involving all social categories of people at all levels, especially the grassroots one, in the discussion of various mass problems, both immediate and basic. Such an interaction would lead to the social awakening of our people and the forging of closer social bonds between them.

The afore-mentioned agenda can be put into practice only by motivating and involving the people in the initiation and the carrying forward of its process.

<div align="right">22-03-1997</div>

An Attempt To Understand Historical Reality

This question occupies a highly important place in the problem of human knowledge. But our knowledge of this subject is quite meagre. Obviously, the only way to raise the present level of our understanding of this matter is to conduct repeated studies. As such, this writing too forms part of the process of our step by step learning the essential features of historical reality through social and logical analysis on the basis of facts.

While searching for facts, we have tried to be neutral and impartial, keeping ourselves free from every pre-conceived notion and base our data and facts on observable evidence.

In the interpretation of facts, our approach has been that, in this part of our study, we cannot be neutral or impartial. Because a person can interpret any phenomena only in accordance with his general conception of reality coupled with his specific conceptions concerning different processes of social reality which develop in him a sense of determining right and wrong in any problem. There is no other way of interpreting any social question. No value-free social study exists in our human world. However, we have striven to understand social reality by comparing and contrasting various alternative propositions and concepts. We have made use of both the categories of the subjective (i.e., the instrument of mind) and the objective (i.e., the phenomena of energy, matter, space, time, etc.) in contrast to natural science which generally bases itself on the objective and mysticism which mainly makes the subjective as its foundation.

I. Meaning, Origin & Subject Matter Of History

The first point of our study is: What does the term History denote, when did it arise in human society, and what is its subject matter?

(A) Meaning Of History

The term history comes from a Greek word which means enquiry, research or investigation.

Simply defined, the concept of History denotes a branch of knowledge which deals with the entire process of human society from the beginning to this present day, with all its attendant questions. In short, it studies the aggregate of phenomena of human social life, all its aspects in their interconnections and interactions.

(B) Origin Of History

No definite date can be ascribed to the origin of History. In its simplest form, it might have always existed wherever Man adopted a social living. As social development surged forward, historical ideas too began to take a concrete shape. The needs of social development induced the people to deal with historical facts and erelong the technique of History was born. Since then, History has assumed an independent position as a separate branch of knowledge.

Broadly speaking, History has mainly developed through two stages—the pre-historical and the historical. The difference between the two is that, while the former is unrecorded (i.e., concerned with the period when writing was unknown), the latter is recorded in writing. For reconstructing pre-history, the archaeology and the scientific study of the primitive people forms the basis.

(C) Subject Matter Of History

Every branch of knowledge deals with a definite field of phenomenon which constitutes its subject matter.

The subject matter of History as a study of human social life is to investigate and explain the process of human society in all its concreteness (i.e., in general as well as its particulars). That is to say, wherefrom mankind has arisen or how human species have developed? Is social development only a human affair or does nature play certain role in social development? What inference can be drawn from the story of the origin of the human species? What is the chief cause of the development of Nature and of human society, i.e., the general law of its development? Is this conception of the general law of Nature and human society verified by the natural and the social sciences? Is there a coherent sequence of cause and effect or is there a break at

certain points caused by certain trivial factors? What is the inter-relation between the people in general and an outstanding individual? Where do the social ideas come from and what role they play in society? What have been the different stages of the development of society? What specific features distinguish one social stage from another? How has each succeeding stage emerged out of the previous one and, during the course of its development, given birth to another? In what manner the people have toiled and lived at each stage? And in what direction History has moved from one to another stage? These are, in brief, some of the questions in general to which a scientific history should provide the answers as parts of a single consistent theme, without any exaggeration or minimisation of the actual facts so that a realistic assessment of the past may provide us a true background and useful lessons for the future. The suppression or distortion of real evidence leading to false conclusions about the past is counter-productive and harmful for society. Truth and truth alone, based on and verified by historical evidence, should form the steel frame of History.

The difference between the science of history and other social sciences, such as Economics, Jurisprudence, Aesthetics, Pedagogics, etc., is that, while the latter study only some specific aspect of social development, the former deals with the development of social life as a whole. In a broader context, it is such a general science which embodies not only social sciences but also natural ones.

History pursues its own technique to establish and interpret facts. Like other sciences, it uses many methods of enquiry, such as observation, classification, framing hypothesis and reconstructing the past.

II. How Human Species Have Developed

The second point of our study is: Where from mankind has arisen or how human species have developed?

The theory of Mysticism says that the God alone is the creator and promoter of mankind. It believes that the spiritual apprehension of truth is beyond human understanding. It rejects all enquiry and research by holding the God as everything and everything as God.

Contrary to Mysticism, natural science and historical experience tell that the present state of natural and human realities did not exist from all eternity, but is the result of a very

long process of development, passing through billions of years.

(A) Universe

With regard to the Universe, it is, according to astronomical evidence, about 15 billion years of age and it has about the same length of time ahead. Today, only 10% of the Universe is bright and visible through radio telescopes, while 90%, having become cool, has turned into dark matter. The explored part is populated by billions upon billions of galaxies each of which contains billions of stars. The dark matter is scattered all over the Universe in the form of invisible black holes, each commanding huge gravitational force which does not let escape even a passing by ray of light. Our own galaxy, the Milky Way, is a medium sized galaxy.

(B) Solar System

With regard to our Solar System, the Sun is, according to astronomical evidence, about 10 billion years old and has about the same length of time ahead. It is a star of an average size. It contains its own planets, comprising the Solar System,

Science has proved that the Solar System was by no means always as it is now. Nor has the Sun remained changeless. It is losing its mass at a rate of 400,000 tonnes a second due to the radiation of huge amounts of energy.

(C) Earth

With regard to the Earth, it is, according to scientific data, about 5 billion years of age. The formation of oceans, rocks, mountains, land and vegetable and animal life, comprising the Earth, has passed through five geological stages: 1. Archaean 3,500 million years; 2. Primary 1,706 million years; 3. Secondary 559 million years; 4. Tertiary 109 million years; and 5. Quarternary 1 million years. The beginning of every new stage meant the disappearance of a number of continents, islands, seas, mountains, etc., and the appearance of an entirely new geological phenomena as well as substantial climatic changes. At the end of Tertiary, the Earth became what we know it today. The present formations of the Earth had taken their shape about 20,000 years ago. Still, transformations go on in it.

(ii) The Earth is covered with a thin film—so thin that its weight can scarcely be more than one-billionth that of our planet of matter. It is this envelop (probably 1,000 miles above the Earth)

which preserves and protects life on our globe. Without its protective insulation, temperatures would swing from unbearable cold at night to unbearable heat during the day. Air is composed of nitrogen (78%), oxygen (21%), argon (nearly 1%) and small amounts of other gases. The air is not a uniform mass, but can be divided into layers, each with its own characteristics.

(D) Organic Life

With regard to the organic life, its primitive forms—the vegetation—first appeared in the oceans perhaps 2 billion years ago. The vegetable life went through a long process of development—from the simple to the complex, from the pre-cellular to the cellular, from the unicellular to the multi-cellular, from the invertebrate to the vertebrate, from living in water to living on land, from oviparous (laying eggs) to child birth and from passive reaction to conditioned and unconditioned reflexes (food, sex, etc.)—thus leading to the emergence of animal life.

(E) Birds, Animals & Man

The first birds and animals are about 200 million years old. Man emerged about 2 to 3 million years ago. Agriculture is not more than 10,000 years of age. And the first written words go back to about halt this period.

(F) Nature—A Self-Generated Process

With regard to the process of the development of different forms in nature, science holds that Nature is self-generated, that it produced itself. Evidence concerning this theory comes from the fact that both inorganic (from the elementary particle to a huge cosmic body) and organic phenomena (from the tiniest bacteria to man) in the Universe are made up of the same elements. There is no impassable boundary between the two. Both are formed out of the chemical elements of hydrogen, carbon, oxygen and nitrogen. Both possess the same intrinsic characteristic of interaction with the environment—with the only difference that, while the organic substance interacts in an active way (sensation, excitability, irritability, etc.), the inorganic one does this in a passive way (even iron reacts near a magnet) .

(G) Scenario About Man's Development

The most widely accepted scenario about Man's development is now like this: the first primate to embark on the road to

humanity was dryopithecus about 25 million years ago; he was replaced by pliopithecus about 12 million years ago; the latter was superseded by Australopithecus, still sub-human and possibly a tool user, about 5 million years ago; Australopithecus developed into handyman about 3 million years later; then, one million years ago came Pithecan-throupuserectus (the Peking and Java man), the first homo-erectus with a brain large enough to be considered "human"; he was a confirmed, though slow, traveller, making his way round the world; from this line branched the Heidelberg and the Neanderthal types; the Neanderthal is credited with being the first Homo Sapien (wise man); some anthropologists surmise that he emerged about 200,000 years ago and was firmly settled in Europe about 100,000 years ago; thereafter sprang the Piltdown Man, accompanied by the type now represented by the Australian aboriginals, the most primitive of the present human stock; somewhat later, there appeared from the remaining common species the ancestors of the present human stock. Cromagnon, Grimaldi, Chancelade, Combecapelle or Obereassel are quite modern and do not differ much from each other. They lived in the Pleistocene and went out of existence except in modified descendants. Some 40,000 to 50,000 years ago, there was a great leap and man emerged with the modern physical appearance.

The human species, as they began to spread over the globe, acquired new distinctions as a result of their interactions with their surroundings and thus developed into many types. These are the Mongoloid (yellow) group, the Caucasoid (white) group, the Caucasoid (brown) group, the negroid (black) group, the Australoid (Australian aboriginals) group, the Capoid (African) group. Every sort of human species on this Earth can breed freely with every other kind. Man is a cross-breed and has been so for a long time.

Man's separation from the animal world as a distinct species was mainly due to his adoption of an erect posture which turned his front two feet into hands with which man began to use stones and sticks as tools and implements, leading to the trans-formation of animal brain into the human brain and his acquiring of the power of speech. All these developments, having gone through hundreds of thousands of years, constituted landmarks in bringing into being the social man and his society.

The history of human society has been a process of development during which Man has passed through various

social stages, each of which has been characterised by (a) a given scientific technological (or natural) mechanism and its related social division of labour (or social norms and forms) and (b) a given people operating, in accordance with the given social division of labour, as social units or groups, having their given theories and practices, within a given social system (originally a Clan, next a Tribe, then a Princely State and now a Nation State). The historical development confirms that each stage constituted a process of the transformation of the old into the new—carrying the human society from the primitive level of sticks and stones to the present level of electronic devices.

III. Inference From Story Of Evolution

The third point of our study is: What inference can be drawn from the brief story beginning with the origin of the human species?

The aforementioned account furnishes two main perspectives —one on Nature and the other on human species.

(A) Perspective On Nature

The perspective on Nature (or the Universe) presents the latter as a general process, comprising of innumerable specific processes. These endless processes (including that of human species) have different forms and behaviours. But they follow a general mode of operation in varying ways suiting to their respective natures. This continuous general operational mode comprises a two-sided interaction (i.e., both internal and external) between two or more objects sometimes through the motion of unity and sometimes through the motion of struggle. Such an interaction, whether harmonious or conflictual, in course of time, gives rise to continuous partial changes in the quantity and the quality of every process. And, consequently, at a critical point, this leads to the transformation of every old process (having its specific characteristics) into a new process (with its particular features, thus making both processes different in their respective natures. This never ending process of change and development goes on in every phenomenon, including human society.

(B) Perspective On Human Society

The perspective on human species views the latter as a phenomenon whose mode of existence is biological (which requires a given natural environment), but whose mode of living and functioning is social. Obviously, human species or their

organisation, i.e., society, possesses a two-sided nature-biological (or natural) and social.

Like all other processes of nature, the process of human society has also arisen as a part of the universal process of Nature. It has been changing and developing in the same way as any other natural process. That is, it has been, since its origin, changing and developing in accordance with the universal operational mode of phenomena's two-sided interaction—one external and the other internal—through the alternating motions of unity and struggle. The external interaction of unity and struggle occurs between human and the other processes of Nature, while the internal one takes place within human society.

IV. Natural & Social Sciences Verify Above Conceptions

The fourth point of our study is: How the aforementioned general conception of Nature and the human society is verified by facts? This can be seen by studying the theory and practice of the different branches of natural and social sciences.

(A) Quantum Mechanics

The science of Quantum Mechanics (pertaining to the micro world) shows how the breaking up of the unity between the proton and the neutron in the radioactive nucleus (of middle weight elements like Uranium-235 or Plutonium-239) leads to the release of nuclear energy. This process is called nuclear fission and can be seen in a nuclear reactor or an atom bomb. Conversely, when two atoms of hydrogen (a light weight element consisting only of one atom) join together to form helium (consisting of two atoms), an enormous amount of nuclear energy is released. This process is called nuclear fusion which is the general pattern of energy generation in the stars, including our Sun.

(B) Physics

The science of Physics (pertaining to the macro world) shows how, in the given conditions, the close unity between the molecules of water turns it into ice, while the separation of its molecules transforms it into steam. The average distance between the molecules in the air is about 10 times that in ordinary solids. Our planet, Earth, itself is a combination of gases, dust and particles of stone and iron which had joined

together through gravitational attraction, gas pressure and electromagnetic force.

(C) Chemistry

The science of Chemistry (pertaining to chemical processes) shows how the combination of two elements in given quantities forms a new compound (e.g., Sodium + Chloride = Common Salt). A compound can be split into two elements of given quantities (e.g., Water = one atom of Oxygen + two atoms of Hydrogen). The association of gases constitutes the air and the latter can be split into the gases.

(D) Biology

The science of Biology (pertaining to biological processes) shows how the metabolic processes of assimilation and dissimilation in organic processes (i.e., plants, animals and humans) bring about partial and fundamental changes in the latter.

(E) Mechanics

The science of Mechanics (pertaining to mechanical processes) shows how, due to the action and reaction of different mechanical phenomena, changes occur in their respective motions. For instance, in given conditions, the action of hitting the wall with a ball leads to the reaction of wall pushing the ball back with equal force.

(F) Astronomy

The science of Astronomy (pertaining to heavenly bodies) shows how its problems—such as time's measurement, diurnal motion, planetary motion, conjunction of planets and stars, eclipse and geocentric parallax, etc.—are solved by applying the mathematical numbers of positive and negative.

(G) Geology

The science of Geology (pertaining to geological processes) shows how the process of the development of the earth has passed through various phases (i.e., Archaean, Proterozoic, Mesozoic, Cainozoic, etc.), none of which had been a repetition of any of the previous phases and each has been marked by the disappearance of a number of continents, islands, seas, mountains, etc., and the appearance of entirely new geological phenomena as well as substantial climatic changes.

(H) Palaeontology

The science of Palaeontology (a new branch of science studying fossilised species) shows how many plant and animal species had been replacing one another, with some dying out and others appearing in their stead over hundreds of millions of years. By this process, the animal species had gradually become more complex until in the tertiary period (from 69 million to one million years ago), mammals appeared, including the higher animals, capable of not only sensation but also of perception and conception.

(I) New Branches Of Science

Other new branches of science, such as bio-physics, bio-chemistry, Bio-Technology, Astro-Physics, Geo-Chemistry, Micro-Biology, etc., which study their related processes jointly, show how their specific phenomena are interrelated, interconnected, interacting and mutually convertible.

(J) Old Branches Of Science

Three other important old theories of different branches of science also show how varied phenomena in nature are interrelated, interacting and mutually convertible.

Firstly, the biological theory of the cellular structure of organic phenomena (1838-39) establishes that animal and plant cells—whether they be the cells of a seawood or a tree, of a minute infusoria or man have basically the same structure and perform one and the same physiological function. The birth and development of the organism takes place through the multiplication of cells, their constant renewal-birth and death. The theory proves the historical unity of all living beings and indirectly points out the unity of their origin.

Secondly, the physical theory of the conservation and transformation of energy (1840s) reveals that mechanical, thermal, electrical and chemical energy is mutually convertible—thus indicating the interconnection and mutual transformation of various phenomena in the world.

Thirdly, the Darwin's evolutionary theory of organisms (1859) proves the changeability of the species of animals and plants and the unity of their origin. It maintains the rule of spontaneous natural selection, the struggle of plants and animals for existence and the survival of the best adapted biological individuals and species. It establishes the connection between all living beings

and demonstrates that their development was no repetition of the old but the transformation of the old into the new. Here, it would be quite worthwhile to state that the process of nature exemplify so many instances of the development of species from one into another. The development of a caterpillar into a butterfly is an instance of common transformation. Today, the transformation of one type of plant into qualitatively new through plant mutations and Bio-Technology is widely practised everywhere. Even the barrier between the plant and animal has been broken by the transplantation of the plant having animal genes.

(K) Social Sciences

A close study of social sciences also shows how society (a part of Nature's general process) also follows a similar mode of interaction (i.e., action and reaction) within its various sub-processes (i.e., political, economic, cultural, external, administrative, etc.) and their respective branches (e.g., nations in the social process; parties and pressure groups in the political process; industry, agriculture, etc., in the economic process; and art, literature, science, etc., in the cultural process).

The social science of sociology shows how the process of social development has taken place by the interaction between different given historical entities sometimes through the motion of struggle and sometimes unity (e.g., clan fights and clan mergers in the ancient times, followed by tribal struggles and tribal combinations, later feudal princely wars and compromises and recent national wars, like 1991 US led UN war against Iraq, US-USSR cold war from 1950s to 1980s, Iran-Iraq war during 1980s, Indo-Pak wars of 1965 and 1971, etc., and recent national alliances, such as NATO, former Warsaw Alliance and other defence pacts as well as trade blocs, i.e., NAFTA, ASEAN, EC, etc.). The political science shows how the political process has developed by the interaction between political parties sometimes through the motion of struggle (e.g., CPI-Congress alliance vs JD-CPM combine in the February 1997 elections in Punjab, while the CPI, CPM and JD are allies in the UF at the Centre) and sometimes unity (e.g., 1997 Akali-BJP coalition in Punjab, HVP-BJP coalition in Haryana, Left Front coalition in Bengal, etc.). The social science of economics shows how the economic process has developed by the interaction between the workers and the capitalists often through the motion of unity (e.g., in the

movement of daily production) and sometimes struggle (e.g., workers strikes on the questions of wage increase, bonus, provident fund, etc.). The social science of art and culture shows how the process of art and culture has developed by the interaction between different cultural entities sometimes through the motion of unity (e.g., cultural synthesis of incoming tribes, like Kushans, Gujjars, etc., and religious groups, such as Muslims, Christians etc., with the natives in India) and sometimes struggle (e.g., Greek, Moghul and British cultural impact on India during the said rules and vice versa).

V. Interaction Between Nature & Society
   ### And Within Society

The fifth point of our study is: How the external interaction between Nature and human society and the internal interaction within human society take place through the mode of alternating unity and struggle?

(A) Interaction Between Nature & Society

Nature acts upon and reacts to Society through various integral (e.g., air, water, food, etc.) and conflictual processes (e.g., virus, earthquake, drought, etc.). These interacting natural processes are of two broad categories—that whose mode of organisation, operation and change is known to mankind (e.g., land, machines, oils, foodgrains, etc.) and that whose mode of organisation, operation and change is yet unknown or little known to them (e.g., black holes, galaxies, stars, space, etc.). Of these two types of processes, the knowledge of the theory and practice of the former is known as scientific-technological mechanism (or socio-natural mechanism) which denotes all types of scientific concepts, technological means and objects and their products.

This scientific-technological mechanism is characterised by a given social division of labour or a method of operation (e.g., a machine requires factory type organisation and functioning or an aeroplane demands an airport type of arrangement and working, etc.) which mankind must follow in order to operate the scientific-technological mechanism. If mankind disregards this rule, the scientific-technological mechanism cannot be operated (a machine only works if the worker adjusts his labour to the motion of the machine. It refuses to move according to the dictates of its operator).

The social division of labour, a broad social category, indicates different concepts and forms of labour or work activity in the three main sectors—political, economic and cultural—of the human social community. Politics is concerned with the art (or the social science) of public management or governance or state administration. Economics is related to the art (or the social science) of production, distribution, exchange, consumption and economic equity. Culture refers to the way of life of a given social unit practising particular beliefs, customs, traditions, language, art, etc. Thus, the social division of labour includes the entirety of human mental and manual work, namely, mental and physical labour in economy, politics and culture; in different branches of economy (i.e., industry, agriculture, trade, etc.), politics (i.e., law, administration, etc.), and culture (i.e., art, literature, science, etc.); and in different sub-branches of industry, agriculture, trade, law, administration, art, literature, science and so on. Consequently, Man organises his social units (clan, tribe, class, princely state, nation-state, present day world organisations, etc.) and social norms and forms in accordance with the given social division of labour.

Thus, the social division of labour constitutes a very important factor in the organisation, movement and change of human society. By binding mankind to follow its social division of labour, Nature acts in the primary position in relation to human society.

Society acts upon and reacts to Nature in the process of carrying out the given social division of labour as well as of carrying out new research and experiment in yet unexplored processes of Nature in order to get more wealth or some additional advantage for society or to meet the growing social needs. Sometimes, the interactions are unitary (e.g., breathing, drinking, eating, etc.) and sometimes adversial (e.g., overusing natural resources, creating pollution, etc.). During the course of these interactions, Man constantly brings about new changes in various natural processes, developing them into new forms useful to humanity through new theories and practices. Thus, by bringing about new changes in nature and consequently further developing the scientific-technological mechanism, society plays the principal role in relation to Nature.

This alternating principal role of Nature and society goes on ad infinitum in every process of development related to society, thus bringing constant changes in both scientific-technological mechanism and society and carrying forward the social progress.

(B) Interaction Within Society

The interaction within human society is closely related to the social division of labour whose implementation requires two interconnected things: (a) man's social units for working in different spheres—political, economic, cultural, security and foreign matters—and (b) social norms and forms for the observance of social units and their individual members to smoothly carry out the social division of labour.

(i) Role Of Social Units & Social Norms & Forms

The sixth point of our study is: What role the social units and the social norms and forms play in society?

The social units (also called the social classes)—the main factor of creating and operating scientific-technological mechanism and its connected social division of labour—do not constitute simple phenomena. Starting from the social unit of the individual, they include as big a social unit as the nation (e.g., Indian nation of 94 crores). Some social units are primarily ideological (e.g., certain religious sects, political groups, scientific research workers, etc.). Some are mainly economic gain seekers (e.g., families, trade unions, classes, etc.). Some are chiefly political, some economic, some cultural and some anti-social. Some can not be principally distinguished due to their complex multisidedness (e.g., nations, communities, etc.). Every social unit other than that of the individual is distinguished by two aspects—the aspect of the principal functionary and the aspect of the general body. As a rule, there is no social unit without its leading functionary (who may be in the leading role only for a brief period). In the relation between the leading functionary and the general body of a social unit, each, in turn, comes to the fore.

Social norms and forms (also known as the social relations)—the rules facilitating the implementation of the social division of labour—are also complicated matters. In brief, they are a set of social principles which determine multi-sided social relations—that between the individual and society, that among different social units during the course of economic work (i.e., production, distribution, exchange, consumption, economic equity, etc.), political functioning (i.e., elections, administration, law, etc.) and cultural activity (i.e., moral, ethical element in various cultural moves, etc.) and that between material objects and different social units. In other words, they determine the social position and the social role (whether dominant, subordinate or intermediary

concerning economy, politics and culture) of each social unit. These social norms and forms on which all the social units of a given society have arrived at a consensus are codified in the constitution and the jurisprudence as laws and regulations and the entire state and its residents are legally bound to observe them.

Since the beginning of human society, the social units and the social norms and forms have gone on constantly changing in accordance with the changes in the social division of labour (and its concerned scientific-technological mechanism).

The social units play their specific roles in social development through alternating mutual unity and mutual struggle. The question of unity is related to the convergence of the definite aims and interests of the various social units, while that of struggle is concerned with the clash of the real objectives and concerns of the different social units. The issues of unity and struggle, consisting mainly of numerous political, economic and cultural matters, denote the different viewpoints each of which, representing the approach of a social unit or a consensus based agenda of certain social units, claims to uphold a clear perception either of the whole social reality or any of its various dimensions and a realistic response to it and each of which has occupied the primary place in accordance with the concrete conditions. Even the issue of state power (which does affect the whole population within a state)—being an issue of frequent contention—has too been resolved either through a compromise or fight between the contending social units. Whenever new social units arise in society due to the emergence of a new social division of labour and its scientific-technological mechanism, the problem of unity and contention becomes sharp among the newly emerged social units and the old ones.

In the entire lengthy process of human society, no single social unit (neither a genius of the Western Liberal Model nor a social class of the Communist Model) has been, and can be, an all purpose unit or the sole vehicle of social progress. Systemic change through social development has taken place (and can only be possible) through the interaction of various social units (including the unit of the individual). In this multi-sided and multi-dimensional interaction, sometimes an outstanding scientist along with his team of scientists, sometimes an outstanding economist along with his team of economists, sometimes an outstanding artist along with his team of artists, sometimes an outstanding religious preacher along with his team of religious

preachers and so on, have at different times contributed a major share in social development by upholding and developing correct social ideas in interaction (sometimes characterised by unity and sometimes by struggle) with their respective contemporary units.

In the all embracing state unit, the most eminent political unit and its outstanding leader in interaction with its contemporary political units have, at given times, played the principal role by bringing into being realistic propositions and their implementation.

(ii) Where Do Social Ideas Come From

The seventh point of our study is: Where do the social ideas come from?

The human society, its social units and all of its human beings operate through social ideas in all walks of life. Communication through ideas is mankind's only mode of operation, distinguishing them from all other non-human phenomena. Social units and farsighted leaders formulate their ideas into social theories and put them into practice through various initiatives and activities in interaction with their contemporaries (within and without). The correct theories establish their validity through practice, while the incorrect ones lose their credibility during the course of practical activity.

In the relation between a correct theory and its practice, each, in turn, helps Man in his objective and endeavours. In the beginning when theory develops practice, it constitutes the main aspect of knowledge. The moment the practice enriches theory, it acquires the first position. Thus, both theory and practice form the basis of knowledge; whether natural or social and whether theoretical or practical. The totality of the theories and practices of a social unit (may be an individual) constitutes the whole of his natural and social knowledge. Similarly, the sum total of the theoretical and practical learning of all the social units of human society constitutes the latter's entire knowledge. In case of the knowledge of Nature, the basis of information lies in the natural processes, while their observation, interpretation and formulation rests with the human thinking. Similarly, in case of social knowledge, while the basis of information rests with the social division of labour (including social units and social norms and forms), their interpretation and formulation is related to human thinking. In the subjective creation of knowledge, the social unit of an outstanding individual plays the role of an ideological

processing plant, while his related team or group, social unit or the whole community supplies the ideological raw material.

(iii) Stages of Social Development

The eighth point of our study is: What stages of social development mankind has passed?

The social development of mankind (i.e., human society) has been a single social process characterised by a two-sided interaction—that between Nature and Mankind, on the one hand, and that between different social units of Mankind, on the other. This two-sided interaction has brought forth four broad types of social development stages each characterised by a given scientific-technological mechanism, social division of labour, social units, along with their social norms and forms and social theories and practices,

The first stage was the stage of food gathering and hunting— based on the technology of stones, sticks, bones, bows, arrows, etc.; a collective division of labour; an organisation of clans and the norms, forms, theory and practice of kinship lasting for hundreds of thousands of years.

The second stage was the stage of pastoralism (or animal husbandry)—based first on the pastoral technology and later on metal (bronze and copper) implements; earlier a semi collective an then a slave dependent division of labour; an organisation of tribes or pastoral units (i.e., the dominant pastoral unit, the pastoral slave unit, other pastoral units linked with the dominant unit, etc.) and the norms, forms, theory and practice of semi-kinship as well as slavery (performed by prisoners captured during the inter-tribal wars).

The third stage was the agricultural stage—based on the technology of metal (especially iron) smelting and forging, land fertilisation, mining, milling, weaving, tanning, pottery, paper-making, printing, ship-building, etc.; the serf dependent and the family worked division of labour; an organisation of agricultural units (i.e., the dominant agricultural unit, the serf unit, the middle strata, the artisan unit, etc.) and the norms, forms, theory and practice of serfdom under the ideology of 'divine right of kings.'

The fourth stage was the industrial stage—based on the technology first of handicraft and then of machinecraft (driven by steam power, electric power and high energy fuels); a wage labour and commodity exchange dependent division of labour; an organisation of industrial units (i.e., the dominant

industrial unit, the industrial workers unit, the industrial middle strata, etc.) and the norms, forms, theory and practice of liberalism and parliamentarianism coupled with colonialism and communist centralism.

The newly emerged post-1945 scientific-technological mechanism (embodying highly advanced insights in the spheres of space, energy, matter, biology, cybernetics, etc.) and its related global (or of interdependence of countries) social division of labour have set in motion a new process of the formation of a global community, likely to pass through various phases.

(iv) Positive And Negative Aspects Of Human Social Development

The ninth point of our study is: What sort of strategic effects the lengthy process of human society have produced for mankind's future?

It has given rise to a two-sided strategic effect—both positive and negative.

On the positive side, it has resulted in the step by step modernisation of human society (or mankind) by transforming its scientific-technological mechanism, social division of labour, social units, social norms and forms, social theories and practices. Thus, the food gathering and hunting science and technology and its collective division of labour is distinguished by a food gatherer and hunter with his social norms, forms, theory and practice of food gathering and hunting and a kinship based clan organisation, coupled with a savage approach towards the external enemy and the internal clan rowdies.

The pastoral science and technology and its semi-collective and slave based division of labour is characterised by a wandering man (i.e., a nomad), with his social norms, forms, theory and practice of pastoralism and a semi-kinship based tribal organisation, coupled with a ruthless approach towards rivals—slaves and the internal tribal discipline-breakers.

The agricultural science and technology and its serf based division of labour is marked by an agriculturist (connected with his land), with his social norms, forms, theory and practice of agriculture and a feudal patronage based organisation of religion oriented agricultural communities, coupled with a militarised and suppressive approach towards the enemies and the internal law breakers.

The industrial science and technology and its commodity-

cum-wage labour based division of labour has the peculiarity of an industrial man, with his liberal social norms, forms, theory and practice at home and a colonial approach abroad as well as his parliamentary practice within the nation and a suppressive role outside.

The modernisation process, in other words, is the process of social capitalisation which, on the one hand, represents the advancement of scientific-technological (or natural) resources and, on the other, the development of human resources. Since these two factors (i.e., science and technology and the people) are the creators of every phenomenon in human society, they together constitute social capital. Obviously, the above concept of capital differs with the two current general theories of capital—the Western Liberal Economics (which considers capital as the totality of the means of production) and the Marxian Economics (which regards capital as workers surplus value or accumulated labour or production relations). The former relegates the human factor (i.e., labour) to the supplementary position, while the latter consigns technology to the secondary place. In fact, both are one-sided theories.

Historical experience shows that both science-cum-technology and Man are creative in their own ways. Man's innovation lies in his mental and physical energy, while technology's productivity comes from various forms of energy (i.e., electrical, chemical, kinetic, heat, radiant, nuclear, etc.). In fact, Technology creates more value than human labour in production (e.g., machines, both automatic and man operated). This is because a machine uses tens of thousands of watts of energy in a day in comparison to a worker who daily spends around 120 watts of energy (i.e., about 2,400 calories) during physical work. However, while Man lags behind technology in material production, he excels technology in material and ideological innovation due to his mental uniqueness. Thus, in human society, both science-cum-technology and Man constitute two basic factors of capitalisation as well as modernisation.

On the negative side, it has created two highly destructive threats for the existence of not only human but the entire bio-species.

One is the degradation of environment—air, water, land, etc.—which is already running a havoc in time sphere of bio-species that are becoming extinct in hundreds every day. The red signal is already blinking that the world is on the brink of an

environmental disaster.

The other is the rapidly increasing population which has increased fourfold during this century. The population explosion puts increasing pressure on the use of natural resources and this intensifies environment crisis.

(v) Why Long Social Relations Of Domination

The tenth point of our study is: Why the human society has so far been characterised by the social relations of domination? It has been due to a two-sided reason, i.e., the low level of economic, political and cultural development existing for hundreds of thousands of years and Man's gradual evolution from a savage and barbaric life to a rational and humane life during this period. With the constant progress of both the scientific-technological mechanism and the human knowledge, the margin of social domination has been gradually getting reduced—from slave social relations to serf social relations and then to wage social relations. In the slave period, the dominant ruling social unit used to control both the scientific-technological mechanism as well as the slaves. In the serf period, the status of slaves was raised upwards as serfs with additional economic rights, but the scientific-technological mechanism and the serf labour still remained under the control of the dominant ruling social unit. In the recent wage labour period, the domination had been further restricted. In the present phase, the margin of domination has been coming further down since the development of scientific-technological mechanism and the level of human society require the peoples control in the social process.

(vi) Bio-Social Nature Of Man

The eleventh point of our study is: What has been the nature of Man? The natural and social sciences show that man has a dual nature—biological and social or bio-social. Both these aspects constitute an integral whole and hence the one can not be delinked from the other. The biological aspect can be seen from the general human process (comprising of the phases of birth, growth, decay and death) and the particular human processes, like breathing, drinking, eating, eliminating, etc. The social aspect is evident from Man's inability to learn anything without social interaction. For example, while all humans are born with an articulate speech organ, they learn language and speech only through the activity of social conversation. A human

child living among wolves can neither walk nor talk and loses all social characteristics. Similarly, without the biological organ of articulate speech, no social conversation can teach the art of language and speech to any non-human creature. It, therefore, follows that the concepts, emphasising the nature of Man either as social or biological, are one-sided.

(vii) Equation Between Quality And Quantity

The twelfth point of our study is: Does there exist an equation between the quantity and quality of a phenomenon? Science and experience show that quality resides in quantity and vice versa. For instance, every quality of food contains a given quantity of energy, measured in calories; the number of planetary electrons determines the chemical behaviour of an atom; the addition of one atom to the two atoms of an oxygen molecule changes its quality into ozone. Similarly changes in the quantity and quality of human society go hand in hand. For example, the invention of steam engine in the 18th century, of machines in the 19th century and of computers in the 20th century—all signified changes in the quantity and quality of scientific-technological mechanism, along with its social division of labour and consequently the social life.

(viii) Transformation From Old Into New In Society

The thirteenth point of our study is: What does the concept of transformation from the old into the new denote in society? It expresses the ever-going and never-ending change in society, both the short-term and the long-term ones. Short-term changes are changes from the earlier to the succeeding phases in the same process, e.g., the changes in the process of the development of a human being from a baby to a child, from a child to an adolescent, then to youth, to middle age, old age and finally death; or the changes in the process of the development of the industrial mechanism from manufacturing to automatism. Long-term changes are the transformations of the old processes into the new ones, e.g., the transformation of the process of a human being into processes of different inorganic phenomena (i.e., dust, gases, etc.) after former's death, or the transformation of the process of the agricultural social formation into the process of the industrial social formation after continuous quantitative changes in the former process, or the different stages of the Earth's development in which each stage has meant the disappearance of a number of continents, islands,

seas, mountains, etc., and the appearance of entirely new geological phenomena as well as substantial climatic changes.

(ix) Both Unity & Struggle Bring Changes

The fourteenth point of our study is: Whether quantitative and qualitative changes and the transformation from the old into the new in society occur through struggle alone or through unity also? Science and History show that both unity and struggle, as two different methodologies, result in the said two changes. For instance, the harmony (or unity) of the given social units with the contemporary social division of labour leads to social development, both quantitatively and qualitatively, while disharmony (or struggle) between the given social units with the contemporary social division of labour results in social disruption, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Again, the transformation from agricultural to industrial social formation occurred through struggle among its old and new social units in France (1789) and through conciliation and compromise (or unity) among their old and new social units in Germany (1848) and Japan (1880). Further, the struggle between the old and the new social units leads to the break-up of the old social formation, while the unity between the new social units results in the building up of the new social formation. Obviously, the two theories—one stressing struggle and the other unity as the only methodology of change—are one-sided.

(x) Harmony & Disharmony Between
Scientific-Technological Mechanism & Man

The fifteenth point of our study is: How there occurs harmony (i.e., unity) or disharmony (i.e., struggle) between the scientific-technological mechanism and the social man in their interactions? Their harmony consists in their conformity (i.e., social units' proper implementation of the given social division of labour), while their disharmony lies in their non-conformity (i.e., social units' violation of the social norms and forms of the given social division of labour). Their harmony leads to social development, while disharmony brings in social retrogression.

(xi) Interaction Between Cause & Effect

The sixteenth point of our study is: Does one side always remain dominant and the other subordinate in interaction in any process, as for instance, in the interaction between cause and effect in any process? Science and historical experience shows

that each side affects the other in interaction, including the interaction between cause and effect in any phenomenon. Though cause is a phenomenon that brings into being another phenomenon and effect is the result of the action of a cause, yet the effect, after its emergence from the cause, does affect its cause. For instance, a greater demand for a commodity stimulates production which, in turn, leads to increased demand. Further, while heat is the cause of the mechanical motion of a locomotive's axels, they, in turn, produce heat after becoming hot due to the mechanical movement and the friction of locomotive's parts. Here, heat is simultaneously the cause and effect of mechanical motion. Furthermore, while mechanical motion (produced by the water stream in a hydro-electric station) is the cause of electric current, the latter itself becomes the cause of mechanical motion in electric stations and factories.

The causal connection has been generally accepted as universal in character by Man, but there may be certain exceptions, still unknown to us.

(xii) Law of Inevitability

The seventeenth point of our study is: Does there exist a law of inevitability in the Universe? Science and historical experience show that the only general law of inevitability in the Universe is the law of change and development or of the transformation of everything from the old to the new. But what ultimate shape or form the new would take cannot be assessed or forecast by any science or philosophy.

The interaction of different phenomena, in given conditions, gives rise to various probabilities and possibilities concerning the development of a given phenomenon. These include the necessity, dominant possibility or probability, possibility, chance and impossibility.

Necessity expresses that which, in given conditions, is bound to occur. But, if the given conditions are lacking, it may not take place. For instance, an aircraft, in perfect working order, is, if ignited, required to fly, but, if given conditions of a runway are lacking, it will, and can, not take off.

Dominant possibility expresses that which, in given conditions, has a dominant scope of turning into a reality. For example, there is a dominant possibility of the earlier death of a cancerous person.

Possibility expresses that which, in given conditions, may

occur. For instance, it may rain if the sky is overcast.

Chance expresses that which, in given conditions, has little possibility of coming into being. For instance, the germination of a seed into a plant, in a given heat and moisture of the land, is a necessary phenomenon, but the plant may be destroyed by the hail, occurring as a chance.

Impossibility expresses that which has no basis in given conditions and thus is unreal, e.g., it is impossible for Man to attain an average age of 500 years today, but it may become possible after sometime.

VI. Different Approaches On History.

There has been a vast variety of social approaches on the study and understanding of History. These may be broadly classified in the following order:

(A) God-Centric Theories

Firstly, there have been the God-centric theories which regard history as the God ordained or fate decreed. They preach the gospel that every thing originates from the God and the people can never solve any problem by themselves. "Man proposes but the god disposes" is their "Unquestionable Truth" which totally rejects the role of Man as well as Nature in the making of History. The main imaginary samples of this variety are as follows:

(i) **Supernaturalism** believes that events are shaped by a supernatural power.

(ii) **Fatalism** believes that all events are predetermined and Man is powerless to change his destiny.

(iii) **Transcendentalism** believes that knowledge is based on intuition rather than thinking and practice.

(iv) **Spiritualism** believes that the spirits of the dead can communicate with the living.

(v) **Fetishism** believes in the worship of inanimate object supposed to have magical powers.

(vi) **Mysticism** believes in the spiritual apprehension of truth that is beyond human understanding.

(vii) **Mythicism** interprets phenomena mythically (telling tales with supernatural characters).

(viii) **Omniscience** believes that there is an all knowing power.

(ix) **Pantheism** believes that the God is present in everything.

(x) **Unitarianism** believes that the God is one being not a Trinity (group of three).

(B) Technology-Centric Theories

Next come the technology-centric theories which consider History as a product of technology (i.e., mechanical devices appropriated from nature) alone. By emphasising only technology, they underestimate the fact of man as a producer and operator of technology—thus breaking the historical unity between technology and Man. The main pieces of this one-sided sample include:

(i) **Technocratism** looks at technology as the only force of social change.

(ii) **Mechanism** views the working of society in the way a machine works its structure and parts.

(iii) **Automatism** sees actions or movements of organic beings as mechanical, with no role of volition (will).

(C) Environment-Centric Theories

Again, the environment-(or geographical) centric theories emphasise environment as the ultimate cause of social development. No doubt, environment exerts as much powerful influence on social development as man. But it does so only hand in hand with Man. If Man lacks the technique of environment uses, the latter does not act on its own accord. For instance, Brazil is very rich in geographical wealth, but it remains a developing country. In contrast to this, Japan lacks in natural resources, but it is one of the most developed countries. Obviously, the environment-centric theories break the historical unity between Man and environment and thus are one-sided. The main propositions of this general line are as under:

(i) **Environmentalism** perceives environment as the determining factor in social development.

(ii) **Geo-politics** examines politics of a country as determined by its geographical position.

(iii) **Animalism** studies human beings as mere animals.

(D) Nature-Centric Theories

Further, the nature-centric theories about social development relegate Man's role to the secondary place. Thus, by breaking the historical unity between Nature and Man, these theories distort the actual reality. The main concepts consist of the following:

(i) **Naturalism** maintains that social changes occur due to natural law.

(ii) **Objectivism** holds that the knowledge of non-ego (i.e.,

object) is prior in sequence and importance to that of ego (i.e., subject or self).

(iii) **Dynamism** regards that the phenomena of the Universe moves due to some immanent (or inherent) force or energy.

(iv) **Cosmism** asserts that the Cosmos is a self-existent, self-acting whole.

(v) **Phenomenalism** declares that phenomena are the only objects of knowledge.

(vi) **Generalism** understands that a universal law, with no particular laws, operates in every phenomenon.

(vii) **Uniformism** announces that everything remains the same in different places and at different times.

(E) Man-Centric Theories

Lastly, there have been a huge number of Man-centric theories.

They fall into many categories. Some are determinist, some indeterminist, some reductionist, some inductionist, etc. Some emphasise empiricism, some subjectivism, some nihilism, some terrorism, some behaviourism, some moralism, some militarism, etc. Some (i.e., the fundamentalist ones) put economy as the principal determining factor in social development, some religion, some culture, some caste, some race, some politics, etc. Some put stress on structuralism, some pluralism, some oligarchyism, some parochialism and so on.

But all these theories, in a nutshell, show that the ideas play the chief role in society—thus bringing forth the logic that history is made by those who produce the ideas. One ideological variety maintains that ideas come from the minds of great men who, having been endowed with the natural abilities of a born genius, act as the locomotives of society. The other regards that ideas are generated by the people who, having been the creators of everything in society, are the movers of the wheels of history. The third variety thinks that ideas along with everything else are produced by the God.

Obviously, the Man-centric theories break the historical unity between Man and Nature, on the one hand, and between the individual and society, on the other. Here is a list of the main Man-centric theories.

(1) **Determinism**—the doctrine that events follow a definite pattern, characterised by an absolute cause and a permanent effect—thus justifying a long-term prediction (e.g., Marxist-Leninist forecast that capitalism's fall is inevitable).

(2) **Reductionism**—doctrine that infers particular laws from the general law.

(3) **Inductionism**—doctrine that infers general laws from particular instances—a way of proving truth by showing that if true in a particular case, it is true in the next case.

(4) **Empiricism**—doctrine that acknowledges only observation and experiment and rejects theory.

(5) **Subjectivism**—doctrine that all knowledge has its source in mind.

(6) **Nihilism**—doctrine that totally rejects current beliefs and is sceptical about all existence.

(7) **Terrorism**—doctrine that tries to achieve its objective through coercive intimidation.

(8) **Behaviourism**—doctrine that stresses the objective study of the behaviour of a phenomenon (i.e., its stimulus and response).

(9) **Moralism**—doctrine that the principles of conduct should be based on the distinction between social right and wrong, not on religion.

(10) **Militarism**—doctrine that relies on military power.

(11) **Marxism**—doctrine that views the productive forces and the productive relations (i.e., the mode of production or economy) as the principal factor in social development.

(12) **Religious Fundamentalism**—doctrine (e.g., Hindutva, Afghan Tulba's Islamisation, etc.) that looks at traditional orthodox religious tenets as the only way to organise society.

(13) **Culturalism**—doctrine that regards a given culture as the only factor of social development.

(14) **Mandalism**—doctrine that accepts caste (i.e., a two thousand year old social unit) as the determining factor in imparting social justice.

(15) **Racism or racialism**—doctrine that believes in the innate superiority of a particular race—thus leading to antagonism towards members of different races.

(16) **Structuralism**—doctrine that lays stress on the whole and not parts.

(17) **Pluralism**—doctrine that recognises more than one ultimate principle of development.

(18) **Oligarchyism**—doctrine that stands for the rule of the few.

(19) **Probabilism**—doctrine that there is no certain knowledge but it may be a ground of belief sufficient for practical action.

(20) **Conservatism**—doctrine that tends to keep traditionalism

intact or unchanged.

(21) **Constitutionalism**—doctrine that sticks to the fundamental principles of state governance.

(22) **Patriarchalism**—doctrine that stands for the supremacy of masculine gender.

(23) **Opportunism**—doctrine that does not adhere to principles.

(24) **Utilitarianism**—doctrine that judges everything from the angle of its usefulness.

(25) **Universalism**—doctrine that all mankind will eventually be saved.

(26) **Totalitarianism**—doctrine that arrogates to itself all rights and permits no difference.

(27) **Egalitarianism**—doctrine that asserts equality of mankind.

(28) **Agnosticism**—doctrine that nothing is known or likely to be known.

(29) **Egoism**—doctrine that regards self-interest as the foundation of development.

(30) **Humanism**—doctrine of thought or action that is concerned with merely human interests.

(31) **Rationalism**—doctrine that considers reason as the ultimate cause of social development.

(32) **Dialectics**—doctrine that regards contradiction as the general law of development and conflict of varying social forces or class struggle as the determining factor in history.

(33) **Liberalism**—doctrine that believes in the freedom of thought, free thinking.

(34) **Pragmatism**—doctrine that estimates any assertion solely by its practical utility for one's interests.

(35) **Positivism**—doctrine that recognises only positive facts and observable phenomena and rejects all enquiry into causes or ultimate origins.

(36) **Voluntarism**—doctrine that regards human behaviour as being exclusively determined by free will and hence unpredictable.

(37) **Necessitarianism**—doctrine that denies free will and maintains that all action is determined by antecedent (previous, priori) causes.

(38) **Sensationalism**—doctrine that sensation is the sole source of knowledge.

(39) **Revisionism**—doctrine that revises any formulation of the theory of Marxism-Leninism or the party's dominant line within

any Communist Party.

(40) **Republicanism**—doctrine that advocates Republican form of Government.

(41) **Nazism**—doctrine that stands for fascist militant subordination of everyone to the Nazi Party, especially its Dictator.

(42) **Relativism**—doctrine that knowledge is of relations only.

(43) **Relativity**—doctrine (propounded by Albert Einstein) dealing with relationships of space, time and motion and acceleration and gravity and showing all motion as relative.

(44) **Substantialism**—doctrine that there are substantial realities underlying phenomena.

(45) **Syllogism**—doctrine in which conclusion is deducted by reasoning from two propositions from inductive to deductive (e.g., Kalidasa is a man. Therefore (conclusion) Kalidasa is mortal (deductive).

(46) **Syndicalism**—doctrine for transfer of control of ownership of means of production and distribution to workers unions.

(47) **Modernism**—doctrine that examines phenomena in the light of modern Western Thought.

(48) **Nominalism**—doctrine that universal and abstract are mere names, without any corresponding reality.

(49) **Orientalism**—doctrine that stresses oriental (i.e., Eastern) civilisation.

(50) **Occidentalism**—doctrine that emphasises Western civilisation.

(51) Ontology—doctrine that is concerned with the essence of things.

(52) **Platonism**—doctrine that upholds philosophical system of Plato whose central conception is the existence of a world in which ideas alone are real and paramount.

(53) **Equalitarianism**—doctrine that advocates equality of mankind.

(54) **Economism**—doctrine (a fundamentalist one) that explains change and development in terms of economy.

(55) **Evolutionism**—doctrine of the origination of species of animals and plants by a process of development from earlier forms.

(56) **Conventionalism**—doctrine that depends on conventions.

(57) **Experientialism or Experimentalism**—doctrine that all knowledge is derived from experience.

(58) **Extremism**—doctrine that advocates extreme views and

measures to achieve its aim.

(59 **Existentialism**—doctrine based on the assumption that reality as existence can only be lived by Man as a free and responsible being, but never become the object of thinking (an anti-intellectualist theory).

(60) **Exhibitionism**—doctrine that stands for extravagant behaviour.

(61) **Teleologism**—doctrine of final causes; belief that developments are due to the purpose that is served by them.

(62) **Systematics**—scientific study of classification of the plant and animal kingdoms.

(63) **Fascism**—doctrine that upholds the dictatorial and conspiratorial principles, style and organisation of fascists.

(64) **Imperialism**—doctrine that advocates the spread of colonialism or empire-building.

(65) **Intellectualism**—doctrine that knowledge is wholly or mainly derived from pure reason.

(66) **Leftism**—doctrine that upholds the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

(67) **Aestheticism**—doctrine that appreciates only principles of good taste or beauty in works of art.

(68) Surrealism—movement in art and literature purporting to express the sub-conscious activities of the mind.

(69) **Symbolism**—doctrine that uses symbols to arouse emotions in artistry.

(70) **Formalism**—doctrine that lays stress on the observance of forms.

(71) **Hypothesis**—a supposition made as the basis for reasoning, or the starting point for investigating the reality of any process.

(72) **Absolutism**—doctrine that stands for complete control, unrestricted power.

(73) **Isolationism**—doctrine that favours isolation.

(74) **Localism**—doctrine attached to a particular place.

(75) **Feminism**—doctrine that advocates women's rights.

(76) **Infantilism**—doctrine that is in an underdeveloped state, mentally or physically.

(77) **Individualism**—doctrine that breeds self-centred feeling or conduct.

(78) **Feudalism**—doctrine that perpetuates the belief or conduct of subservience (or serfdom) to a lord (i.e., authority).

(79) **Nativism**—doctrine of innate ideas.

(80) **Nomadism**—doctrine of wandering from place to place.

(81) **Non-Conformism**—doctrine that does not conform to any idea or style.

(82) **Atheism**—doctrine that rejects the existence of a supernatural power in the universe.

(83) **Epistemology**—doctrine of knowledge.

(84) **Etymology**—doctrine of the origin of words.

(85) **Metaphysics**—doctrine that investigates being (i.e., existence) in an abstract manner.

(86) **Neutralism**—doctrine that makes no distinction between right and wrong in any process.

(87) **Parochialism**—doctrine that adopts narrow approach to study things.

(88) **Rational Humanism**—doctrine of the present day emerging global society that was not practicable in the past divided, disunited and split social formations.

(89) **Realism**—doctrine that accepts things as they really are.

(90) **Scientific Realism**—doctrine that stands to know processes in their true nature, to test the authenticity of its conclusions according to the rules of science (both natural and social) and to deal with things as they actually exist.

VII. History—A Record Of A Logical Process

History is thus a record of a logical social process and not a series of haphazard happenings without any pattern or shape. It is a story of Mankind depicting the details of what happened to Man and why did it happen and not a mere chronicle of events—a rope of sand—a bond with no cohesion. For instance, it is only the study of real history which tells us as to why the feudal ideas considered to be God-ordained were replaced by the democratic ones.

In a sense, history is the basic science of human society which enables man to understand society in which he has to live and solve his problems by learning from the past experience.

Peace And Harmony In South Asia

I

1. Today, "South Asia is the poorest and the most illiterate region in the world, yet its governments buy more weapons than anyone else."

2. "The South Asian region has been sinking into a quagmire of human deprivation and despair, emerging as the most deprived region in the world."

3. "More children go to bed hungry every night in South Asia than anywhere else in the world, including sub-Saharan Africa."

4. "An estimated 134 million children work in South Asia. Many of these children work over 15 hours a day and are often physically abused."

5. "Of every 1,00,000 children born in South Asia, nearly 600 mothers die. In Bangladesh, it is even higher at 850 maternal deaths and in Bhutan, still higher, with 1,600 mothers dying."

6. "The world Bank estimates that the region contains about 40% of the world's absolute poor surviving on just $1 a day."

7. "India spends $10 per capita on defence & Pakistan $26. On health & education, India spends $14 per person & Pakistan $10."

8. "No one is going to take a chance investing in this region."

9. "The two political power houses in the region, India and Pakistan, are believed to have the capability to build a nuclear bomb and they are on the verge of embarking on a missile race."

10. "The most frightening aspect of the current Indo-Pakistan confrontation is the rapid acquisition of modern weaponry by both countries."

11. "Such huge investments are pre-empting scarce financial resources urgently needed for human development."

12. "South Asia requires primary schooling for 126 million children, basic health-care for 690 million people, safe drinking water for 770 million people, adequate nutrition for 87 million children and provision of family planning services to 287 million married couples."

13. "And all this will cost about $129 billion over the next 15 years or $8.6 billion a year."

14. "A lot of tough decisions would have to be made, like massive reductions in defence spending in line with the rest of the world."

15. "Just a five percent cut in spending could mean an additional $80 billion in the next fifteen years."

16. "People in the region are putting increasing pressure on their governments, demanding jobs, good government and less corruption."

17. "People are really scared unless it is done now, India and Pakistan are really going down the drain."

18. The above-stated account has been quoted from a UN funded report released on 09.04.1997 at the end of a three day seminar on "The Development in South Asia", held at Islamabad.

II

19. Why has South Asia remained "the poorest and the most illiterate region in the world"?

20. The UN report mentions many reasons for the South Asian slide: political instability, bad governments, corruption and lawlessness.

21. But all these reasons, while interconnected with the problem in varying degrees, miss the fundamental point. And this fundamental point is as to why political instability, bad governments, corruption and lawlessness—common features found in many developing countries—have turned South Asia into the most backward region of the world.

22. A logical and clear-cut answer is that the respective national agendas and the national priorities of the South Asian countries have ever been anti-people. The two biggest members, India and Pakistan, of the South Asian region, comprising about one hundred million people out of a total population of 120 million in the region as a whole, have always remained on the path of war and confrontation. The core issue of their conflict has been the issue of the Jammu-Kashmir problem. For 50 years, the national agendas of these two countries have been war oriented, with defence as their respective first priority. Never in the past half

a century even one of the mass issues—like poverty elimination, removal of unemployment, illiteracy, houselessness, power shortage, lack of pure drinking water in 1/3rd of villages, absence of proper lavatories for the 3/4th of the population, etc.—has occupied a top slot in the Indian or the Pakistani priorities.

23. With their growing armed might, these two countries, particularly the most powerful one (i.e., India), has always tried to bully and create trouble in the neighbouring countries. While India had helped to promote Tamil militancy in Sri Lanka as well as the Militant Buddhist Mukti Vahini in Bangladesh and fomented troubles in Karachi and some other pockets of Pakistan, the latter has interfered in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and openly backed up the Kashmiri militancy. Unless India and Pakistan are refrained from going this suicidal path either by their respective peoples' pressure or by the newly emerged social and economic needs of global integration, the future of South Asia cannot be made much promising and rewarding for the long-suffering people of this region.

24. The wrongness of the respective national agendas and the national priorities of the two countries has not been without a basis. The basis lies in the sectarian and the chauvinistic nationalisms of the two countries. While the Indian nationalism (as represented by the so-called secular lot—Congress and the NF-LF) has been characterised by Hindu majoritarian nationalism, the Pakistani one (as upheld by Pak national parties) has been regulated by pan-Islamism in general and Sunnism, in particular.

III

25. It is now more than clear to the world community that South Asia cannot grow and develop unless the Jammu-Kashmir dispute between the SAARC's two principal members, India and Pakistan, gets resolved, followed by the resolution of other minor irritants in this region. But who among the seven member South Asian community is to initiate the peace process.

26. The responsibility for this conciliatory move logically falls on the biggest party in all these disputes and indeed the biggest power in the South Asian region, i.e., India, who should undertake this noble task in order to attain peace in South Asia and inculcate goodwill among its neighbours even at the cost of certain concessions to its SAARC partners. This is an appropriate sacrifice for generating an atmosphere of political trust among the countries of South Asia in particular and the world in general.

27. On the Jammu-Kashmir problem, the proper course is to proceed from its basic nature and the ground realities. Basically, it is a bilateral issue in the legal sense but has now become a trilateral question according to the political criterion. One main ground reality is that both India and Pakistan have put their respective national honours at stake on this question. The other main ground reality is that, while the Kashmiris are determined to opt out of India, other ethnic identities have their own aspirations and concerns.

28. Going by its basic nature and the ground realities, a just, fair and viable solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem is, and can be, the one that harmonises the respective national interests of both India and Pakistan, on the one hand, and meets the aspirations and concerns of the Jammu-Kashmir people, including the ethnic groups within the state, on the other. Based on this principle, an appropriate option is the establishment of an Indo-Pak or SAARC Condominium over the entire state (which will handle only the defence, foreign affairs and currency concerning the state) with semi-independence to Jammu-Kashmir and the maximum possible autonomy to each of its eight ethnic regions under a federal set-up. This will result in creating a partnership of India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people, on the one side, and in opening the way for the development of SAARC, on the other.

29. All other bilateral issues between the SAARC members should be dealt with through the medium of SAARC.

IV

30. Obviously, if the SAARC fails to take off, the consequences may be disastrous for all concerned in general and India and Pakistan in particular. In general, it may retard the developmental process of all South Asian countries as compared with other regions. In particular, the economic deterioration and political uncertainty and sharpening ethnic conflicts, may lead to the destabilisation of multi-ethnic India and Pakistan. It is time to act before it gets too late.

31. The prevailing world situation, characterised by the utter inadequacy of the old national development models—i.e., the Western Liberal and the Communist one—to deliver the goods, makes it clear that the world today needs a new global oriented development model which, on the one hand, establishes a balance between human society and nature and, on the other creates harmony between the over-fed haves and the under-fed have-nots, as well as the individual and society.   23-04-1997

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Peace And Harmony
In Jammu-Kashmir

I

1. Peace and harmony in Jammu-Kashmir does not depend on the subjective wishes of any entity—may it be a social group of people or a nation-state. Nor peace and harmony in Jammu-Kashmir can be achieved by the politics of false peace and harmony as practised by New Delhi during the past fifty years. Also peace and harmony in Jammu-Kashmir cannot be achieved by the politics of gun as is obvious from the failure of the three Indo-Pak wars, the 50 year long Indo-Pak confrontation, New Delhi sponsored pro-government armed gangs and lastly the Kashmiri militancy to sort out this problem.

2. Experience shows that peace and harmony in any region or country can only be achieved by thoroughly understanding its (i.e. the given phenomenon's) basic and immediate social realities.

II

3. Then, what are the basic and the immediate social realities of the Jammu-Kashmir problem? Briefly, the Jammu-Kashmir problem is characterised by two basic and seven immediate social realities.

4. The two basic social realities of Jammu-Kashmir are as under:

The first social reality of Jammu-Kashmir problem is that it is, as accepted by the UN and almost all countries, including India and Pakistan, a bilateral Indo-Pak problem which, according to the UN and all world countries, is to be resolved by the involvement of the Jammu-Kashmir people. That is to say, it is in fact a trilateral problem.

The second social reality of Jammu-Kashmir problem is that the Jammu-Kashmir people do not constitute a single social entity (i.e., a nation, nationality or an ethnic group). They are a collective of about eight ethno-regional entities with varying urges and aspirations.

5. The 7 immediate social realities of Jammu-Kashmir include:

The world ground reality is that none of the various world bodies (i.e., UN, WB, IMF, NAM, OIC, APEC, ASEAN, SAARC, etc.) or any country (except Pakistan) seems to be in a mood to take any new initiative on the Jammu-Kashmir question.

The sub-continental ground reality is that more and more people now want a breakthrough in the Indo-Pak deadlock, despite having a keen desire to get the Jammu-Kashmir problem resolved in favour of their respective countries.

The Jammu-Kashmir ground reality is that each ethno-regional identity is characterised by its own concerns, with the Kashmiri community (constituting the majority ethnic group in the state) waging an armed struggle to change the present Indian political structure concerning the Jammu-Kashmir state.

Another Jammu-Kashmir ground reality is that the present NC government is totally isolated in the valley and has now started losing ground in Jammu and other regions due to its unrealistic political standpoint and short sighted policies.

The New Delhi ground reality is that it lacks a political vision, wants a military solution and totally relies on the gun and the divisions among the Kashmiri militants.

The present-day world economic reality, where the economic process has become highly competitive, is that no world country today is in a position to bear the economic costs of a forcible occupation of any region for a long time.

A newly emerged sub-continental ground reality is that the social interdependence of countries has made the future of India and Pakistan common and together. If they will defy this social need, they are likely to suffer serious consequences.

III

6. What do the above basic and immediate social realities of the Jammu-Kashmir problem point out? They clearly demonstrate that the Jammu-Kashmir problem can be properly resolved only by involving the three sides concerned (i.e., India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people) in the solution to this question. Fifty year long experience proves that all such options

violative of this basic social imperative had failed to work. This can be seen from the below noted examples.

7. Firstly, all brands of autonomy—i.e., the pre-1953 maximum autonomy and the post-1975 eroded one—have not worked, resulting in one crisis after another either between India and Pakistan or between New Delhi and the pro-autonomy Kashmiri leadership or between New Delhi and the anti-Indian forces.

8. Secondly, all types of bilateral deals, whether between India and Pakistan (e.g., 1947 ceasefire agreement, 1965 Tashkent Treaty or 1972 Simla Pact) or between New Delhi and Srinagar (e.g., 1952 Nehru-Abdullah agreement, 1954 Constitution Application Order, 1975 Indira-Sheikh declaration, 1986 Rajiv-Farooq deal, etc.) have proved unviable.

IV

9. From the above account, it follows that a fair, just and viable solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem is the one that reconciles the national interests of India and Pakistan, on the one hand, and harmonises the interests of the Jammu-Kashmir people with those of the Indian and the Pakistani people, on the other.

10. The respective national interests of India and Pakistan should, and can, be balanced by establishing an Indo-Pak or SAARC Condominium over Jammu-Kashmir state (which would handle only Jammu-Kashmir's defence, foreign affairs and currency), while the interests of the Jammu-Kashmir people should, and can, be harmonised with those of the Indian and the Pakistani people by giving semi-independence to the state, with the maximum possible autonomy to each of the ethno-regional identities in the state.

11. With regard to the harmonising of the different aspirations and concerns of Jammu-Kashmir's various identities (as required by the second basic feature), these should, and can, be reconciled by adopting a federal Constitution of the state which should, on the one hand, give maximum possible autonomy to each ethnic region, with a provision for further devolution of power to the district, block and village councils, and, on the other, stand for a single Jammu-Kashmir state, having a common Head of the State to be elected by the ethno-regional councils, and a common High Court, a common Election Commission, a common Public Service Commission, a common Environmental Commission and a common Human Resources Development Commission, all to be appointed by the ethno-regional councils,

with one representative from each.

12. The Indo-Pak or SAARC Condominium over Jammu-Kashmir will be a new experiment of a new global oriented development model in today's world—showing how the divergent national interests of various nations be reconciled and the different aspirations and concerns of various ethnicities be harmonised.

V

13. Is it anti-Indianism (anti-nationalism or unpatriotism) to ask for a trilateral solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem?

14. To uphold the social truth (or the social realities) concerning Jammu-Kashmir is the only real nationalism. All social falsehoods and trickeries concerning Jammu-Kashmir constitute anti-nationalism and harm the interests of the Indian people.

15. The line of social truth upholding peace, stability and sustainable development is, and can be, the only patriotic line which serves the interests of the Indian people, while the line of war-mongering and confrontation with Pakistan or any other country is highly injurious to the cause of the Indian public.

16. What is weakening India today is the prevalent unscrupulous politics of money and muscle power, scams, corruption, criminalisation, violence, communalism and casteism, inefficiency, double-dealing, etc.

17. The practitioners of this opportunistic politics are none else than the present top politicians of India (who are running the Indian state) and the mainstream parties. A number of them have already been involved in the criminal cases, while others are allied to them in the same parties—often acting as the former's protective shield.

18. Again, it is this bunch of politicians that is weakening India by upholding a Jammu-Kashmir policy, which consistently follows the rigging of elections, the violation of human rights, (custodial deaths, fake encounters, rape, burning of property etc.), the imposing of a semi-military rule and the wasting of human and material resources in the valley in particular and Jammu-Kashmir in general.

19. Further, it is the same bunch of politicians that has weakened India by upholding a confrontationist external policy which involved India into four wars with the neighbours in a span of 24 years from 1947 to 1971—perhaps a record unbroken by any developing country in the world—and soured India's relations with all South Asian countries.

20. Furthermore, it is the same bunch of politicians whose policies have turned India into the most violent, corrupt, inefficient and double-faced country in the world.

21. Today, the outdated sample of the Indian nationalism, (i.e., renovated Nehruism, *Hindutva* and *Mandalvad*) as sponsored by this bunch of politicians needs to be replaced by a new model of a global oriented nationalism (or interdependent nationalism or rational humanist nationalism) which, while taking a pro-nature and pro-man standpoint, pursues a policy of cooperation and friendship with Pakistan and seeks a trilateral solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem—thus laying the foundation of peace, democracy and sustainable development not only in India and Pakistan but also in the entire South Asia.   23-04-1997

1997 Budget Not Grounded In Economic Realities

I. A budget is a given government's economic response to a country's economic problems. It can undergo improvements or amendments, if need be, in due course.

2. Experience shows that a rational, desirable and viable course for a budget expert and planner is the one which tries, while learning from the global economic experience, to address to the economic realities of the concerned country.

3. Does Chidambaram's 1997-98 budget follow this path? Let us have a look at the facts.

4. The first Indian economic reality is that the Indian economy has a variety of forms of productive entities—corporate, public sector, large scale, middle scale, small scale, etc., besides the foreign investors. All these entities play their respective roles in enriching the economy.

Obviously, this reality demands the harmonisation of the interests of all of them, with additional incentives to the more productive one. But the budget negates this reality by providing unprecedented concessions to the corporate entity, while neglecting the rest. This happens at a time when the public perception about the corporate sector is at a low, following the recent expose of a series of corporate misdeeds.

5. The second Indian economic reality is that the Indian capitalist class, with a pampered and protected past, is still under-developed in global marketing.

Obviously, this reality requires the adoption of four integrated steps: complete liberalisation and integration of the national market, further development of SAARC trade and common market, still greater integration of the Indian economy with the world market

and above all the cultivation of the quality of efficiency in the public and the private sectors concerning productivity and quality. But the budget does not lay stress on this point.

6. The third Indian economic reality is the existence of a massive but loss suffering public sector in India. The present position is that the PSEs provide 2.5% returns on the invested capital (about Rs two lakh crore), while average interest rate on PSEs debt is about 9%. The loss of around 6.5% on PSEs causes an estimated loss of about Rs 2,000 crore.

Obviously, this reality necessitates a realistic policy concerning the public sector, emphasising an efficient management of the viable enterprises and the proper disposal of the loss making ones either by handing over their managements to the concerned workers on suitable terms or by disinvesting them, with effective job and employment security to the retrenched workers. But budget, while accepting the Disinvestment Commission's report, adopts a vague and go-slow position on this highly important economic problem. May be, it is due to the prevalence of different approaches on this issue in the UF.

7. The fourth Indian economic reality is the crumbling state of India's infrastructure—i.e., power, telecommunications, roads, railways, ports, airports, banking, insurance, finance, etc. The significance of the infrastructure as a sine qua non for economic development has been recognised universally. Without an effective infrastructure no economy can flourish.

The poor transport network (i.e., road transport, railways and air services) is causing a loss around 15-20% of foodgrains every year, amounting to Rs 50,000 crore. About 30% of milk, vegetables and fruits go waste due to inadequate transport, poor marketing and lack of appropriate technologies for preservation.

There is acute power shortage in the country. Power shortage impedes the production both in industry and agriculture, besides unprecedented blackouts for the consumers. The loss to the country due to poor power supply works out to be around 2 to 2.5% of GDP. This year alone the power shortage is estimated to cost the economy about Rs 18,000 crores in terms of production loss. The loss would be around Rs 45,000 crores over the next five years and Rs 1.8 lakh crores over the next 10 years on the assumption of a 6% growth rate in GDP.

The problem is equally bad in other infrastructural sectors. Telecommunications, banks, insurance, finance, etc., are also suffering from lack of expertise, bureaucratic behaviour,

inefficiency, poor performance, etc.

At a recent conference on infrastructure in India, a delegate commented: "At the current pace of reforms, India would be 10 years behind the East Asian nations by the year 2005."

8. The fifth Indian economic reality is the prevalence of high interest rates compared to the developed economies. But the budget remains on the same track of monetary squeeze and shows no signs of relaxation on this point.

9. The sixth Indian economic reality is the pro-rich and the pro-urban character of India's subsidy regime (social goods and services are of three kinds: free services like law and order and public administration; free merit goods giving social benefits, like education, public health, etc.; and non-merit goods in which private benefit is very strong. About 90% of Indian subsidies are on non-merit goods). It mainly benefits the affluent. There is the fertiliser subsidy half of which goes to rich farmers, subsidy for higher education appropriated by middle to high income groups, subsidy on transport mainly availed by the middle class and subsidy on electricity and irrigation water mainly made use of by the rich and the middle farmers. The subsidised PDS and the subsidised milk scheme in Delhi are marked by a pro-urban bias. These subsidies cost the country about 10.7% of GDP (i.e., slightly more than half of the total government revenues).

The government talks of reducing the non-merit subsidies from 90% to 50% in three years and wants a further reduction of 25% two years later. But its budget remains mum how to streamline them.

10. The seventh Indian economic reality is that the government is in internal debt trap. According to the budget, the government is expected to receive Rs 65,454 crores as loans, but the interest payments on past loans will be Rs 68,000 crores. That is, the government will be receiving 23 paise out of every rupee of its borrowings, but will be spending 25 paise out of that rupee to pay the interest on the previously taken loans. The budget tries to hide the fact of debt trap by including the new borrowings in the capital account.

11. The eighth Indian economic reality is the growing crisis in its agriculture. In foodgrains sector, the growth rate has actually fallen behind the population growth during the 1990s. The foodgrains buffer stock is barely half of what it was two years ago. The decline in agriculture is mainly due to the falling public investment in this sector by both the central and the state

governments through the past decade and half. The signs of the emerging crisis on the food front are on the horizon. But, the budget exhibits no awareness of this fact although agriculture is still a key determinant of macro-economic variables, such as aggregate demand and the industrial costs and prices.

12. The ninth Indian economic reality is that its industry, while maintaining its turnaround since 1992-93, is nevertheless showing signs of deceleration caused by the strains in the basic goods and infrastructure sectors. The likelihood of worsening infrastructure bottlenecks is bound to affect the industrial growth. But the budget does not reflect any apprehension in this respect.

13. The tenth Indian economic reality is the existence of seven major class constituencies in India—i.e., big business, urban middle strata, organised workers and unorganised workers, rich and middle farmers and rural labour. The budget, while providing maximum concessions to the big business, meeting certain demands of the urban middle strata and the organised workers, satisfying the rich and the middle farmers by pointing out the various agricultural subsidies, throws only a few sops towards the vast urban unorganised workers, rural labour and the deprived by making great noise on its allocation for the social sector and the poverty alleviation schemes.

14. The eleventh Indian economic reality is that the UF government claims to give top priority to its pro-poor policy and accordingly granting high importance to the social sectors and the poverty alleviation schemes. But the budget does not show any realisation of the above claim. Taken in per capita real terms, the budget allocations for social sectors have actually fallen short of the 8th plan targets. Even if the budgeted Rs 4,000 crore increase in the expenditure on the social services and rural development does take place in 1997-98, this outlay constitutes only 1.6% of country's GDP and is less than the 1.7% of GDP that was spent in this area in 1995-96. Also in 1996-97, while outlays on social services were budgeted to grow by 11%, the revised estimates show a shortfall of 7%. Lapsed allocations on rural areas and employment schemes were Rs 866 crore and on education Rs 807 crore. Already, India has been spending far less on the social sector than a number of other developing countries during the past so many years.

15. The twelfth Indian economic reality is that, despite widespread demand for giving more financial powers to the states and despite loud UF declarations of decentralisation and

transfer of larger resources to the states, the 1997-98 budget's net transfer to states has been reduced to 6.9% from 17.4% in 1996-97 and an average of 8-10% over the last five years.

16. The thirteenth Indian economic reality is that the budgetary allocations are not utilised for the specific purposes and are allowed to lapse every year. There is an urgent need to tone up the implementation agencies and the delivery system by plugging leakages, slippages and ineffective implementation. It has become an urgent necessity that an expenditure management and control commission be set up. But the budget is quite silent on this important question.

17. The fourteenth Indian economic reality is the complaint of the foreign investors concerning four issues: i.e., lack of proper infrastructure, all-prevading red-tapism, unsatisfactory law and order situation and absence of transparency. But the budget does not touch any of these complaints.

18. The fifteenth Indian reality concerning economy is that the Indian administration is one of the most corrupt administrations in the world. But the budget, instead of stressing any lofty idea to eliminating corrupt practices, encourages swindling by offering concessions to the law-breakers. It offers general amnesty to all tax evaders who have cheated the country year after year and evaded the tax at 97.75 or 60 or 50 or 40% only to be asked to pay at 30% and get the certificate of patriotism from the finance ministry.

19. The sixteenth Indian reality concerning economy is that the Indian administration is 30% overstaffed according to the 5th Pay Commission report, but the budget does not say a word about this wasteful and unproductive expenditure. It means that the budget upholds the government's policy of providing employment without work. To avoid any harassment to these surplus hands, they can be shifted to schools, health and sanitation centres, other social sectors and above all to the task of environmental conservation. By ignoring any change in this matter, the budget places the government's interests above those of the country's 945 million people.

20. The seventeenth Indian reality concerning economy is that the Indian polity is also distinguished by inefficiency and inertia. For instance, loans amounting to more than $11 billion are estimated to have remained unutilised by India as on 31.03.1996. But the budget does not identify the reason underlying this utter negligence.

III

21. Why does the 1997-98 budget neglect the afore-mentioned problems facing the Indian economy? The sole reason is that the budget strategy is not based on the existing economic ground realities and the basic nature of the Indian economy, i.e., a developing economy. Instead, it starts from the philosophical premise of the supply side economics, i.e., a renovated version of the classical economic theory.

22. The supply side economics affirms that, in order to boost production of goods and services and generate employment, more resources should be put in the hands of the industrialists and the businessmen by tax cuts and reductions, massive disinvestment be done in the public sector, deregulation policies be implemented and steep hikes in interest rates be made to peg money supply. The supply side economics arose in 1970s in retaliation to Keynesian economic theory which itself erupted in 1930s. The Keynesian theory asserts that the generation of demand by massive investment in public sector or social services through budget deficits results in more production and employment generation. In fact, both are one sided theories which break the historical unity between supply and demand. While the former leads to more unemployment and poverty, the latter results in inflation.

23. Both theories are related to developed countries where economies are primarily market driven. Both have worked because of the balance restored by the replacement of the one by the other in accordance with the change of one government by the other (e.g., Tory and Labour governments in Britain).

24. The recent experience of the East Asian and the South-East Asian economies shows how they have, while combining these two economic concepts, been able to achieve remarkable results.

IV

25. What should be an alternative course of economic development? A great research is going on in the world to find out an answer to this question. The facts provided by different experiments show that a sustainable development model is appropriate to meet this need.

26. A sustainable development model is the one that stands on two pillars—the pro-people and the pro-environment. It pursues a strategy characterised by a three sided aim, i.e., growth, equity and environmental conservation. In economic

growth, it employs both the market and the state mechanisms. While the objective of economic growth is mainly achieved through market mechanism, that of social equity is primarily attained through the state intervention by getting resources both from the public and the private sectors. In pursuing both growth and equity, the environmental principle is accepted as the determining variable. The starting point of this model is its proper response to the present Indian economic realities. Accountability and transparency are the two basic features of its mode of operation.

27. It is nobody's case that the above proposition has all the answers to India's economic problems. But the sustainable development model represents a concept that embodies a correct strategic direction, emphasises a realistic agenda and its priorities and stresses to respond adequately to every emerging economic problem. 27-04-1997

Deve Gowda Replaced By Gujaral
India's Fumbling Political Process

1. With Deve Gowda's replacement by Inder Kumar Gujral as Prime Minister, our country embraces its fourth government in one year (i.e., those led by P.V. Narasimha Rao, Atal Behari Vajpayee, Deve Gowda and Gujral). Noteworthy is also the fact that, during the past eight years (April 1989 to April 1997), India has seen seven Prime Ministers (i.e., Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh, Chandrashekhar, Narasimha Rao, Vajpayee, Gowda and Gujral) and three general elections (i.e., 1989, 1991 and 1996), while during the 42 years after independence, only six Prime Ministers (i.e., Jawahar Lal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Morarji Desai and Charan Singh) and eight general elections (i.e., 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967, 1971, 1977, 1980 and 1984) had characterised this country. Obviously, things are not going well in our political process.

II

2. Though the fumblings of the Indian political process had been surfacing for long, they did get a momentum after the 1996 poll when the Indian people expressed no preference for any single party and gave a divided verdict—showing that the masses are not satisfied with centralism oriented performance of the mainstream parties and that they consider them all as chips of the same unscrupulous block. Obviously, the only message provided by the 1996 electoral verdict was the working of all the national and the regional parties together by forming an all parties coalition on the basis of a commonly agreed agenda. It also required that no party should be categorised as an enemy or untouchable and that if any party wants to remain out of such a coalition on ideological or programmatic grounds, it should be allowed to do so and requested to cooperate on agreeable issues from outside. But, guided by the lust for personal and

partisan power, the top politicians of each of the three mainstream political formations—i.e., BJP, Congress and NF-LF tried to twist the verdict in their respective favour.

3. The BJP, having got a marginal majority in the Lok Sabha over the other two political rivals, interpreted the verdict as a mandate in its favour ignoring the fact that it had secured merely 23.9% of the total number of polled votes and less than 1/3rd of the total number of Lok Sabha seats—i.e., 161 out of the 543 contested ones.

4. The Congress and the NF-LF explained it as a vote against communalism and in favour of secularism, distorting the fact that no party did ever contest the elections in India on the issue of secularism versus communalism. In the recent elections, while the then ruling Congress sought the votes on the basis of its centralism oriented stability and the performance of the Narasimha Rao government, the two main opposition combines (i.e., the BJP and its regional allies, on the one side, and the NF-LF and its regional partners, on the other) tried to cash on the Rao government's corruption and non-performance.

Obviously, anti-Congressism was the chief theme divide between the Congress and its rivals. Thus, the post-poll interpretation of the three main political formations was mere misrepresentation of facts. Obviously, the distortion of the mandate was bound to lead to its own logic in the political process.

III

5. In the ministry making affair, the BJP government was a short-lived affair which, on the one hand, showed its opportunistic thinking that the lure of power and money would draw a good number or Lok Sabha members to its side, and, on the other, exposed the bankruptcy of its much trumpeted value based politics.

6. The Congress backed UF government's rationale was anti-BJPism. And thus its common minimum programme and other UF mechanisms were mere its tactical tools to serve its strategic objective of grabbing power by keeping BJP out. Obviously, it started from a wrong note in clear violation of the mass mandate.

IV

7. The reason why the Congress backed UF government has lasted longer than public estimations lies in the newly emerged political reality which represents the growing irrelevance of

the centralism oriented politics and parties and marks the beginnings of the anti-centralism or the regionalisation of politics and parties and accordingly the relatively increasing influence of the regional groups.

8. The above fact is quite obvious from the post-1996 poll as well as the present Indian political scene. In terms of real political influence, the Congress today controls only one big (i.e., Madhya Pradesh) and two medium states, i.e., Orissa and Himachal Pradesh, besides a few peripheral territories. Similarly, the BJP holds only one medium state, i.e., Rajasthan, and one small state, i.e., Delhi, on its own. In Punjab, Haryana and Maharashtra, it is only a junior partner in the Akali Dal, HVP and Shiv Sena led coalition ministries respectively, while in UP it commands majority of legislators in the Mayawati led coalition. The Left Front has been since long confined only to three states—i.e., W. Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, while the JD is restricted to Karnataka and Bihar. In contrast to the centralism oriented parties, the regional parties today hold the primary position in six states—i.e., DMK in Tamil Nadu, TDP in Andhra Pradesh, AGP in Assam, SAD in Punjab, HVP in Haryana, and Shiv Sena in Maharashtra. More-over, there are scores of influential regional parties operating in various states, demanding the formation of new ethnic states out or the existing ones, such as, Jharkhand Party in areas of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal, Gorkha League in Darjeeling (W. Bengal), Bodoland Party and ULFA in Assam, various regional militant outfits in almost all the North-Eastern states, regional groups demanding the formation of the states of Telengana, Vidharbha, Uttarakhand and Chhatisgarh; different tribal groups asking for the state level status to their respective areas; besides Sikkim Democratic Front in Sikkim, SP in Haryana, BSP and SP in UP and RPI in Maharashtra. The process of the regionalisation of parties has yet to go a long way before reaching a phase of maturity.

9. It is this new reality that has made every party apprehensive about undertaking the risk of a fresh elections—thus keeping the UF flock together, making the support of UF government a political compulsion for the Congress and accordingly ensuring the further continuity of the UF government.

V

10. The midstream removal of Deve Gowda from the Prime Ministership mainly rests with his opportunistic politics and intriguing-cum-confrontationist style which does not reconcile

with the requirements of the coalition politics.

11. Coalition politics usually demands the fulfilment of three conditions: that is, (a) a complete, and not half-hearted, agreement on a common minimum programme, (b) a fully democratic mechanism for dispute resolution and decision taking, and (c) acceptance of the principle binding them to avoid poaching on one another's constituency. If these conditions are adhered to, coalitions can be as stable as one party governments generally are. Coalitions have proved quite stable in the Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Denmark, etc.) or the low countries of Europe (Holland, etc.), while Italy's over 50 coalitions, having been based on expediency, had been marked by relative instability.

12. The main failure of Deve Gowda as Prime Minister had been the ignoring of the said three essentials of the coalition politics. He did not thrash out the details of the CMP with his UF partners as well as the Congress. He ignored to constitute any mechanism for consultation with the Congress, the largest group supporting the UF government from outside. Nor he could evolve any methodology to avoid conflicts between the UF constituents and the Congress in their respective political spheres of influence.

13. Proceeding from the wrong assumptions—that he was indispensible for the UF and that the UF support by the Congress was the latter's political compulsion—he adopted the only strategy of perpetuating his personal power. He resorted to the familiar charlatanian way of political populism, promising every thing to all and sundry, instead of seriously implementing his government's CMP. He followed the vindictive method of expulsion of his political critics from the JD (e.g., R.K. Hegde, Maneka Gandhi and others). He pursued the technique of splitting the Congress along with terrorising his opponent Congress leaders (107 of whom are being investigated by the CBI and even Rajiv and Sonia may also get involved in the Bofors case). He tried to humble all his rivals in the JD (e.g., Laloo and his followers) through the CBI operations. He concluded shady deals (his regular meetings with Narasimha Rao, close relations with Chandrashekhar, effort to appease Bal Thackrey, etc.) and formed his own group in the UF with crafty Harkishan Singh Surjeet as its co-architect. But political trickery never works for long and political security can never be achieved by manoeuvring or CBI intrigues.

14. Not only personal power perpetuation, he tried to

circumvent, contrary to the CMP commitment, the fight against corruption by first attempting to amend the law to exclude Ministers and MPs from the purview of the Prevention of Corruption Act and latter by issuing an administrative order requiring the CBI to obtain clearance from the Prime Minister before raiding the premises of or interrogating a former minister. Similarly, contrary to the CMP promise, he toyed with the idea of regularising the allotments of discretionary quotas made during the Narasimha Rao government. It was his cabinet which ratified the Narasimha Rao government's controversial decision to lease Bailadilla (MP) mines to Nippon-Denro.

VI

15. Again, it was his government which unnecessarily deferred the Lok Pal Bill, the Women's Reservation Bill and the Right to Information Bill—all promised to be adopted within six months of UF's takeover of power in the CMP.

16. His hunger for power was so intense that when the Congress withdrew its support to his government he desperately manoeuvered to cling to power, though he has been off and on publically repeating that the Prime Ministership was thrust on him and that he will go back to Karnataka if the Congress decides to move out of the secular alliance. Further, while replying to the discussion on his confidence motion, he claimed to "rise from the dust" and dominate the polity again.

17. Which political, economic or cultural interest of India had been served by the Gowda government?

Politically, the law and order situation is grim, particularly in UP, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, etc. Militancy in Kashmir, Assam and all other states in the North-East has gained in strength. Not a single serious step has been taken towards federalism and decentralisation.

In the economic sphere, economy is under heavy strain. Poverty remains as usual. Unemployment has grown. Inflation has increased. Distress driven suicides in the country, according to the latest report of the National Crime Records Bureau, are on the increase. Every six minutes an Indian commits suicide. More than 300 suicides were reported in Delhi alone during the first four months of 1997.

In foreign affairs, some positive moves have been made to remove irritants with Bangladesh and Nepal. But the formidable challenge for Indian diplomacy remains the rapprochement with

Pakistan, with Jammu-Kashmir as the core conflictual issue between the two.

There has been no national consensus on any policy except that of confrontation with Pakistan.

18. In the recent UF-Congress bout, not a single issue of public interest was involved. Nor the two sides were fighting over any principle or ideology. It was only a petty bickering over who should occupy the Prime Ministerial chair. Obviously, the opportunistic nature of the dispute was self-evident. If the UF-Congress quarrel had not erupted for the first ten months, it was chiefly due to the Congress' assumption based on the past experience that the UF would crack up under the weight of its own contradictions. When that did not happen, the Congress precipitated the crisis. Besides, in the first seven months of the UF rule, the Congress under the criminally tainted leadership of Narasimha Rao, was too demoralised to undertake any challenging political task.

Now both the UF and the Congress have made an interim truce. But the struggle is likely to continue.

19. The 13 day UF-Congress drama for power grabbing had exposed the double-dealing political morality of the leaders of the three mainstream political formations, i.e., UF, Congress and BJP. For instance, while no one wanted a mid-term poll, everyone posed itself as flexing the muscle for the electoral contest. The UF and the Congress, while openly taking confrontationist postures, were at the same time talking behind the curtain. The 13 UF constituents made a constant noise that they would stay and fall with Deve Gowda and that they would have it in no other way. But all of them suddenly threw the towel and deserted Deve Gowda the moment he lost power.

VII

20. The Gujaral government has the same agenda, priorities and the cabinet as characterised its predecessor. Thus, there is hardly any fundamental difference between the two governments, except the respective individual traits and temperaments of the two Prime Ministers. Gujaral has already hinted that closeness with the Congress will, unlike Deve Gowda, be his priority and that anti-Congressism will have no place in his government.

21. Quite dissimilar from its predecessor, the Gujaral government has been confronted with serious troubles from the very beginning. The CBI charge sheet against Laloo and the latter's defiant attitude

towards the centre has created a new headache for the Gujaral government. The Bofors blast involving the name of late Rajiv Gandhi and some other top Congress leaders may further add to its stresses and strains. Besides, the likelihood of fresh political crises in Karnataka, Gujarat and UP in the coming months may bring in more woes for it. Relations with Congress, on the one hand, and the Left Front, on the other, will remain its constant anxiety. The burning mass issues like poverty, unemployment, price rise, toning up of the administration, corruption and inefficiency can prove highly troublesome problems.

22. Whether Gujaral government will be able to swim through this river of serious challenges or go down midstream—only time will tell.

VIII

23. What has been UF-Congress' actual achievement in realising the basic objective of their so-called secular alliance. As is well-known, the fundamental aim of this alliance has been the containment and the weakening of the BJP and the strengthening of the "secular" forces. But, contrary to their purpose, the facts demonstrate that, while BJP has been able to increase its political influence, the "secular" forces have failed to make any headway.

24. The growing political clout of the BJP is obvious from its victories in Punjab Assembly elections, Nagore (Rajasthan) and Chhindwara (Madhya Pradesh) Lok Sabha seats and Delhi and Bombay Corporation elections. The BJP has got further boost from the exoneration of L.K. Advani and M.L. Khurana in the *Hawala* case by the High Court.

25. As regards the "secular" forces, the Congress has been further exposed among the masses due to the unprecedented corruption of almost all its top leaders.

26. The UF situation is also not much better. Laloo faces his Waterloo in Bihar. The Karnataka ruling Janata Dal too is in trouble. Factional quarrels are on the increase. Earlier, Deve Gowda lost his former Assembly seat to the Congress. Mulayam Singh Yadav has been pressed hard by the BJP-BSP combine. DMK-TMC alliance has been shaken by the recent G.K. Moopnar incident at Delhi. The TDP is confronted with challenge from BJP-Lakshmi Parvati alliance, on the one side, and the Congress, on the other. The CPM in Bengal is encountering mounting resistance from the Congress. In Kerala, the contention

has always been a close one. The AGP is feeling tight with increasing militant activity, on the one side, and the public displeasure of the non-fulfilment of ruling party's electoral promises, on the other.

27. Unrealistic standpoints, despite favourable conditions, never lead to positive results.

IX

28. The emergence of the process of growing irrelevance of centralism oriented politics and parties and the regionalisation of politics and parties in India is not a sudden development. It rests with three interconnected factors. That is, the social perspective, the social system and the operators of the social system. The social perspective denotes the fundamental principle of Indian nationalism, i.e., majoritarian nationalism or a nationalism oriented towards the majority community. The social system expresses the constitutional-legal framework of India, i.e., centralism oriented system. And the operators of the social system mean the centralised mainstream political parties of India.

29. Looking at the 50 year long practice of the above-stated three interconnected factors, we find that their performance has been highly poor, both from the angle of our national needs as well as its comparison with other developing countries.

30. Exactly half a century after independence, vast sections of our people remain devoid of a normal social living—62% poor, 40% below the poverty line, 48% illiterate, 33% houseless, 5% educated unemployed, 40% under-employed, 25% lacking the necessity of safe drinking water, 75% having no lavatory facilities, and so on.

31. In the realm of politics, politician-mafia gang-up has come to dominate our political life (i.e., criminalisation of the political process and the parties), while in the economic sphere, inefficiency, high cost of production, low productivity, poor quality, outdated and anti-environmental technology and fiscal imbalances have become the main features of our economic process. Culturally, there has occurred the vulgarisation of our norms of behaviour—thus breeding crime, fraud, double-dealing and violence in our way of life.

32. In foreign-cum-defence matters, regional superpowerism remains our dominant theme—with priority to the politics of gun over the politics of social peace. The route of regional super-powerism has already led us into four wars with the two

neighbours, i.e., Pakistan and China. Even after the end of the cold war era, when global military expenditure has been decreasing by $4 billion each year since 1987 and when every region of the world has reduced military spending, our country goes on the same old military track distinguishing itself as the biggest importer of weapons among the developing countries in the world.

33. Environmentally, India has become one of the most polluted countries in the world—with increasing water contamination and air pollution, decreasing water availability, degradation of 40% of cultivable land and denudation of half of its forest area.

34. Population-wise, the increase of 603 million population (from 342 million in 1947 to 945 million today) has been resulting in serious social tensions.

35. Beyond a certain limit, things turn into their opposites. And this is what has been happening in our country.

36. Fed up with the 50 year long miserable results of this centralism oriented social system and the deplorable performance of the centralised parties, the Indian people have initiated the reverse process of the regionalisation (or pluralisation) of politics and parties. The process may go through many slips and down or upswings. But it is bound to lead to its logical conclusion in accordance with the real social reality of the Indian people.

X

37. Why has the social perspective of majoritarian nationalism, centralism oriented social system and centralised political parties of India not worked well as anticipated by their propounders?

The sole reason is that none of the above three interconnected factors reconciles with the fundamental social reality of the Indian people. That is, a multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-regional people.

38. The social perspective of majoritarian nationalism, centralism oriented social system and centralised parties considers the Indian people as a homogeneous mass, while accepting their diversity as only a secondary feature. Since the only predominant homogeneous feature of the Indian people is Hinduism, it makes religion as the only unifying feature of the country. But in the present-day world, the politicised religion or the politics guided by religion cannot become the organising principle of any country, nation or community.

39. A religion had undoubtedly played a vital part in feudal (or monarchical) politics and economies and even today it may have a role in super naturalism, religious moral preaching, serving the oppressed and the deprived or constructive activities. But it cannot help in constructing the present-day democratic polity or sustainable economy. The experience of Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Arab Middle East, the Asian Buddhist countries and the Christian Europe bears witness to this fact.

40. That is why the theory of majoritarian nationalism (or liberal Hindu humanism as propounded by Gandhi) did not work in the pre-1947 India and resulted in the partition of united India. And it was under the orientation of this majoritarian nationalism that the post-1947 India adopted the constitutional-legal framework of centralism oriented social system and centralised parties which have led to disastrous results for the Indian people.

41. As an old saying goes: "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." And this is how absolute centralism has turned our highly ingenious people into a second rate and marginal player even among the developing countries.

30-4-1997

Dear Balraj Puri,

Thank you for your letter of May 12, 1997. I got it in the first week of June, 1997, when I came home from outside. Hence my response is some what late.

Here, our views on the issue of regional autonomy are not based on a clause by clause approach to the Committee's questionnaire. We feel such a discussion would become easy once the basic premises concerning the subject matter are well-settled. A detailed note on the said questionnaire will be sent when the occasion arises. With regards

Yours
R. P. Saraf

Regional Autonomy—
An Agenda Of Peaceful,
Not Confrontationist Situation

I

1. History tells and experience confirms that social system or a development model gets legitimacy only when a given community participates in its evolution. Any social change imposed from above on the unwilling people never works and soon fizzles out. The post-1947 social systemic experience in Jammu-Kashmir also confirms this historical truth. This is obvious from the irrelevancy of the old concords arrived at between New Delhi and Srinagar, i.e., 1952 Nehru-Sheikh Accord, 1954 Constitutional Appliction Order, 1975 Indira-Sheikh Agreement, 1986 Rajiv-Farooq Alliance, etc. Naturally, these failures have led the propounders of these concords into many troubles, charging high costs both from them as well as the Jammu-Kashmir people.

2. But, it seems that New Delhi and Srinagar have despite setbacks, continued to ignore the above Jammu-Kashmir historical

lessons. And again they have come out with a new agenda promising autonomy to different regions in Jammu-Kashmir. This once more raises the question: Is the promise of regional autonomy an appropriate agenda which fits into the existing ground realities?

II

3. The Regional Autonomy Committee's first term of reference with its aim of the "evolving of instrumentalities, like local organs of power, at all levels, consistent with the integrity of the state and to promote better involvement and participation of people in different regions for balanced, political, economic, educational, social and cultural development"—calls upon the people to send their memoranda and views on its objective. Contrary to this, the ground reality in the valley, Doda district and parts of Udhampur, Rajouri and Poonch areas (where an average of 10 persons are being daily killed by militants-army clashes, accompanied by the raping of helpless woman by the security forces, beating of men and their often torturing even to death in police custody and total denial of human rights) and the situation in the remainder of Jammu Division (where the scores of bomb blasting in the buses and the thoroughfares prevails at all times) demands the stopping of all human killings and the violations of human rights, the starting of a peace process of dialogue and discussion among the parties concerned. Any sensible person can see as to what should be given the first priority a peace process or a new controversy on the autonomy question.

4. If the Jammu-Kashmir government is really interested in conceding a genuine autonomy to the different Jammu-Kashmir regions then it should immediately recommend to New Delhi the stopping of its politics of gun and the taking of the course of negotiations with the representative of the alienated Kashmiri people as well as the peace loving forces in the regions of Jammu-Kashmir.

5. The Regional Autonomy Committee's second term of reference wants the people to express their opinions on the question of division of power between different administrative organs existing in the region. While the Indo-Pak reality—where both New Delhi and Islamabad have made the Jammu-Kashmir issue as a question of their respective national survival and each of them is prepared to go to any length for resolving the question in its own favour—demands the unleashing of a peaceful and democratic movement standing for a just, fair and viable solution

to the Jammu-Kashmir problem and an earnest Indo-Pak affinity.

6. The Regional Autonomy Committee's third or the last term of reference—asking peoples advice on whether any constitutional changes are required for giving effect to its proposed regional autonomy schemes—starts from the premise of the state Constitution which acknowledges Jammu-Kashmir state as an integral part of India, while the world reality where almost all countries, including both India and Pakistan, are emphasising a negotiated settlement of the Jammu-Kashmir problem between New Delhi and Islamabad with the active involvement of the Jammu-Kashmir people—demands a trilateral solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem between India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people.

7. Obviously, there is nothing common between the demand of the existing ground realities and those of the autonomy agenda.

III

8. Turning to the key concepts of the Regional Autonomy Committee's three terms of reference, the following facts are worth considering.

9. On the key question of autonomy: While the Committee is titled the Committee for Regional Autonomy, its three terms of reference do not mention the word autonomy anywhere in their respective texts. The omission of this key word does not seem to be an unintended omission because the objective as stated in the first term of reference does not reflect the politics of autonomy but populism.

10. As is well-known, the term autonomy is not an abstract concept. It has a specific meaning. That is, self-government by a specific community or social group in any region or area. The idea of autonomy is based on the fundamental democratic principle that a given people have the right to manage their own affairs. There are various types of autonomy granted to different territories for reasons of their specific conditions, ethnic, backwardness, strategic, etc. The granting of autonomous status resolves to a great extent the problem of their specific identity or other concerns.

11. The Indian Constitution under its Article 370 confers a specific type of autonomy on Jammu-Kashmir, while under article 244 (2) and 275 (1), it contains provisions about the creation of "autonomous districts" and "autonomous regions" in the tribal belts of Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram, etc., Article 371

contains special provision with respect to the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat, Article 371A with respect to the state of Nagaland, Article 371B, 371C and 371D with respect to the states of Assam, Manipur and Andhra Pradesh and Article 371F, 371G, 371H and 371I with respect to the states of Sikkim, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and Goa respectively.

12. However, all these provisions are related to certain minor concessions in the matters of development, customary law, religious and social practices, hill areas, recruitment to services, education, etc. In fact the Indian Constitution is too centralised and under it the existence of a genuine autonomy in any region is not possible.

13. The pre-1947 failure of Indian nationalism as expressed by the partition and its post-1947 poor performance as exemplified by the criminalisation of its political process, inefficient economic process and value free norms of behaviour are rooted in its centralised nature and its pragmatist social approach. Because centralisation negates the multi-sided ethnic and demographic reality of India and the wholesale social pragmatism hinders the development of value based lifestyle.

14. The Jammu-Kashmir state is ideally suited for regional autonomy as it is a conglomeration of different races, religions, communities, castes, languages, etc.

15. The creation of genuinely autonomous regions is not opposed to the integrity or progress of the state. Instead an integrated and advanced Jammu-Kashmir can only emerge if the democratic aspirations and the distinctiveness of the people of different ethnic regions are respected and not treated with disdain.

16. Historically, the only country where the principle of autonomy has been genuinely applied is Switzerland. Its 22 Cantons (19 Cantons and six half Cantons) have their 22 Assemblies. A Canton can conclude treaties with foreign powers, have its own army and the Swiss Constitution cannot be amended or changed without the approval of Cantons. The 150 year Swiss practice of genuine autonomy has made Switzerland the most peaceful and developed country in the world with the highest per capita income.

17. However, the terms of reference of the Committee for Regional Autonomy neither clearly define their own concept of autonomy nor entrust this task to the said Committee and nor specify as to under what constitutional provision (state or central) they are undertaking this project.

18. On the key question of region: The Regional Autonomy Committee's terms of reference have also remained vague. Neither they have stated their own meaning of region nor assigned this job to the above Committee and nor disclosed how many regions there are in Jammu-Kashmir state.

19. The term region too is not a loose word, but is generally related to an area or territory with definite boundaries and characteristics—e.g., the Aretic region, the forest belt, the Himalayan region, the abdominal region, the lower or the upper regions, electoral region, Punjabi region, Tamil land, etc.

20. Administratively, Jammu Division itself denotes a region. But different areas and groups of people in the administrative region lay claim to their distinct identities. For instance, the districts of Rajouri-Poonch project their Pathwari identity. Gujjar-Bakarwal community stands for its tribal identity. Dalits want a special identity on the basis of their socio-economic backwardness. Kishtwar asks for its Kishtwari identity while in the rest of Doda district, the Kashmiri speaking and the Dogri speaking people have a desire for their particular identities. Similarly, in Ladakh region, the Budhists, Kargilis and the Kashmiri speaking people are interested in their respective identities.

21. Again in the Kashmir Division, while the Kashmiri community predominates, a few smaller groups, like Gujjars, Bakarwals, Paharis etc., wish for different identities.

22. Further, Azad Kashmir, whereas Mirpur, Bhimber, Bagh, Sadhnoti, etc., uphold Pathwari identity, Gilgit Agency Areas are characterised by Gilgiti-Balti identity.

23. Logically, the criteria for determining a socio-cultural region should be based on the principle of "maximum homogeneity" within and "maximum identity" without. The main counts of homogeneity include (a) dialect/language, (b) cultural traits, (c) psychological mould and feeling of group identity, (d) contiguous region, (e) shared history, (f) social composition, (g) similar economic and political context.

24. For a proper identification of the given socio-cultural regions, it is necessary that their territories be fixed by a high level independent judicial commission whose decision should be binding on all the parties. In case of dispute in any village or group of villages which is or are contiguous to two socio-cultural regions, the decision should be sought by ascertaining the people's opinion through a special poll.

25. On the key question of peoples empowerment in

managing their own affairs: The Regional Autonomy Committee's terms of reference as well as the questionnaire arising therefrom reflect a traditional understanding of power which demands peoples involvement and participation in the political and development process under the existing elitist-bureaucratic control (as stated in the first term of reference)

26. The underlying principle of autonomy, i.e., self-government by a community or a group of people, is almost in accord with the norms of the newly emerged concept of the peoples' empowerment. But autonomy itself is not a self-contained or integral concept. It is, in fact, the basic principle of a federal system.

27. The word federal, a Latin word, has at least 8 meanings which all denote varying levels of association. Federalism may be defined as a social system with two levels of governance—the federal centre and the federating states or regions, each enjoying powers and autonomy within its defined jurisdiction. The existence of self-governing regions can only exist within a fully democratic system where the centre represents a voluntary Union of the federating units, having the residuary powers.

28. In the present-day world, only 15 to 20 states out of a total of 186 represent a federal polity: Of these federal states, only four—i.e., US, Australia, Canada and Switzerland—can be called federal. Many of the remaining federal states are, like India, quasi federal.

29. The federal process is not a smooth running affair. It flourishes as long as it maintains a proper balance between unity and diversity. The moment it loses this equation, it is confronted with new threats. For instance, some of the federations, e.g., Rhodesia-Nyasaland, Malaysia-Singapore, Jordan-Iraq, etc., in the developing countries did collapse due to the mishandling of unity-diversity relation.

30. In the newly emerging epoch of globalistaion, federalism is acquiring an increasing relevance—reaching its next stage of confederalism. The UN and all other international bodies, like WTO, IMF, WB as well as various regional groupings, such as EU, ASEAN, NAFTA, Mercouser, etc., respresent a new confederal model in which every confederating unit possesses a confederal sovereignty.

31. On the key question of the composition of the Regional Autonomy Committee: There is hardly any justification in the forming of such a Committee whose members comprise either

the activists or the supporters of the ruling party and 3/4th of whom are related to one region. The logical alternative to this one sided measure was that an equal number of members, with expert knowledge of their respective regions, should have been taken in the Committee.

32. On the key question of the social need to constitute a Regional Autonomy Committee: The problem, as perceived by the state government as to be the lack of development, discrimination in services, unequal distribution of finances among the regions and unequal share of powers apart from any concern for the regional aspirations of the people. Obviously, in such a case, the solution lies in the appointment of a judicial commission to decide a fair distribution of political, financial, developmental and employment resources among the various regions. The formation as a rule expresses the problem of the "division of power" between the whole and its parts.

IV

33. A multi-ethnic state, like Jammu-Kashmir can only survive by adopting the path of genuine autonomy, true federalism. But the autonomy/federal agenda can only be taken up in a peaceful and normal atmosphere. Nowhere in the world the autonomy/ federal programme has worked in a confrontationist and conflictual situations. In fact, the process of genuine autonomy and confederalism is a process of peace and democracy in the newly emerging global order.   18-06-1997

Jammu-Kashmir Problem
New Social Realities
And Past Lessons
Demand New Initiatives

I. Painful Scenario

1. Despite reduction in the level of international tension and the initiation of Indo-Pak peace process, there is yet no decrease in the agonies of the Kashmiris. Custodial deaths, rapes and human rights violations continue to choke their daily lives. It seems as if state terrorism is having its field day in the valley, with no inhibition from any quarter. Some areas in Jammu region (i.e., Doda, Udhampur, Rajouri and Poonch districts) are also passing through a similar but a far less painful process. The remaining part of Jammu region too remains in a state of fear both from the militants as well as security forces.

2. The state of lawlessness in Jammu-Kashmir can be seen from the fact that while, according to the official figures, Jammu-Kashmir has seen over 3,244 arrests in the past seven years (January, 1990 to April, 1997) for militant activities, not a single conviction has taken place so far.

3. How long this painful situation is going to last? The answer to this question depends on the interplay of various forces, global, sub-continental and local. The Jammu-Kashmir people can, as shown by the experience of the various democratic movements world over, turn this interplay of forces in their favour, provided they do three things in a proper and meticulous way. That is, (a) to correctly apprehend the new social realities, (b) to properly sort out past lessons, and (c) to chalk out a realistic action plan on the basis of new social realities and the past lessons. The opportunity is there. The need is to turn it into reality.

II. New Social Realities

4. Turning to the problem of new social realities, this may be stated as follows.

5. First of all, the global economic reality of an interdependent world has made it imperative for all countries to follow a two sided path. That is, to link every national economy with the global market, on the one hand, and to form a regional market through regional economic cooperation and integration, on the other. This imperative makes the politics of peace a pre-condition for economic development. It conflicts with the politics of gun and confrontation which hinders the development of the global as well as regional economic processes.

6. Next, the global political reality demands a peaceful resolution of all disputes, whether between countries or within one country. That is why the whole world (including the OIC countries) demands that Jammu-Kashmir problem be bilaterally solved between India and Pakistan with the involvement of the Jammu-Kashmir people. None of them (even the most powerful, the US) wants to annoy either India or Pakistan and hence no one is prepared to take any new initiative on this question. Nor any of them supports New Delhi's theory of Jammu-Kashmir as an inalienable part of India or Pakistani version of Jammu-Kashmir having been an Islamic issue or some groups' demand of self-determination for Jammu-Kashmir. Russia, China, Iran and Pakistan, the countries contiguous to Jammu-Kashmir, have openly opposed the idea of an independent Kashmir, in view of their assumption of its turning into a US sphere of influence. The removal of the Jammu-Kashmir question from the UN agenda during 1996 and then its retention on Pak's insistence shows that the world does not want to involve itself in this case and desires its solution through the parties concerned.

7. Again, a recent sub-continental reality is that the vast majority of people, including intellectuals, scholars, human rights activists, environmentalists and professionals in both India and Pakistan, desire peace and mutual cooperation between these two countries. The just started Indo-Pak peace process—which aims at normalisation of relations between the two countries and eventually the lowering of tensions in South Asia and the strengthening of the world process of peace and development—may not immediately lead to dramatic results but its very beginning is bound to lead to its own logic in the coming period.

8. More, a recent Jammu-Kashmir reality is that there is

discernible change in peoples psyche in the valley. Earlier they believed that the victory is round the corner. But now they think that it is not on the immediate agenda and that the course of struggle is somewhat long. Hence, they want some breathing space. Since there is no decrease in their alienation from India's national mainstream and their anger against New Delhi (despite having no liking for Pakistan), they would like some peaceful form and platform of struggle in which they could directly participate.

9. Further, another recent Jammu-Kashmir reality is that more and more people in Jammu and Ladakh regions are now coming round to the view that there should be an amicable settlement of the Jammu-Kashmir problem that takes care of the aspirations and concerns of all the ethnic regions in the state.

10. Furthermore, the NC Government, with its daily shifting position, stands totally isolated in the valley and has now started losing ground in Jammu and other regions too. At the time of elections (May 1996), it categorically declared that it would participate in the electoral process only after New Delhi's settlement of the question of Jammu-Kashmir autonomy, but then it suddenly plunged into September, 1996 Jammu-Kashmir Assembly elections. Earlier, it asked for restoration of the pre-1953 status for Jammu-Kashmir. Then it declared that it is going to start right from 1947 and examine the entire gamut of constitutional relations between Jammu-Kashmir and the centre and formulate its case within one year to take it up with the central government. Had it been sincere towards its demand, it would have used its 2/3rd legislative majority to bring pressure on New Delhi. Sometimes, it declares that India and Pakistan should finally resolve the Jammu-Kashmir problem by accepting the line of actual control as international border, but another time it demands that India should insist on Pakistan's vacation of Jammu-Kashmir territory under its control. One day, it criticises the security forces for their excesses, but next day eulogises them as the true defendants of human rights.

11. Further still, a recent social reality is that the people of Azad Kashmir are coming out of the Pak influence and demanding a just settlement of the future status of Jammu-Kashmir state as a whole.

III. Lessons From Past
12. Coming to the question of lessons form the past, this may be summarised as below.

13. Firstly, the half a century experience of both the Indian majoritarian nationalism and the Pak Islamic nationalism proves that they represent two poor varieties of nationalism in every sphere—political, economic, cultural and foreign-cum-defence. Above all, each of them has turned out unviable to integrate its own nation.

The Indian brand has failed to create an environment of goodwill among various segments of the Indian people. It has, by generating communalism and casteism, led to the disruption of India's social cohesion, putting one community against another, and one caste against another. It has caused alienation of all minorities from the national mainstream. The armed struggles in Kashmir, North-Eastern states and Punjab are expressions of minorities' detachment from the Indian nation.

The Pakistani Islamic nationalism failed to keep the unity of Pakistan. The separation of East Pakistan (i.e., Bangladesh) from the Western one showed that Pakistani Islamic politics was not a good enough reason for Pakistan to hold together. By upholding Sunnism and Punjabi chauvinism, it has not only resulted in the division of the country but also the splitting of the Muslim community itself, e.g., the armed clashes between Shias and Sunnis and between Mohajirs and non-Mohajirs, the expulsion of Ahmediyas from the Islamic fold, the gap between the Punjabi and the non-Punjabi Muslim communites, etc. The working of Pakistani Islamic nationalism has proved ethnicity as more powerful than religion.

14. Secondly, the 50 year old practice of the politics of gun demonstrates that this politics cannot be a solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem. The experience of three Indo-Pak wars, continuous Indo-Pak cold war, India's immense military strength and the ongoing militancy in Kashmir are clear examples of its unworkability. Besides, the politics of gun has always been an undemocratic and corrupt politics which has been continuously resorting to the suppression and the oppression of the Jammu-Kashmir people, especially the Kashmiris, rigging of elections and imposing of pliable persons in the valley through trick and fraud, purchasing of people by money power, and deceiving of masses by disinformation campaigns.

15. Thirdly, the 50 year old experience of the politics of Indo-Pak confrontation reveals that this conflict has been charging a very high price from India as well as Pakistan both of whom had been wasting immense resources on this filthy adventure,

despite the paucity of funds for removing the poverty, hunger, destitution, illiteracy, houselessness, etc., in their respective countries. This politics has been the biggest hurdle in the development of SAARC for the last decade. By any reckoning, the cost of such a politics far outweighs its gains.

16. Fourthly, the 50 year old world development experience tells that the confrontationist and the military based lines of both India and Pakistan did fail to develop their respective countries during the past half a century. The post-1945 non-militaristic Japanese and German national models had, despite their second world war devastated and crippled economies, transformed these two countries into international economic superpowers and similarly the non-confrontationist path of national development as adopted by the East and the South-East Asian countries has turned this Asian region into the emerging economic engine of world economic growth.

17. Fifthly, the post-colonial experience says that no country, howsoever powerful, did have the capacity to bear the economic costs of a forcible occupation of any region for long. Nor does the world public opinion tolerate such a subjugation any more.

18. Sixthly, the 50 year old history of the Jammu-Kashmir problem makes it clear that none of the three sides involved in this conflict is, or has been, in a position to get the Jammu-Kashmir issue resolved on its own terms.

19. Seventhly, the 50 year old functioning of Jammu-Kashmir's autonomy bears witness to the fact that all samples of this autonomy—i.e., the pre-1953 maximum autonomy and the post-1975 eroded one—have failed to deliver, resulting in one crisis after another, either between India and Pakistan or between New Delhi and the pro-autonomy NC leadership or between New Delhi and the anti-Indian forces in the valley.

20. Eighthly, the 50 year old account of bilateral deals discloses that such deals, whether between India and Pakistan (e.g., 1947 ceasefire agreement, 1965 Tashkent Treaty or 1972 Simla Pact) or between New Delhi and Srinagar (e.g., 1952 Nehru-Sheikh Agreement, 1954 Constitutional Application Order, 1975 Indira-Sheikh Declaration, 1986 Rajiv-Farooq Deal, etc.) have proved unviable.

21. Ninthly, the 50 year old process of the Jammu-Kashmir problem vividly points out that the question of Jammu-Kashmir is, and has been, an unresolved issue. Whatever may be its various versions, its disputed nature has been accepted by almost all

countries, including both India and Pakistan. India may call it a bilateral issue as per the 1972 Simla Pact and Pakistan may define it as an international dispute on the basis of the UN resolutions, but both interpretations denote its contentious character.

IV. New Initiatives

22. Finally taking up the question of chalking out of a realistic action plan, this may be summed up as under.

23. As is already obvious, both the new social realities and the past lessons demand the upholding of the politics of peace and the discarding of the politics of war and confrontation as a way out in Jammu-Kashmir tangle.

24. Surely, the first priority of the politics of peace should be to adopt a two sided objective—i.e. to resolve the Jammu-Kashmir problem in a manner that helps to turn Indo-Pak confrontationist relation from a foe into a friend, on the one hand, and that meets the aspirations and concerns of the Jammu-Kashmir people in general, and everyone of its ethnic communities in particular, on the other.

25. Doubtlessly, the above objective should be achieved through a solution that harmonises the interests of all the three parties concerned (i.e., India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir people) and is thus acceptable to them. All unilateral options—such as accession with either India or Pakistan or giving the right of self-determination (which amounts to veto power) to Jammu-Kashmir people, keeping the Jammu-Kashmir state under the UN trusteeship, or any bilateral settlement, like the division of the state on the present line of actual control, or any agreement between New Delhi and Jammu-Kashmir or between Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir do not serve the purpose of bringing India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people closer together.

26. Clearly, the path of a trilateral process should be the path of dialogue and negotiations among the three parties concerned.

27. Corresponding to the above objective and path, it is necessary to have a credible political organisation that the people in different ethnic regions of Jammu-Kashmir consider as a vehicle to steer them out of the present quagmire.

28. Such a body should be based on a federal agenda which, while embodying the urges and aspirations of different regions, stands for maximum possible autonomy to each of them within the federal framework of Jammu-Kashmir state, on the one hand, and entrusts its defence, foreign affairs and currency to either

Indo-Pak joint control or SAARC's purview, on the other.

29. This federal type organisation may, in the beginning, be built in the form of the broadest front (say a Trilateral Front or an Indo-Pak Peace Process Forum or a Platform for the Peaceful Resolution of Jammu-Kashmir Problem). It should include all those who accept Jammu-Kashmir problem as a trilateral dispute. Even those who acknowledge Jammu-Kashmir question as a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan or those upholding a peaceful solution to the Jammu-Kashmir problem should be permitted to join this front. To build this front on the terms of one or the other group is not possible.

30. Only a broad based mass party commanding influence in all regions can be considered as the third party in the Jammu-Kashmir problem and thus represent the Jammu-Kashmir people in any trilateral talks between India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people. At the moment, there does not exist a popular statewide party, representing all regions of Jammu-Kashmir. No doubt, APHC (including Shabir Shah group) is a powerful mass party in the state. But its mass base is mainly confined to the valley, with small influence in the regions of Jammu and Ladakh. Moreover, the APHC's goal is vague both in regard to Jammu-Kashmir's future identity status and its internal regional structure.

31. To begin with, this federal type party should try to unite all types of pro-dispute forces in every ethnic region and then integrate all ethnic regional units into one body.

32. To motivate the party members and involve them in mass activity, the following initiatives be taken. (a) To clarify all the essential points (i.e., objective, path, methods, etc.) of the peace process, and (b) To build the organisation both qualitatively and quantitatively. The quality should be developed by raising the social knowledge and consciousness of every member as well as of the collective, while the quantity should be organised by employing the whole organisational capacity into mass work and by enrolling new members.

33. With regard to militancy the party should demand the initiation of an unconditional dialogue with the militants by New Delhi on the question of arriving at an agreement on ceasefire, preceded by the withdrawal of the security forces to the barracks, the ending of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and the releasing of all those detained without any substantial charge. Further, every effort should be made to bring all the self-demobilised militants (not the pro-government one) into the party.

34. To motivate and involve the people in the peace process, the following initiatives should be taken.

On The Political Front

(a) To summon a conference of all democratic groups and individuals belonging to different ethnic regions of Jammu-Kashmir for building the broadest possible front on the minimum agreed agenda; (b) To hold conferences in various ethnic region of the state for creating a political consensus on Jammu-Kashmir solution; (c) To try to hold a well representative meeting of democratic elements from India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir at an appropriate place and, if possible, at Jammu or Delhi; (d) To establish closer links with the democratic forces in India, Pakistan and other SAARC countries; (e) To win the sympathy and support of all peace loving and democratic forces in the world; (f) And, above all, to involve the masses in the discussion of various dimensions of the Jammu-Kashmir problem and other political issues through various type of mass activity and to try to change the old social consciousness of power worshipping and self-seeking and to inculcate a rational approach among them.

On The Economic Front

(a) To involve the people in the discussion of important and urgent mass issues; (b) To build various types of mass organistions (women, students, youth, etc.) and Trade Unions (workers, peasants, employees, etc.) on the basis of their demands and democratic work methods; and (c) To organise movements for the redressal of the basic economic issues as well as the day to day demands of various sections of people.

On The Cultural Front

(a) To involve the people in the discussion of important cultural issues; (b) To support the development of different types of human culture; and (c) To organise the flourishing of each ethnic culture in the state on a rational basis.

35. The Agenda of Peace in Jammu-Kashmir today serves the interests of not only the people of Jammu-Kashmir, India and Pakistan but also of the SAARC countries and the world.

17-07-1997

Fifty Years Of Indian Independence Indian Minorities, Punjab Problem And Human Rights

I. State Of India On The Golden Jubilee Day Of First Independence

1. On the historic golden jubilee day of India's independence, the basic question that needs our study is: What type of India we have produced after attaining freedom half a century ago?

2. Turning to the official facts, we find that, in the field of human development, vast section of Indians remain devoid of minimum necessary social living—62% poor of whom 40% live below the poverty line, 48% illiterate, 33% houseless, 5% (i.e., nearly 5 crore) educated unemployed, 40% under-employed, 25% lacking the necessity of safe drinking water, 75% having no lavatory facilities, and so on.

3. In the realm of politics, politician-mafia gang up has come to dominate our political process (i.e., the criminalisation of our political leaders and parties as reported by the recent official Vohra Committee report and the daily emerging political scams & scandals), while, in the economic sphere, inefficiency, high cost of production, low productivity, poor quality, outdated and anti-environmental technology and fiscal imbalances have become the main features of our economic process. Culturally, there has occurred the vulgarisation of our norms of behaviour, thus breeding crime, fraud, double-dealing and violence in our way of life.

4. In foreign-cum-defence matters, regional superpowerism remains our dominant theme, with priority to the politics of gun over the politics of peace. The route of regional superpowerism has already led us into four wars with the two neighbours, i.e.,

Pakistan and China. Even after the end of cold war era, when global military expenditure has been decreasing by $4 billion each year since 1987 and when every region of the world has reduced military spending, our country goes on the same old military track—distinguishing itself as the biggest importer of weapons among the developing countries in the world.

5. Environmentally, India has become one of the most polluted countries in the world—with increasing water contamination and air pollution, decreasing water availability, degradation of 40% of cultivable land and denudation of half of its forest area.

6. On the positive side, we can count the conduct of regular (money-cum-muscle based) general elections, increase (at a very low rate) in food production, building of (loss bearing) public sector, improvement (inferior in quality as well as quantity) in infrastructure, etc.

7. Obviously, the above depicted picture gives us a balance sheet of fewer ups and more downs.

II. State Of Indian Minorities

8. Experience shows that the more corrupt and violent a society becomes in politics, the more inefficient and unequal it grows in economy and the more unethical and chauvinistic it turns out in culture and foreign matters respectively, the more it indulges in the suppression and oppression of minorities and weaker sections, i.e., women, children, poor and deprived.

9. Logically, the state of minorities in India is quite depressing. While the Indian Constitution and every post-1947 government has echoed the slogan of improving their destiny and there also exists a toothless National Minorities Commission, the actual situation of minorities continues to be deplorable all along the line.

10. In the matter of personal security, the threat of communal violence always looms large over their heads. The increasing number of post-1947 communal riots in the country, totalling over 22,000, has broken all past records.

11. In the matter of development, no authentic data is available. But the unofficial estimates suggest that the minorities, especially the Muslims, lag far behind in the matter of asset owing in the countryside, self-employment in urban and rural areas, female education and employment, general educational levels, literacy, health facilities, standards of living, child-care, incidence of poverty, etc. In state services, the share of minorities is over 3%. The Muslims have very little representation in the

crucial departments, like the army, police, TV, AIR, etc. However the creamy layers of the minorities have been continuously accommodated at top jobs (e.g., Zakir Hussain, Giani Zail Singh, Fakharuddin Ali Ahmed, etc.).

12. In the matter of freedom of conscience, the majority of the prisoners under TADA were, according to the Minorities Commission, members belonging to the minorities.

13. In the matter of minority group identity, three facts are worth observing. One is that the three minorities, i.e., the Kashmiri Muslims, Punjabi Sikhs and the Naga and the other tribal Christians have to take up arms for securing their respective ethnic-cultural identities. The other is that the case history of the Babri Masjid dispute—i.e., how it started and was slept over and then how the Masjid was unlocked and finally demolished—shows the centre's bias against even an outdated historical symbol of the minority identity. The third one is that the Operation Blue Star in the Golden Temple, Amritsar and the 1984 anti-Sikh riots indicate the centre's resolve to suppress the rise of every idea of identity by any minority, whatsoever.

III. Punjab Problem

14. Given the situation of the Indian minorities, it necessarily follows that the issue in Punjab has particularly been a problem of injustice to the Sikh community by the centre, while generally it has comprised the problem of centre's unfair treatment towards the Punjabis as a whole.

15. The list of Sikh grievances (old and new) against New Delhi is quite long and mainly reasonable—i.e., formation of the Punjabi Suba 20 years after independence and 10 years after the reorganisation of other linguistic states in India, despite pre-1947 Gandhian and Nehruvian promises of "special consideration" to "the brave Sikhs of Punjab"; improper reduction in the percentage of Sikhs in the Indian army and other strategic official sectors; projection of the danger of Sikh domination and the creation of a wedge between the Punjabi Sikhs and the Hindus; communal orienting of the Punjabi Hindus to identify themselves as Hindi speaking; creating of a gap between Sikhs living in Punjab and those settled in India by giving the latter certain concessions in the administration, army and business; breaking of every agreement concerning Punjab, whether on River Waters, Chandigarh or Rajiv-Longowal Accord, unjustifiable rejection of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution seeking autonomy for all the

states, including Punjab, Blue Star armed offensive on the Golden Temple, destroying ancient Sikh literature, paintings and artefacts and killing thousands of precious human lives; encouraging of 1984 anti-Sikh riots in Delhi and some other places, etc.

16. The list of the problems pertaining to Punjab as a whole includes the questions of Chandigarh, River Waters, Punjabi areas lumped with other states, neglect of Punjab's agro and industrial development, slow speed in the execution of Thein Dam, delay in delivering the promised economic package, etc.

17. The above injustices and unfair treatment in course of time formed the basis for the rise of Khalistani militancy. But it suffered a serious blow due to its own inhuman politics and practice. Though the gun enforced peace still prevails in Punjab, the basic cause of the Khalistani militancy remains totally unaddressed.

18. A just and fair solution to the Punjab problem demands a new agenda that ensures the distinctiveness of the Sikh community, strengthens the fraternal relations between the Sikhs and the Hindus and opens the way for the development of Punjab and India.

19. For Sikh identity: (a) According of Jammu-Kashmir like special status to Punjab within the Indian Union, (b) Recognising of Sikh religion as an independent faith, (c) Solving of the boundary disputes between Punjab and adjoining states, (d) Amending of the Gurdwara Management Act on the basis of recommendations made by the Minorities Commission and the Sikh religious bodies, (e) Announcing of a general amnesty to all those arrested in connection with the Sikh militancy, (f) Prosecution of all those found guilty by various commissions in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots.

20. For Hindu-Sikh fraternity: (a) Upholding of Punjabi as the mother tongue by all Punabis, and (b) Support to the demand of a special status for Punjab within the Indian Union by the Hindus.

21. For the development of Punjab: Proper resolution of all the outstanding and current Punjab problems such as River Waters, Chandigarh, Thein Dam, agricultural and industrial development, promised economic package, and above all, the safeguarding of human rights and ensuring of the rule of law.

22. Apparently, Punjab presents a look of all calm and quite but beneath the surface a feeling of ill-treatment runs all along the line. This is because, while the old blunders in Punjab have yet to

be righted, new wrongs continue to inflate the centre's sinful pile.

IV. Question Of Human Rights

23. Following the 50 year long poor national record, minorities' dissatisfaction, Punjab's feeling of injustice, the human rights scene in the country as a whole, especially in Punjab, cannot but be dismal. On the countrywide level, thousands of political prisoners, including prisoners of conscience, are languishing in jails. Prisoners are routinely tortured and scores of them die of torture in police custody. Beatings, kickings, blind foldings, raping and subjecting to electric shocks and cigarette burns remain the pet torture norms. Prisoners held in custody are humiliated, intimidated and frequently made to pay money to their inquisitors. If victims or their relatives attempt to lodge complaints about human rights violations by the law enforcement personnel, police generally refuses to register complaints and some times even threatens or punishes complainants and tries to implicate them into false cases. If the court orders the police to register the complaint, the former obstructs and delays the proceedings.

24. The magnitude of human rights violations in Jammu-Kashmir, Punjab and North-East remains staggering. Grave human rights violations in these stateshav been reported. Even the National Human Rights Commission has a number of time admitted that human rights are grossly violated in India, particularly in Kashmir, Punjab and the North-Eastern states.

25. Every year figures released by the National Crimes Records Bureau report a number of deaths, rapes and torture cases in Police custody all over the country. The National Police Commission (1977) analysed complaints of Police torture and custodial deaths in eight states and found that the Police were blamed in 11 out of 17 judicial enquiries and 23 out of 430 enquiries by other agencies. The Commission recommended that, in all cases of custodial deaths, there should be mandatory judicial enquiries. But this recommendation has not yet found acceptance with the government.

26. The Supreme Court has often indicted Police for human rights violations. In February 1994, the Supreme Court observed: This court is determined to show to this country what type of Police Force they are paying taxes tor. A few years ago, a judge of the Allahabad High Court remarked that the Indian Police is the largest organised gang of criminals in this country.

27. Every year the Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch release reports about torture and human rights violations in India, especially Jammu-Kashmir, Punjab and the North-Eastern states.

28. The level of our social criminalistion can be seen from the fact that no VIP in our country today can walk without police protection.

V. Question Of State Terrorism

29. Following SSP Sandhu's suicide in Punjab, some persons in Police, media and politics have raised the issue that the security forces deployed to fight the militants are entitled to do what they like and that those who had played their role in combating militancy should be honoured as our national heroes and that the security perosnnel involved in anti-insurgency activity be given immunity from prosecution for any action taken in that context. The demand is an old, rotten fascist clamour, called state terrorism the world over.

30. Under state terrorism, the government wants to rule without any legal framework. The question is as to why the government does not, before embarking on a terrorist course, get all legal restrictions abrogated through a due process of law. If the fundamental law (i.e., the Constitution) does not permit this way for its forces under any circumstances, then why should not these forces act according to law? Mankind has since ancient times framed rules even for the conduct of war. If rules can be a norm during a war, then why should they be flouted in combating militancy?

31. History shows that, even in wars, victory had gone to those who had undertaken warfare not only for a just cause but also conducted it in a just way. Obviously, in every performance, including war, both a just cause as well as a just conduct is essential. The Khalistani militants lost because of their unjust cause and unjust conduct and not due to the lawlessness of the Punjab Police. The Police lawlessness did only harm the people.

32. What we need today is a proper check on all types of "peace-keeping" personnel. This demands an independent review mechanism of public complaints against the security forces. For this, the NHRC should be given full powers of investigation, whether in disturbed areas or normal ones. On the excesses by Punjab Police all such cases be referred to an independent judicial commission formed on the recommendation

of the Supreme Court.

33. Basically, we need the overhauling of the whole legal system and the behaviour pattern of the law enforcing agencies within the parameters of the rule of law. This requires the appointment of a Statutory Commission. If this is not done in time, the crisis-ridden Indian legal system will head towards a disaster. Also it is necessary that India soon signs the 1984 UN Convention against torture, 1979 UN code of conduct for law enforcement officials and 1966 UN optional protocol under which the UN Human Rights Committee can take cognizance of any communication from individual nationals of the ratifying countries.

What Should Be Done
And How It Is To Be Done

I

1. Human experience teaches that, in order to seek desirable or anticipated social results, it is always necessary to coordinate the human subjective with the given objective. If this imperative is not adhered to, the results always go contrary to one's expectations. That is why one always reaps what one has sown. Whatever happens to us is due to our own doings. Destiny and fate are nothing but the consequences of our actions. Luck generally comes to those who work for it.

2. Experience also shows that the fulfilment of the first imperative demands an equally important condition. That is, the evolving of a proper technique for combining the subjective and the objective.

3. The first imperative comprises two factors. The subjective denotes one's (or an organisation's) aim or goal and the given objective expresses the existing realities (concerning the peoples' aspirations and needs). The second imperative includes a set of methods suitable to the said two factors.

4. Obviously, if something goes wrong in the working out of any of these three factors, the consequences would always be negative. For instance, if the aim is wrong (i.e., unrealisable or unrealistic), vague or confused or if the implementor's understanding of his goal is not specific, firm and consistent, the desired thing cannot be attained. Again, if the perception of the existing realities is wrong, this will hinder the formulation of proper methods and thus lead to unsatisfactory performance. Further, if the methodology is vague or inconsistent or if the implementor's performance is mechanical, this will also produce poor results.

II

5. Proceeding from the above premise, the first point that needs our serious attention is a clear and thorough understanding

of our aim (or principal task), covering its various dimensions, historical, political, economic, cultural, etc. That is, to have the capacity of explaining the party line in a concrete way.

6. As mentioned in our programme and other documents, especially the 1993 Party Constitution, ours is a two sided aim, general and specific. The general aim is the establishment of a rational human society. And the specific aim is the democratisation of India. Obviously, this two sided aim can only be achieved by making people rational and democratic (i.e., making people capable of self-management, presently called the empowerment of the people). For this, the principal task is to raise the ideological level and the material living of the world people generally, and the Indian people particularly (because India is our main operational area).

III

7. Secondly, the other essential requirement for us is to have a realistic perception of the basic nature (i.e., showing the fundamental facts, like the cause or character of a thing) and the ground realities concerning the world, India and every area of work.

8. As mentioned in our programme and other documents, the basic nature of the present world is manifested by the fact of growing interdependence of countries which are fastly integrating their economies on the international scale (e.g., WTO, IMF, WB, etc., on the one hand, and, organising themselves into regional economic groupings (e.g., EC, SAARC, ASEAN, Mercousar, etc.), on the other. In other words, the globalisation process is integrating the nation-states into a global human society.

9. This global transitional process demands of us the upholding of the orientation of an interdependent nationalism (in place of the traditional one country nationalism) which today stands for three things. That is, (a) the empowerment of the Indian people at all levels, (b) the strengthening of the SAARC through a common market, a common security system, a common political union, and also the resolution of the Jammu-Kashmir issue (by a trilateral dialogue between India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people), and (c) the establishment of a peaceful, fair, just, equitable and sustainable international order.

10. The existing world ground realities include: international economic integration; emergence of regional economic groupings; a multi-polar world; restructuring of each nation-state into an interdependent nation-state; greater ethnic assertion

within nation-states; disintegration of authoritarian regimes; greater assertiveness by deprived sections within nations and of the developing countries vis-a-vis the developed ones; worldwide movement for gender equality, minority rights and social justice; changing concept of peoples security—from security through armaments to security through development and from territorial security to food, employment, population control and environmental security; growing realisation that poverty is one of the greatest threats to environment; and so on.

11. The signals from the ongoing world ground realities are that we should strive to mobilise the world people in general and the Indian people in particular for the establishment of a fully federal (or confederal) and democratic India which ensures the rule of law and maximum possible empowerment of the people, social justice, human rights, gender equality, minority rights and rights of the poor and the deprived, etc., as mentioned in the UN covenants and, if possible, even more than the UN prescriptions.

12. As mentioned in our programme and other documents, the basic nature of the post-1947 India is its centralised and dominating feature, based on armed power which stands quite in contrast to India's fundamental reality of having been a multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic country. The 50 year long practice of our nation-state has brought us few pluses and many more minuses. It has resulted in the evolving of an India where a few roll in prosperity, while the overwhelming majority rot in misery and deprivation. In a nutshell, the Indian nation-state today stands as a sample of poverty and backwardness, political degeneration and corruption, inefficient economy, and all-round degradation in lifestyle the world over.

13. The all-sided diversity in unity and unity in diversity of India demands that it should be immediately transformed into a fully federal and democratic state as already stated in para 11.

14. The existing Indian ground realities comprise: the criminalisation of its political process, the ill management of its economic process, the vulgarisation of its standards and norms of behaviour, regional superpowerism, the domination of the politics of gun, assertion of the politics of regionalism and instability of central government, confidence and assertiveness of the weaker sections and minorities, armed struggles in most of the minority dominated areas, Jammu-Kashmir, North-Eastern states, Punjab, etc.

15. The Indian ground realities signify that the party should

mobilise the people, particularly the poor, deprived and the alienated, both on the basic national problems and the immediate mass issues in order to set things right in every walk of life.

16. The realities in every area of work, including even a village, should be assessed by the concerned local unit— an urgent and highly important task on which depends our work of mass mobilistion.

IV

17. Thirdly, another equally important need for our party is to chalk out a proper methodology to combine our subjective with the given objective. That is, a methodology which, on the one hand, develops the party, and, on the other, motivates and mobilises the people for attaining their immediate and basic rights.

18. This methodology should try, firstly, to find out the shortcomings in our entire party process of thinking, saying, doing and organising, devise suitable means for their eradication and plan for the optimal use of our human (i.e., party and people) and material resources, and, secondly, to draw up a plan for involving the people in ideological discussions and practical action in all matters, political, economic, cultural, environmental, demographic, etc.

A

19. As regards the issue of our shortcomings on the party front, the principal ones include:

(i) Lack of thorough understanding of party's theoretical, practical and organisational line which hinders our communicative (or saying) system both within the party and among the masses. The communication gap throttles our urge for action and thus makes us less effective in political work.

(ii) Lack of party commitment and accountability which result in a gap between party decisions and the members' implementation (or the contradiction between party-think and party-do).

(iii) Continuation of the approach of power-cum-money-cum-might based politics in the party. Unless this approach is uprooted, the new cannot be implanted.

(iv) Unutilised party capacity which hinders party growth and thus affects party morale.

20. The above shortcomings should be rectified by taking the below noted initiatives and also by experimenting with new

ways of doing.

(i) Focusing on raising the party (collective as well as individual) understanding in theory, practice and organisation through regular learn and teach conferences at every level.

(ii) Creating a network of speakers (or communicators) who are well versed with the party programme as well as the public agenda. Efforts to be made to at least develop every member into a good conversationalist.

(iii) Providing important talking points by the party to enrich its communication system.

(iv) Making party's communication system more attractive through the performance of the teams of singers, dramatists, artists, etc., to be organised by the party.

(v) Developing the communicative faculty of each member, improve his self-management, rationalise his temper and inculcate in him the spirit of eating and sharing by the concerned unit as well as party.

(vi) Enhancing the party's commitment and accountability level by holding self-review conferences on the implementation of the various provisions of the Party Constitution.

(vii) Holding regular general party membership meetings at the block level with specific purpose of sharing each other's weals and woes, especially those of the poorer ones, and to devise effective ways for rendering proper help to the deserving cases. This step will help in creating emotional integration within the party.

(viii) Introducing a system of discussion in party units at all levels where every meeting starts with a self examination and unit examination by each member and where he is allotted specific work, to be regularly checked up by the concerned unit.

(ix) Conducting a constant review of party's policies, procedures and practices by every unit with a view to adapt to the new realities.

21. By successfully carrying out the above measures, the party will be able to lessen not only its shortcomings but also to make maximum possible use of its human (i.e., party and people) and material resources.

B

22. With regard to the problem of our weaknesses on the mass front, the main ones comprise:

(i) Absence of a concrete understanding of mass problems,

mass thinking, mass mood and aspirations through a proper study and investigation at all party levels where every one of us is proceeding on a mechanical comprehension of these elements.

(ii) Absence of any marked difference in quality between our mass work (whatever little we do) and the other parties' public activity.

(iii) Laying of more stress on economic issues and less on ideology and politics in our mass work.

23. In addition to our weaknesses, the following mass tendencies also act as constraints on our mass initiatives. These tendencies are:

(i) Continuation of the traditional mass consciousness of power, money and might as the three criteria of deciding right and wrong.

(ii) Lack of peoples trust in politicians due to the latter's double-speak and double-act style.

24. To get rid of our own weaknesses and to remove the prevailing wrong tendencies among the masses, it is necessary to prepare a public agenda of every area of our mass work—may it be a rural, urban, trade union or some other type of mass activity.

25. To prepare every given public agenda, it is necessary to assess mass problems, mass ideology, mass political affiliation, cultural values, present mass mood and basic mass aspirations. This initiative will provide an opportunity to our investigation teams to converse with the given masses and establish a preliminary link with them.

26. To involve the masses in the discussion of the given mass agenda, it will be better if we start our work from the deprived and the alienated groups of people (e.g., unorganised labour) located in one area or spread over different areas. These groups, in the main, include the rural and urban poor, houseless, unemployed, widows, women (those belonging to poorer sections), working children, girl child, invalids, scavengers, agricultural labour, bonded labour, unorganised labour (such as building workers, rickshaw pullers, etc.), tribals, prisoners, undertrials, old people having no attendant, lumpen elements (such as beggars etc.), factory workers, office employees, students, youth, minorities, etc.

If there is a better scope for starting the mass work on area basis anywhere, then we should readily undertake this task.

27. After selecting the target group and the area of work, it is

necessary to organise a get together of sincere, honest and independent people of that group to discuss the public agenda related to their own problems. Before calling such a meeting, each one of the invitees should be personally contacted and requested to attend the meeting. The meeting should be well prepared in advance and conducted in a lively way—creating enthusiasm and interest among the participants.

28. During the course of discussion on the public agenda, we should try to stress the point that whatever is happening in our country today has not come from the outside but has been the outcome of our centralised system and its corrupt and unscrupulous operators and that if we want to set things right, we should stand on our own feet and wage a consistent struggle against these negative forces. In brief, we should strive to transform the peoples traditional mindset of power-cum-money-cum-might worshipping into a rational mindset.

29. After the conclusion of the meeting, a core team should be elected by the participants. It should be entrusted with the task of further mobilising the social group on the public agenda and to create new core teams. Our party team will work in cooperation with these core teams and lend them all help in getting their problems resolved. In the course of interaction with these teams, we should try to bring the conscious elements into the party and organise the rest into some mass organisation.

30. We should go on organising the get-togethers of different social groups one after the other.

31. As the core teams of social groups mature in understanding, we should, in cooperation with them, build study groups in which basic national and international questions are fully discussed.

Besides, the above-said people oriented technique which puts the masses at the centre of our activity, we should, as demanded by our Party Constitution, also attend to mass and trade union work according to our party line. Befitting the ground realities, the below-noted steps should be implemented.

(i) Involving the women in the discussion of their political, economical, cultural, household, etc., problems and helping them in the organising of their mass organisation.

(ii) Involving lower middle and middle income groups—like students, youth, employees, shopkeepers, etc.—in the discussion of their own problems in combination with the democratic issues (like the repealing of undemocratic laws,

granting of peoples right to information, state funding of elections, ensuring of minority rights, human rights, environmental conservation, etc.) and convincing them to campaign for the solution of both.

(iii) To mobilise the factory workers on their issues and convince them to organise themselves on the rational principle which, on the one hand, takes into account the workers concerns, and, on the other, keeps into view the factory interests.

(iv) To involve the people in the discussion and the formulation of their area development plans concerning the advancement of environmental, human and material resources, like water supply, education, health, electricity, transport, postal services, telecommunication, agriculture, agro-industry, rural credit, combating floods, desertification, develop traditional technologies, and invite the concerned MP, MLA, government department, technicians and specialists, etc., for interaction with the masses.

(v) To create full awareness among the masses about the serious implications of environmental degradation and population burgeoning, posing two serious threats to mankind, and stress the urgent need for sustainable development and lifestyle coupled with empowerment of the people. 27-07-1997

A Review Of IDP's Theoretical And Practical Line

1. In an ever changing reality, it is always imperative to go on taking a fresh look on one's assumptions and work style from time to time. Learning from past in order to do better in future has been an age old dictum. Life is a mix of positive and negative experiences. From the right experience, one learns how things should be done, while the wrong experience teaches one to part with one's own negative experience before undertaking any new task. Upholding this time tested lesson, let us review our theoretical and practical line.

2. Turning first to the theoretical aspect of our line, the starting point of our study is: What has been our general outlook to know the basic truth of any phenomenon or the right and wrong in any process?

Our general approach, as defined in the main document of our Second Party Congress (the founding Congress of the IDP), has been that nature (or the universe) has been a general process, comprising of innumerable specific processes. These endless processes (including that of human species) have different forms and behaviours. But they follow a general mode of operation in varying ways suiting to their respective natures. This continuous general operational mode comprises a two sided interaction (i.e., both internal and external) between two or more objects sometimes through the motion of unity and sometimes through the motion of struggle. Such an interaction, whether harmonious or conflictual, in course of time, gives rise to continuous partial changes in the quantity and quality of every process. And, consequently, at a critical point, this leads to the transformation of every old process (having its specific characteristics) into a

new process (with its particular features), thus making both processes different in their respective natures. This never ending process of change and development goes on in every phenomenon, including human society.

3. The second point of our study is: What has been our general approach to know the reality of human society?

Again, the same Second Party Congress document views human society as a phenomenon whose mode of existence is biological (which requires a given natural environment), but whose mode of living and functioning is social. Obviously, human species or their organisation, i.e., society, possesses a two sided nature—biological (or natural) and social.

Like all other processes of nature, the process of human society has also arisen as a part of the universal process of nature. It has been changing and developing in the same way as any other natural process. That is, it has been, since its origin, changing and developing in accordance with the universal operational mode of phenomena's two sided interaction—one external and the other internal—through the alternating motions of unity and struggle. The external interaction of unity and struggle occurs between human society and the other processes of nature, while the internal one takes place within human society.

4. The third point of our study is: What has been our approach towards the contemporary human society? As defined in the Party Programme adopted by our Third Party Congress (January, 1988), our approach has been that the contemporary human society denotes the present industrial formation which is characterised by the movement of industrial capital (comprising of an industrial technological mechanism and an industrial human social organisation with an industrial knowledge of nature and society). The industrial capital mainly operates within the boundaries of a national market and a national state and secondly participates in the international market adopting in toto the form of money (i.e., universal commodity) for social exchange and social investment in the three interconnected sectors of the industrial division of labour, i.e., the economic, political and cultural sectors. The national state, economy and culture base themselves on the ideological principles of liberalism, democracy, secularism, etc.

5. The fourth point of our study is: what has been our approach towards the current phase of the contemporary human society.

As defined in the Second Party Congress document (June

1986), the current phase is a phase of an inter-state international unit due to the highly international character of the post-1945 scientific-technological inventions which have brought in a new international division of labour alongside the former mainly nation based social division of labour. The process of the formation of the inter-state international unit began around 1900 with the beginning of the phase of medium industrialism (with colonialism in almost all the pre-industrial countries)—a development conforming to the changes in science, technology and social division of labour of that period. The high internationalisation of the post-1945 phase is firstly evident from the highly increased interdependence of the nation-states none of which, not even the most industrially advanced, could today effectively carry out its own social development without cooperation and exchange with other states. Secondly, it is evident from the scale on which international contacts and communications have developed among the people through the high speed means of transportation—the planes, ships, automobiles, telecommunications, etc.—increasing the movement and communication of people by hundreds and thousands of times. Thirdly, it is evident from the volume of globally exchanged goods and services (including scientific-technological means) which was growing 1.5 to 2 times more rapidly than world industrial and agricultural output as a whole during the third quarter of the present century; by the end of the 1970s, the yearly volume of world trade exceeded $1,000 billion, representing nearly 15% of the world's GDP as compared to slightly over 9% in the early 1950s (UNCTAD: Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics, 1979, UN, NY, 1979). Fourthly, it is evident from the inter-flow of information among the people of various regions through the electronic audio-visual means, having no comparison in the past history of mankind.

Previous to the 20th century, each nation-state constituted a unit of social development, while the inter-state cooperation and exchange played the secondary role.

6. The fifth point of our study is: What has been party's aim or general task in the current social phase?

As defined in our Party Programme adopted by the Third Party Congress, our party's aim or general task has been that, taking into account the above-stated facts, our party (whose organisational structure is, at present, confined to India) faces a two sided task—that of mobilising the world public opinion in

favour of a world democratic state (as mentioned above), on the one hand, and that of rousing and organising the people in India for attaining state power, on the other.

7. The sixth point of our study is: What has been our approach towards India?

As defined in our Party Programme adopted by the Third Party Congress, our approach towards India has been to equip the people with alternative proposals in place of the anti-people features of the present state, structure and the anti-people policies of the present government by placing before the former a plan for India's democratisation (which accords with the existing social conditions in the world in general and India in particular).

8. The seventh point of our study is that the above-stated points 5 and 6 were formulated in a more specific form in our 1993 Party Constitution. This Constitution stated that the aim of the IDP is the social advancement in ideological and material terms of the world people, both individually and collectively. This aim, in our given times, is likely to be realised in a two phased process.

The first phase comprises of the full democratisation of India, on the one hand, and the step by step establishment of a regional community of the interdependent nation-states in South Asia through a common market, common security system and common political union. The present SAARC is the embryo of the future South Asian community whose formation is dependent on the conciliation between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir problem in the form of their joint control of the valley (whether under an Indo-Pak Confederation, Condominium or some other arrangement). Similar regional communities are likely to come up in other parts of the world. All these regional communities will function with UN as their international coordinating centre.

The regional community expresses the newly emerged world reality of the interdependence of countries, generated by the post-1945 scientific-technological revolution. It represents a new supra-national state—a higher form of a social unit in contrast to the nation-state one.

In the second phase, the UN will emerge as the full-fledged international centre with reorganised regional communities as subordinate units. The world centre is to be based on the twin principles of the equality of all ethnic groups (small or big) and the democratic control of the masses from the lowest

administrative units to the international level.

This two phased process may pass through various twists and turns or ups and downs or positive and negative developments.

9. The eighth point of our study is that party's plan for India's democratisation as mentioned in our Party Programme was summarised in Magazines No. 57 (1991) and Nos. 90-91 (1995).

The Magazine No. 57 stated it as follows:

> **Guiding idea:** To uphold rational humanism in thinking and action.
>
> **Vision:** To stand and work for the establishment of Indo-Pak Confederation on an equal basis, with defence and an autonomous Kashmir as the two confederal subjects.
>
> **India's political structure:** To stand and work for making India a decentralised federal state, with meaningful autonomy to all states and special status to Punjab.
>
> **India's Economy:** To stand and work for integrating the Indian economy into the world economy by making the former competitive, efficient and productive and by developing the free trade SAARC market.
>
> **India's foreign policy:** To stand and work for strengthening globalisation through international cooperation and mutuality of national interests.
>
> **India's cultural affairs:** To stand and work for humanism, equalitarianism and good norms of behaviour.
>
> **India's defence matters:** To stand and work for SAARC regional security system linked to the global security system.

The Magazine No. 90-91 mentioned it in this way:

> **Federalising & decentralising the system**
>
> Federalising and decentralising the system means to recast India's Constitution, law and policies in the light of new realities, national and global. The essential features of this model may be as under:
>
> **(A) Aim:** To establish a just and fair social order in India and the world which is nature-friendly, on the one hand, and people-friendly, on the other.
>
> **(B) General Approach:** Scientific eealism which bases itself on all-sided facts.
>
> **(C) Social Perspective:** Globalism or Rational Humanism.
>
> **(D) Democratic Order and Empowerment of the People:** To resolve all internal conflicts through dialogue and to establish a fully federal and thoroughly decentralised structure with autonomy to all

states and a special status to Punjab within the Indian Union. To empower the people by evolving a new mechanism involving the people in decision making at all levels and by ending all disparities in society, i.e., between the rich and poor, between the sexes, etc.

(E) Sustainable Development: To improve the quality of environment (i.e., natural resources of land, water, air), on the one hand, and of human and material resources, on the other, by globalising the economy through a judicious mix-up of market mechanism and state planning.

(F) Regional Security and Development: To seek a tripartite solution of Jammu-Kashmir question by giving full autonomy to the each of the ethnic-regions on both sides of the line of actual control under a joint Indo-Pak control to be entrusted only with matters of state's defence, foreign affairs and currency thus opening the way for the development of SAARC which, in due course, is likely to grow into a free trade common market area with a regional security system and a confederal political union.

(G) Value System: To promote rational humanist thinking and democratic behaviour.

(H) Foreign and Defence Matters: To follow international cooperation and friendship, build along with the neighbours a regional security system and pledge together with Pakistan not to manufacture the nuclear weapons and its related delivery system.

Facing Environmental-Population Challenges

Facing the twin challenges—environment and population—implies to chalk out two elaborate action plans, based on the three fundamental principles: (a) To create full awareness among the masses about the serious implications of the said two threats and stress the most urgent and essential need for sustainable development and lifestyle, (b) To actively involve the people in the carrying out of these plans, and (c) To make these two issues as the most important items of the national development agenda.

III

10. Coming to the practical aspect of our line, two samples are reproduced hereunder only as a reminder.

(A) Present situation and our tasks (as adopted at the 1988 3rd Party Congress alongwith the Party Programme & Constitution)

Taking into account the above situation alongwith a clear perception of our inadequate organisational structure and weak

mass influence, this Congress holds that, in order to turn the situation towards further democratisation and social justice, the party should pursue a two sided task—that of improving its own organisational quality and quantity and that of mobilising and organising the masses on mass issues as well as against authoritarianism, bureaucratism and centralisation of authority (a trend presently represented by the two superpowers in general and the Indian government and ruling party in particular). Both these aspects are interrelated and the one cannot be treated separately from the other. In order to carry out this two sided task, the party needs proper planning and its implementation followed by its review and re-planning and so on and on.

Here the following initiatives should be strictly adhered to:

On the party front, the starting point for all party units is the question whether they are working in accordance with the Party Constitution as regards the rights and duties of each member; enrolment of members and candidate members; observance of guiding organisational principal and its norms; holding of unit meetings; state of discipline among party members; functioning of party fractions in class and mass organisations; working among the masses; etc. If the above is not being done, this should be fully implemented. Secondly, all party units should deepen their understanding of the party line through individual study followed by collective reading and discussion. Thirdly, all party units should make a thorough study of the party journal both on the individual and collective basis and chalk out a scheme for its proper distribution and sale. Fourthly, all party units should make an assessment whether their whole strength or capacity (i.e., capacity of members and sympathisers) is being utilised for party and mass work. If not, they should at once put the idle capacity to use. Fifthly, all party units should always remain alert about their own defence (including the defence of individual members), both legally and politically, against provocations by anti-social elements. Sixthly, all party units should work out elaborate plans for mass work with particular emphasis on priority mass issue and priority area. Seventhly, all party units should devise effective methods to always remain accountable to the masses and implement them conscientiously. While continuing their research for new innovations in this regard, they should for the present observe these norms:

(a) Work democratically within the party as required by its Constitution, (b) Work in the class and mass organisations according to the discipline of their respective Programmes and

Constitutions, (c) Invite criticism (about their style of functioning) from the masses where they work, once every year, (d) Place the account of every mass collection before the masses (unit-wise or individually, as the case may be), and (e) Inform the masses through the unit about the financial and economic position of every leading comrade.

On the mass front, the starting point for all party units is to satisfactorily settle two interrelated problems concerning mass work. One is the problem of chalking out a mass propaganda line. And the other is the problem of identifying those mass issues (causing immediate mass hardships and remaining unsolved due to the negligence of the ruling party) for whose resolution the masses stand in need of proper solutions and an effective leadership.

As regards the first problem (chalking out a mass propaganda line), it should be sorted out by taking into account the party's general line as well as the given local conditions, both of which can be integrated by clarifying the following five points. Firstly, our mass propaganda line should begin with the issues immediately confronting the masses (be they local, national or international)—pointing out the cause of unsolved mass issues as lying in the reactionary policies of the present government and ruling party alongwith their proper solutions. Secondly, it should present a concrete exposure of the ruling party in regard to what did it promise (orally as well as in its manifesto) during the general election and what had it done after coming to power (including its constitutional and legal violations). Thirdly, it should explain our Party Programme (stressing its basic orientation of international democracy in contrast to national parties national democracy which is unable to solve basic world problems, including those of India) and party policies concerning all local, national and international questions (emphasising their central principle of handing over maximum decision making power to the masses in all spheres—political, economic and cultural) and also indicating the difference between our Party Programme and policies, on the one hand, and all other parties (Congress as well as opposition parties), on the other. Fourthly, it should orientate the masses to distinguish between different parties on the basis of their respective programmes and policies and to make this distinction as the criterion for selecting a national alternative to the ruling party. And fifthly, it should mentally prepare the people to get organised either into IDF or some other mass organisation (formed to agitate on some mass demand).

As regards the second problem (i.e., identifying the mass issues causing immediate mass hardships), it should be sorted out through a proper investigation and followed by the evolving of its concrete solution. Then, this solution should be popularised among the masses—mobilising them to the extent of accepting its proposed organisational and action methodologies. The organisational methodology—while stressing the fact that, without an organisation, even big mass mobilisation (whether on smaller mass issues or bigger ones) fizzles out and that, without an organisation, no effective activity can be performed—should induce the masses to get organised either into the IDF or any temporarily formed mass organisation on the concerned issue. Wherever possible, the broadest possible united front be formed. Without a joint programme (whether on a single issue or many issues or whether on a mass demand or contesting of elections), no united front (merely on anti-Congress basis) should be formed. And no party or group be shunned if it agrees with the joint programme. The action methodology should include the suitable form of struggle conforming to the mass mood and actual mass strength (be it the presenting of an application or the waiting upon of a deputation on any Minister or official or certain bigger step like a demonstration, dharna, strike or a prolonged agitation, etc.). After the mass mobilisation and organisation, the mass action should be consistently followed till the issue is resolved in favour of the masses. While mobilising the masses on immediate mass issues, we should also inform them about party's mass propaganda line which, by realistically explaining the present social conditions, enhances social consciousness.

(B) Democratic Party-cum-Movement (As adopted at 1995 Nabha Party Congress, Magazine No. 90-91, PP 30-32)

The building of a new type of democratic party-cum-movement requires, in accordance with its programme and rules, the adoption of a two sided general task—one, on the party front and the other, at the mass level.

On The Party Front
The situation demands certain urgent initiatives as given below.
(a) To ensure the upholding of scientific realism or rational humanism as a general and social approach, the adoption of a democratic behaviour and the following of a sustainable lifestyle by

the party as a collective as well as each of its members.

(b) To undertake its own transformation as well as each of its member by raising the motivational level, getting free from the politics of opportunism and consumerism, inculcating the habit of open to learning from all quarters and processes, proceeding from facts and not preconceived notions and, more importantly, by taking a self-critical introspection and managing the ego in a proper way on every occasion.

(c) To secure the employment of party's whole capacity into productive use.

(d) To help every member balance his various obligations, i.e., individual, family, party and people.

(e) To make a concrete plan for improving the quality and quantity of party membership, with particular emphasis on transforming every member into an effective mass communicator.

(f) To conduct a constant review of party's policies, procedures and practices with a view to adapt to the new realities.

(g) To develop the party culture of learning new knowledge and skills, developing work attitude, utilising available opportunities, giving positive response to criticism, sharing the troubles of the woe-worn members.

(h) To be always on guard in the linking of ends with means and theory with practice.

The afore-mentioned initiatives enable the party to democratise itself and each of its members in a thoroughgoing way.

At The Mass Level

The situation requires that in order to change the mass consciousness of power worshipping-cum-self seeking by a rational humanist consciousness, the below-noted steps, as befitting the ground realities, be taken.

One, to identify the people among whom one has to work and know their ideological, political, economic and cultural situation in general and the priority problem, if any, in particular.

Two, to involve the people in the discussion of approach and policy on every important issue related to a village, block, district, state, country and the world, namely, sustainable development, environment, population, human rights, minorities, poverty, unemployment, price rise, caste reservation, education, women, industry, trade union, agriculture, rural uplift, communal riots, caste oppression, judiciary, panchayati raj, media, law enforcement, constitutional issues, war, cold war, NPT, GATT, MNCs, UN, etc., at

rural and urban seminars, group meetings, indoor sittings, social functions, cultural occasions, or any other activity.

Three, to involve the people in the discussion of cause and solution concerning different types of social evils, such as criminalisation of politics, money-cum-muscle power dominated electoral process, corruption, scams, frauds, black money, smuggling, drug trafficking, public harassment by goondas, tax evasion, theft of public property, unhygienic conditions, women and child beating, arrogance, sycophancy, double-dealing, etc., in various types of gatherings.

Four, to involve the people in the management of various types of constructive activities, like water protection, prevention of land degradation, forestation, combating of pollution, literacy campaign, organising of health-care centres, arranging of mass help to poor, orphans and destitute.

Five, to involve the people in the discussion and the formulation of their area development plans concerning the advancement of environmental, human and material resources, like water supply, education, health, electricity, transport, postal service, telecommunication, agriculture, agro-industry, rural credit, combating floods, desertification, develop traditional technologies, and invite the concerned MP, MLA, government departments, technicians and specialists, etc., for interaction with the masses.

Six, to involve the people in the discussion of traditional authoritarian culture and its traditional forms of subordination and develop them into a rational humanist culture and a democratic behaviour, holding cultural conferences on the issue relating to the history and development of the ethno-regional national and international art (language, music, drama, architecture, literature, science and culture).

Seven, to involve the people in the electoral process by setting up voters associations which should cultivate the people to put up any proper candidate if available among the people and broadly acceptable to the voters and cast their votes on a programmatic basis, covering issues like corruption, criminalisation of politics, human rights, openness of candidate's wealth and assets, public service record, contribution to society.

Eight, to organise the masses, particularly women, poor, deprived, unemployed, minorities, etc., according to their inclination either in some mass organisation, cultural body, trade union, etc.

Nine, but very important, to achieve constitutional and legal empowerment of the people, giving them a final say in policy

framing and decision taking by (a) the holding of plebiscites, at different levels—i.e., village, block, district, state and country—on every important issue related to that level, (b) the making of whole machinery accountable to the people, (c) the providing of people's right to information, (d) the ending of Official Secrets Act, Contempt of Court Act, special privileges to legislators, Army Power of Court Martial, detention laws, etc., (e) the federalising of the state structure and the decentralising of power from top to bottom, and so on.

The above-noted measures enable the party to communicate its vision and mission to the masses and integrate with them—thus resulting in the democratisation of the masses as well as the party.

IV

11. After going through the foregoing two elements of our line, it is also necessary to recall to memory the fact that these features have been further concretised in every issue of our official magazine since the formation of our party.

V

12. This study demands from us the answer as to where should we focus our attention in order to get better results.

<div align="right">01-08-1997</div>

Pre-1947 And Post-1947
Indian Nationalism

I. Problem

1. The 50th anniversary of our independence is an appropriate occasion for taking stock of our balance sheet as a national unit. This necessitates an objective analysis of the whole process of Indian nationalism, covering both its pre-1947 and post-1947 phases. Obviously, it means a review of Indian nationalism in all its dimensions—conceptual, functional and organisational. It will be more helpful if we first take up the question of nationalism in general and then come to our specific proposition of Indian nationalism. Since this note constitutes a discussion paper of our August 1997 Jodhpur Conference, it should logically be a brief account of our subject matter, while touching all its essential points.

II. Question Of Nationalism

(A) Theory Of Nationalism

2. Taking up the question of nationalism in general, the following facts may provide us its brief description.

3. Nationalism is a phenomenon of modern world. As a social concept (ideology), it denotes the ideology of nation for organising society on the national basis. Its fundamental thesis is that human society should be, and in practice is, managed by the people themselves and not by any outside power. That is, it recognises the sovereignty of a given people to run their own affairs and denies the authority of any supernatural authority in social matters. Thus, in deciding the issue of right and wrong concerning any social process, phenomenon or thing, it upholds nationalism as a deciding factor. Rationalism stands for reasoning out the pros and cons of any issue and discards belief in faith as the criterion of truth.

4. The ideology of nationalism demands from every national his primary loyalty to his nation-state. When a given nationalism over-emphasises its own national superiority, glorifies its national virtues and overstretches its national interests and concerns to the exclusion of other nation-states' virtues, interests and concerns, it may lead to international conflicts and wars.

5. Comparing the social ideology of nationalism with the preceding social concepts—like the clan, tribal and religious—it can be seen that, while the clan ideology was based on the fundamental principle of clan kinship, the tribal ideology was marked by tribal affiliation and the religious ideology was characterised by faith in supernaturalism, the national ideology makes national rationalism as its reference point. That is, rationalism confined within the national bounds.

(B) Practice Of Nationalism

6. Functionally, nationalism adopts democracy as a way to run its national polity. As is commonly known, democracy as a theory expresses the rule by the people, of the people and for the people. But, in actual fact, the national rule is run by the political parties in the name of the people. Therefore the people hardly exercise any direct power in the administering of their problems, although the principle of universal franchise basically vests the final authority in their hands and the election constitutes the key mode of the national democratic process.

7. Comparing the social practice of nationalism with the preceding social operational modes, it can be seen that, while the past social modes were generally characterised by the norms of divine based power and might led right, the national practice is mainly distinguished by the rationality of people based power and majority led right, with occasional interjections by might led right, during the course of internal conflicts and external wars between nations.

(C) Organisation Of Nationalism

8. Organisationally, nationalism, as symbolised by the nation and the nation-state, includes a set of national institutions, both vertical and horizontal. It broadly comprises three main institutional factors—Legislature, Judiciary and Executive (including the army as well as the bureaucracy). All these factors exercise a counter balancing check in case of the arbitrary functioning of the one or the other. National parties are the main

vehicle for the running of the legislature and the executive. Media is another democratic institution contributing in the making of a nation-state and its institutions more responsive, accountable and transparent in their public dealings.

9. Comparing the social organisation of nationalism with the preceding social organisations, it is obvious that, while the past social organisations were marked by narrow considerations of race, caste, blood ties, religion, etc., the nation-state and its national Constitution are based on national humanistic considerations.

(D) Historical Origin Of Nationalism

10. Historically, nation is a modern phenomenon. Its first manifestations occurred in Holland and England during the 17th century. In the English Puritan Revolution, an optimistic humanism merged with Calvinist ethics. But it was not until the end of the 18th century when the two most powerful nationalisms—the American and the French—emerged in the world that nation began to be recognised as a great determining factor of modern society.

11. American nationalism was a typical product of the 1775 American War of Independence against England. It was influenced partly by the traditions of the English Puritan Revolution and partly by the new rational interpretation given to English liberty by contemporary French philosophers. It symbolised a struggle for collective liberty and individual rights.

12. The French nationalism was the expression of a rational faith in common humanity and liberal progress. The 1789 French Revolution's slogan "liberty, equality and fraternity" and its declaration of the rights of man were thought valid not only for the French people but for all peoples.

13. The 1848 national revolutionary wave in Europe, followed by the 1871 emergence of powerful German nationalism, saw the progress of nationalism in many countries of Europe, including Italy, Russia and Spain.

14. Nationalism penetrated the Latin American countries in the late 18th and the early 19th centuries. But it was not until the beginning of the 20th century that nationalism began to flower in the countries of Asia and Africa.

(E) Cause Of The Rise Of Nationalism

15. The main factor giving rise to the concept, practice and organisation of nationalism was the 16th century division of labour which brought into being the mercantile system of trade.

This division of labour itself was the product of new developments in science and technology, particularly the improvement in the means of navigation and transport, which enlarged the intercourse between men and materials within and among different feudal states.

16. The mercantile system of trade, which mainly emerged in Europe, led to the creation of large markets which in turn boosted exchange, accelerated demand, speeded up specialisation in manufacturing, increased the stratification of the peasantry, pushed up urbanisation, brought forth new social forces and gave rise to centralised monarchies which placed people under one rule and eliminated small feudal rulers.

17. Later, with the strengthening of the new trading and industrial classes, especially in Europe, the European centralised monarchies were transformed into nation-states. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the monarchical and tribal states were in the beginning forcibly turned into colonies by some powerful European states and then, with the rise of national movements in the 20th century, into the nation-states.

18. Looking at over two centuries long history of nationalism, one finds that, while its general nature—democratic at home and unscrupulous abroad—has more or less remained the same, its particular features have been characterised by the given conditions of each country. This is evident from the various varieties of nationalism now operating in different countries.

III. Pre-1947 Indian Nationalism

(A) Different Perceptions

19. There doesn't exist any unanimous view on pre-1947 Indian nationalism today. Nor it had been there at any time in its history.

20. Some consider that the distinguishing feature of pre-1947 Indian nationalism had been its anti-colonialism. According to this view, the 1857 armed revolt against British colonialism was India's first war of independence. It also considered that the Wahabi armed struggle (1820-1900) against British rule also represented a national cause.

21. Others hold that revivalism of India's past glory had been Indian nationalism's fundamental feature. It considers that the revivalist movements in the 19th century—i.e., Brahmo Samaj (founded in 1828), Arya Samaj (1875), Theosophical Society (1882), Rama Krishna Mission (1896), etc.—marked the

beginnings of Indian nationalism.

22. Still others think that the British-type parliamentary model had been its basic characteristic. It thinks that all those who upheld reforms under British rule stood for Indian nationalism.

23. Further, another idea regards that Hindus and Muslims in India constituted two different nationalisms. The Hindu fundamentalism maintains that Muslims were outsiders who had downgraded India during their rule and whose aggressive nature had been the main cause of Hindu-Muslim discord. Contrary to this, the Muslim fundamentalism regards that the predominant Hindu majority constituted a danger to Muslim identity.

24. Furthermore, an overwhelming number of people at home and abroad maintains that Gandhism alone represents real Indian nationalism.

Obviously, all these approaches uphold an unrealistic view of Indian nationalism. Because they do not reconcile with the fundamental parameters of nationalism, i.e., democracy and sovereignty.

(B) Theory Of India's First War Of Independence

25. Proceeding from the above-stated two fundamental principles of nationalism, the 1857 armed struggle cannot be qualified as India's First War of Independence. The revolting British Indian soldiers' (comprising both Hindus and Muslims) opposition to the British rule was based on religious grounds according to which the greased cartridges (then used by the British Indian army) violated the sanctity of their respective religions. Next, the feudal princes, devoid of any national liberation idea, were fighting the British to get back their lost empires. Again, the whole lot stood for restoring the rumbled Moghul monarchy and did not have any idea of replacing the colonial rule by any sort of democratic rule. Further, the whole of the Northern and the Southern India remained unaffected by this struggle. The facts only point out that 1857 anti-British movement was only a revolt by the alienated sections of the Indian people. Similarly, the Wahabi armed struggle against the British having no national consideration stood for re-establishing the Muslim rule.

(C) Theory Of Revivalist Movements

26. Again, the revivalist movements were mainly directed towards restoring the past glory of India. They sang hosannas about the unprecedented glories of India's past. They asserted

that the primeval man first appeared on the Indian soil—thus beginning the process of human history. They claimed that in the ancient golden age, India created the best of everything that has so far remained unsurpassed. Obviously, the revivalist theory had no relevance to the 19th century India, except that it only aggravated the inter-community relations.

(D) Pro-Reform Nationalism Under British Rule

27. Further, the concept of Indian nationalism as a demand for reforms under British rule negated one of the two essential features of nationalism—i.e., the national sovereignty. But every political party and its leaders upto 1917 generally adopted this course. The predecessors of Indian National Congress, the British India Association (1851), the Bombay Association (1857), the Madras Native Association (1852), which dominated politics for more than two decades, worked mainly for administrative reforms, larger employment of Indians in administrative services, the spread of education, etc. Following these, the Indian Association of Calcutta (1876), the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870), the Madras Mahajan Sabha (1881) were mainly devoted to criticism of important administrative and legislative measures.

28. The Indian National Congress (I885), launched at the initiative of a British Administrator, Allan Hume, continued to pursue the same course up to 1917. Every annual session of the Congress during this period was opened by the singing of the British National Song "Long Live the King".

29. In the first two decades of pro-reform nationalism's existence (1885-1905), its principal political demand was for reform of legislative councils and greater power to legislators for budget discussion. Among administrative reforms, its main demands were for Indianisation of services, the separation of judiciary from executive, higher jobs in the army for Indians, etc. The economic issues included: India's growing poverty and famines and cuts in home charges and military expenditure. These demands were presented to the British government in the form of petitions. During this phase, the Congress remained confined to intellectuals and had no roots among the masses.

30. In 1905, after the announcement of the partition of Bengal into two parts, the Congress adopted the technique of *Swadeshi* and Boycott. But it was mainly pursued in Bengal to force the government to end Bengal partition. In 1906, the Congress adopted *Swaraj* as the goal of Indian people. It only meant self

government under the British sovereignty.

31. The Muslim League after its formation in 1906 declared that its aims were to promote loyalty to government, protect and advance Muslim interests and ensure friendly relations with other communities.

32. During the first world war, the Congress (including its extremist leaders, like B.G. Tilak) offered full cooperation to the British war policy. The Congress sessions of 1914, 1915, and 1916 were duly greeted by the personal attendance of the British Governors of Madras, Bombay and UP respectively.

33. M.K. Gandhi , who had just entered the Congress, offered his services in his 1914 letter addressed to the British Secretary of States. He was awarded the Kaiser-i- Hind Gold Medal by the Viceroy at the 1917 Delhi War Conference for his services to the British during the war.

34. The Congress continued to hold *Swaraj* as a goal of the Indian people up to 1929 when it shifted from *Swaraj* to *Poorna Swaraj* (i.e., independence) in its Lahore Session.

(E) Theory Of A Religion Based Nation

35. As regards the theory of a religion based nation, the entire historical experience of the process of nationalism refutes this proposition. It shows that religion does not constitute a viable basis of a nation. For example, Pakistan could not preserve its national unity on the basis of a single religion. Czech and Slovak Republics, despite having the same Christian religion, separated from each other only a few years ago. In 1930s, a common religion failed to keep Sweden and Norway in a common union. The break-up of the former Soviet Union in 1991 was mainly caused by its three Slav-cum-Christian dominated republics, i.e., Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia. Yugoslavia too got split in 1993 chiefly because of the political conflict among its three predominantly Christian populated Republics—i.e., Serbia , Croatia and Slovania.

36. India and Nepal, despite having been predominantly populated by Hindus do not share even a common foreign affairs approach. The 21 Arab nations, despite having the same culture, language & religion, could not forge even a common defence policy. The Christian populated countries of Europe and the Buddhist dominated countries in East and South-East Asia had remained not only separate for centuries together but waged perpetual wars against each other. Nowhere and at no time religion had acted as a unifying force in the process of the development of nationalism.

(F) Hindu Fundamentalist Argument

37. With regard to the Hindu fundamentalist argument about the downgrading of India under Muslim rule and the aggressive nature of Muslims, the facts do not corroborate this assertion.

38. The first point worth considering is as to how did the 'foreign invaders' were, with a few thousand soldiers, able to defeat their indigenous rivals whose military, economic and human resources were far bigger than the former. Why did not the local people come to the rescue of their domestic rulers and why did not they revolt against the outsiders? Obviously, the local people had no sympathy for the domiciled rulers. They stood largely disinterested in this contest which remained limited to the ruling groups.

39. Another point is as to why did the local rulers accepted to work for their victorious adversaries. The incoming rulers, having defeated their adversaries, kept the entire feudal system intact and adopted the entire former state apparatus—with the Hindu *Rajas*, *Ranas*, *Raos*, *Zamindars*, *Chaudharis*, etc., remaining in complete control of the administration. Thus, it was none else than the Hindu ruling chiefs who (according to Hindu fundamentalism then constituted the "Indian patriots") helped in the establishment of the Muslim rule.

40. There were no pure Muslim or pure Hindu armies under the Muslim or the Hindu rulers respectively. Rajput chiefs held commanding positions, sometimes going up to the commander-in-chief in the army during the Muslim rule, especially the Moghul one. Aurangzeb's harem was guarded by the Rajput army. Rajput princes constituted junior partners in the Muslim rule, particularly the Moghul one. Safdarjang was trying to form a Moghul-Maratha coalition when, in 1761, Ahmed Shah Abdali sacked Delhi and went back. During the entire Muslim rule, while the polity was mainly in the Muslim hands, the economy remained to be managed by Hindu experts. Except Ghazni, Nadir Shah and Abdali, no Muslim ruler drained wealth out of India. Even after six century Muslim rule, the "wealth of India" remained famous the world over.

41. The army of Vijayanagara Hindu ruler included as many as 80,000 Muslim personnel. Shivaji's guerrilla forces comprised both Hindus and Muslims. Even Rana Pratap's army consisted of many Muslims among whom was the commander of his artillery, a highly important military branch in those days. Thousands of Muslim peasants laid down their lives fighting alongside the Sikh

peasantry against the Moghul rule in the early 18th century, while Hindu *Rajas* were fighting on the side of Aurangzeb.

42. The Muslim masses (most of whom are of indigenous origin and continue to follow certain local cultural practices) were as poor and oppressed as the non-Muslim masses. Living side by side with Hindus in the village communities, the Muslims had pursued traditional trades and crafts as required by village agriculture whose product was used to meet the needs of all the village folk. The indigenous Muslims never enjoyed any share in political power which was shared by the Muslim and the Hindu elite.

43. The cultural interaction between Hindus and Muslims produced common *Pirs* and *Gurus* (such as *Sikh Gurus*, Kabir, Ravidas, Farid, etc.). The political interaction brought forth farsighted politicians (like Akbar, Shivaji, Dara Shikoh, Guru Govind Singh, etc.) and the economic interaction created agrarian experts (such as Todar Mal).

44. Matrimonial alliances between the communities at the top were common. At the lower level, such relations existed in far off places, e.g., Rajouri, Ladakh, Baltistan, etc.

45. The conversions to Islam had actually taken place in regions (i.e., Kashmir, Kerala, East Bengal, etc.) where the Delhi Durbar had never wielded a great authority. It is evident that the conversions took place independent of official pressure, mainly due to the preachings of Muslim Saints (*Sufis*). In Delhi, UP, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharastra, the Hindus remained in the overwhelming majority.

46. The Muslim rulers, like their Hindu counterparts, did make use of religion to meet their economic ends, one of which had been to get money by temple looting. But they never made any attempt to create a permanent breach between the Hindus and the Muslims. This is evident from the behaviour of those Muslim rulers who are considered as sectarian diehards.

47. Sultan Tipu sent his forces to save the plunder of the Sringeri Hindu Monastry by the Hindu Peshwa Ragunath Rao Patwardhan during the last quarter of the 18th century. Tipu's Prime Minister (Purnayya), treasurer (Krishna Rao) and police minister (Shama Ayengar) were all Hindus. While Aurangzeb demolished some temples, he awarded grants and aid to hundreds among which was the Jagan Nath temple at Ahmedabad.

48. It is significant to note that, during the six century long Muslim rule, there had been just one communal riot in 1673 in Ahmedabad. Despite frequent wars between Hindu and Muslim

rulers, the relations between the two communities did not deteriorate for such a long time.

(G) Muslim Fundamentalist Point

49. Corresponding to the development of Hindu fundamentalist reasoning, similar logic also began to grow among the Muslims. Like the Hindu revivalist leaders, some Muslim educated people began to think of protecting the Muslim interests in the new conditions. Among these thinkers, Syed Ahmed Khan deserves special mention. A nationalist and lover of Hindu-Muslim unity in the beginning, calling the two communities "the two eyes of the beautiful bride that was India", Syed Ahmed grew loyal to the British, giving greater attention to the Muslim rights. According to his logic, the British rule was a progressive rule which could not be overthrown by Muslims. The Muslim rule could not be brought back. By cooperating with the British, the Hindus had forged ahead of Muslims in education and employment. So, the Muslims should concentrate on acquiring modern education. A democratic polity would give an upper hand to the Hindus. In that case, the idea of competing with Hindus will be a hopeless task. Therefore, the British rule was preferable to a possible Hindu domination.

50. Syed Ahmed died in 1899, but his ideas caught the imagination of Muslim fundamentalists as well as some of the wily British administrators who saw in the strengthening of this logic a perpetuation of British rule in India.

51. The idea got its political-organisational form under the name of Muslim League in 1906. What followed is now history.

(H) Theory Of Gandhism As True Indian Nationalism

(i) Context of Gandhism

52. Gandhi, the great leader of Indian nationalism, dominated the Indian scene for about 28 years (1919-1948). And that period may rightly be called the Gandhian Era of Indian History.

53. Gandhi assumed the leadership of the Congress after the end of first world war. At that time, India was seething with anger against the British because of Jallianwala Bag massacre in Punjab, the imposition of Rowlett Act and the inadequate nature of the 1918 Montague Chelmsford Reforms. Blatant communalism and casteist oppression were hindering the peoples unity. There was no unity on national goal or method. The different parties were pulling in different directions.

(ii) Principal Concern Of Gandhism

54. Gandhi sorted out the Hindu-Muslim problem, which had been hindering national unity for long, as his principal concern. He became involved in this problem for the first time during the *Khilafat* movement in 1919. Speaking of this movement, Gandhi said: "For me, it was a chance of a life time. I felt that if I could but show my loyalty to my Mussalman countrymen in the hour of their trial, I would be able to secure everlasting friendship between the two communities." But this was mere over-simplification of the problem.

55. The problem of Hindu-Muslim divide was concerned less with religion and much more with politics, economics and culture. The question involved contentious issues—i.e., the majority-minority share in the future Indian power structure, a firm assurance about minorities economic welfare, guarantee of minorities cultural identity and security to their lives. Instead of handling the problem on the political-economic-cultural basis, Gandhi tried to solve it through a religious way. He thought that if the communities were brought together on the principle of the oneness of *Ishwar-Allah*, supplemented by his constructive programme, they would gradually learn to live together. But, the Gandhian *Ram-Rahim* unity formula did not work.

(iii) Gandhian Perspective Of
Linking Religion With Politics

56. During Gandhi's stewardship of the Congress, a number of opportunities arose when the problem could be sorted out on certain give and take formula. But the Gandhian perspective of linking religion with politics wasted all favourable occasions for reaching a compromise.

57. Gandhian politics stressed *Ram Raj* as a goal of India's new social order, presented *Gita* as an ideal moral basis for human action, selected *Bande Matram*, which had its origin as a battle cry "in fighting off the Muslim invaders" as the national song, characterised "cow worship as Hinduism's unique contribution to the evolution of humanitarianism", stressed the "discovery of caste system as a magnificent result of the ceaseless search for truth". It projected Gandhi's image as the greatest architect of Hindu revivalism in India.

58. The Gandhian philosophy (i.e., the *Gita*), ideal (i.e., *Ram Raj*) and methods (his reinterpretation of old Hindu ideas and transforming of them into humanist concepts, daily Hindu rituals,

idioms, songs, etc.) were all contrary to the resolution of the Hindu-Muslim divide. A person siding with one party to the dispute cannot be accepted as the judge or the arbiter. A leader of varying communities is required to rise above the contending forces. Gandhi failed in this respect. He projected himself as the leader of the majority community. That is why the Indian minorities, especially the Muslims, never accepted him as a non-partisan, fair leader. They looked upon him as a Hindu reformer of the modern age.

59. Nehru's frequent references to Gandhi's linking of religion with politics are quite significant. In his Autobiography (1941 reprint, P 2), he wrote, "Gandhi, indeed, was continually laying stress on the religious and spiritual side of the movement. His religion was not dogmatic, but it did mean a definitely religious outlook of life, and the whole movement was strongly influenced by this and took on a revivalist character so far as the masses were concerned...I used to be troubled sometimes at the growth of this religious element in our politics, both on the Hindu and the Muslim side. I did not like it at all...Even Gandhiji's phrases sometimes jarred upon me—thus his frequent references to *Ram Raj* as a golden age which was to return."

(iv) Gandhian Practice

60. Gandhi did, by denying meaningful proposals on the disputed issues, waste all occasions for bringing the Muslims into the national mainstream—thus pushing the latter into the lap of Muslim League.

(a) The first opportunity arose after the appearance of the 1928 Nehru report which laid down the principles for the framing of India's future Constitution. Muslim League proposed certain amendments to that report. That is, the conferring of the residuary powers on the provinces and not the centre, the providing of weightage to Muslims in the legislatures and the separate electorates, etc. An all Party Conference, which was called to consider the report, rejected the Muslim League's amendments at the instance of Congress. Had these amendments been accepted, a united India could have been retained.

(b) Another opportunity came in 1937 when, after the spectacular success of the Congress and the poor performance of the Muslim League in the Provincial Assembly elections, Jinnah sent a personal message to Gandhi, suggesting Congress-Muslim League power sharing in UP and Bombay

Assemblies. Gandhi's written reply—i.e., "I wish I could do something, but I am helpless" (Rajmohan Gandhi: "A Study of the Hindu-Muslim Encounter", P 145)—was just a rebuff to Jinnah. Nehru rejected the UP Muslim League's coalition proposal by haughtily saying that there were only two parties in India, the Congress and the British, and that none else except the Congress represented the Indian people. It was a highly unwise statement which even closed the option of a UF with various powerful regional Muslim parties, like the then ruling Krishak Praja Party led by Fazl-ul-Haq in Bengal and the Unionist Party led by Khizer Hyat Khan then holding power in Punjab. Several important Congress leaders (e.g., Maulana Azad, K.M. Munshi, Diwan Chaman Lal, Gandhi's private secretary, Pyare Lal, etc.), historians (like R.C. Majumdar, Michael Brecher, etc.) and writers (such as Frank Moraes, K.K. Aziz, etc.) had observed that this arrogant Congress attitude did alienate the Muslim masses and thus indirectly lend support to the demand for Pakistan.

(c) The last chance to avert the partition was lost in July 1946 when, after the acceptance of May 1946 Cabinet Mission Plan (which envisaged an independent united India consisting of three groupings to each of which certain given provinces were bound to join) by both the Congress and the Muslim League, Gandhi and Nehru, who were opposed to the compulsory groupings of the provinces, tried to wriggle out of their earlier commitment. Gandhi propagated against the Plan at his daily prayer meetings ("Transfer of Power," Vol. XI, P 106), but it went unreported. When Nehru made a press statement on July 10, 1946, that the Congress would enter the Constituent Assembly unfettered by agreements and free to meet all situations as they arise (which amounted to a virtual rejection of the plan), the Muslim League, which considered compulsory groupings as a fundamental part of the plan (as later also verified by the Cabinet Mission), promptly responded to it by withdrawing its agreement to the said plan. Reacting to Nehru's "unrestrained observations" made in his press statement of July 10, 1946, Patel said in a letter to D.P. Mishra: "Though the president has been elected for the fourth time, he often acts with childlike innocence which puts us in great difficulties quite unexpectedly." (Collected Works of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Volume X by Dr. P.N. Chopra)

61. The Cabinet Mission Plan was quite workable, had the purpose of the top Congress leaders been the unity of the country and not the personal aggrandisement of power.

According to Maulana Azad, first Patel and then Nehru fell for Lord Mountbatten's scheme of partition (India Wins Freedom, Delhi 1959, P 183). With a genuine motive, the defects of the Cabinet Mission Plan could have been rectified during the course of its implementation. Even Gandhi and Nehru who had earlier decried it as worst than partition, only a month later began to demand its application in letter and spirit. But then, it was too late to retrieve.

62. Obviously, it was Congress that, by placing the party interests above the country's interests, injured the national cause. The national goal then was to attain national independence for a united India. In this two sided national goal, it was the country's unity or national unity that occupied the first position, because the independence itself was dependent on national unity. The loss of national unity was an irreparable factor and constituted a loss not only for our whole people but the entire mankind, while no one, including British colonialism, could hold independence back for long and it was bound to come sooner or later. The Nehru-Patel combine, in its lust for imminent power, made the primary aspect of country's unity subservient to national independence—thus turning the national question topsy-turvy and paving the way for country's partition.

(v) Role Of Other Pre-1947 Political Forces

63. With regard to the role of other pre-1947 political forces, the Communist Party's role was not any less harmful than the Congress in disrupting the national unity. By equating the communal slogan of Pakistan with the right to self-determination, it helped widening of the Hindu-Muslim divide. The RSS' and Hindu Mahasabha's stress on Hindu supremacy further communalised the environment and thus indirectly strengthened Muslim separatism. The Akali Dal's only shortcoming was its uncritical support to the opportunist Congress stand.

64. The Muslim League had little to show till 1945, with not much support among the Muslims. In 1931, Jinnah himself retired from politics, rejoining only in 1935. In the dominant Muslim regions—i.e., Sind, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier—the Muslim League enjoyed very limited support and there was no popular involvement with the demand for Pakistan. In the simple Muslim majority areas of Bengal and Punjab, the former remained under the control of the Krishak Praja Party and the latter under the Unionist Party until 1946. The Muslim League enjoyed Muslim

mass support only in UP and Bihar where the Muslims were in a microscopic minority. The basic reason for the spread of Muslim League's influence among the Muslim masses around 1945-46 was the Congress revivalist approach on the national question, while the short-term reason had been the hegemonic behaviour of some top Congress leaders, like Nehru and Patel.

(vi) Role Of British Colonialism

65. As regards the role of British colonialism in India, the argument of British policy of "divide and rule" as the medium of inculcating communal consciousness among the masses in a systematic way and thus strengthening Muslim separatism needs to be studied in the light of the following facts.

66. Firstly, this argument fails to explain the fact as to why does communalism, even after 50 years exit of British colonialism and Muslim League's separatism and a long application of the Congress vision of Gandhian *Ram Raj* combined with Nehruvian socialism, goes on running riot in our country. Had either British colonialism or Muslim League's separatism been the real cause, the problem would have ceased to exist in the post-1947 period.

67. Secondly, there did not, historically, exist any problem of communalism as such in India either during the Muslim period or over 100 years of early British colonial rule (1757-1880). Though the Hindu-Muslim religious consciousness had existed in India since the advent of Muslims, yet it turned out communal when religion began to be linked up with politics. Beginning with the Hindu and the Muslim revivalist leaders, the problem went on increasing as the Congress and the Muslim League leaders began to solve the questions of a democratic structure of power (based on the majority-minority principle) in terms of religion. The Muslim minority wanted the settlement of its minority rights in the future democratic set up of India before the finalisation of any scheme for India's independence. But, the Congress failed to work out a national solution to the country's minorities or communal problem.

68. Thirdly, the British policy of "divide and rule" had the same purpose, i.e., to secure political-economic gains, as was pursued by the past Hindu and Muslim rulers. But it never attempted to create a lasting split between the two communities. Whatever communal measures—i.e., separate electorate, communal award, etc.—it adopted, were, in fact, the essential elements of its solution to the communal problem in India. And the application of

its solution became possible only because no consensus based option could be worked out by the concerned parties.

69. Fourthly, the popular view prevailing in India that partition was brought about by British colonialism in collaboration with Muslim League receives no support from the recently published 12 volumes of the "Transfer of Power", containing entire official record (with 7,482 documents) of the 1942-1947 period. The new facts disclose that the Cabinet Mission Plan constituted the last chance to secure freedom for a United India. It rejected the Muslim League demand for Pakistan and upheld the Congress claim to a united and independent India, while providing safeguards to the Muslim minority. Thus, by harmonising the Congress and the Muslim League positions, this plan offered a viable solution which, in other words, tried to strike a balance between preserving the unity of India and removing the legitimate fears of the Muslims.

70. Fifthly, the Cabinet Mission Plan put the entire responsibility for deciding the future destiny of India on the shoulders of the Congress and the Muslim League leaders, for they had to make the final choice between preserving an independent united India within a loose federation or accepting the partition of India into *Bharat* and Pakistan. Initially, both the Congress and the Muslim League accepted the Plan. But, after a few days, first the Congress and then the Muslim League reversed their respective earlier decisions—thus making the division of India inevitable. When Mountbatten announced the partition plan, both Gandhi and Nehru cried that the Cabinet Mission Plan should be enforced as an award ("Transfer of Power", Vol. X, PP 1013-14; Vol. XI, P-5, Footnote 5, and Vol. VII, PP 466, 613). But then the things had gone too far.

(vii) Was Partition Unavoidable

71. The partition was neither inevitable nor unavoidable. From the long-term angle, if Gandhi had not projected his Hindu agenda and the Congress had not treated the Muslim League with disdain, the latter would not have acquired the first position among the Muslim masses.

72. From the short-term angle, there were three alternatives to partition in 1947 when it had become a demand of the Muslim masses, namely, (a) the British Cabinet Mission Plan as accepted by the two sides, (b) the confederation of the two states with a joint defence, and (c) the continuation of the British rule for some more time in order to enable the disputants to arrive at a sensible

compromise. All these options were scuttled by the power-hungry politicians of the two sides, chiefly the Congress ones.

73. Anyone of the said three alternatives could have worked as can now be seen from the post-partition developments. According to the now available evidence, even Jinnah regretted the partition during his last days (1948) and is reported to have said: "I had committed the biggest blunder in creating Pakistan and would like to go to Delhi and tell Nehru to forget the follies of the past and become friends again." (*Frontier Post*, Peshawar, as quoted in the *Hindu*, 29.11.87, P 1). Michael Edwards had recorded: "It is doubtful whether Jinnah really wanted Pakistan. All his actions were negative, directed at preventing the emergence of an undivided, Congress dominated India" (The Last Years of British India, London, Cassel, 1963). Ayesha Jalal in her thesis "The Sole Spokesman, Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan" stated: "It was the Congress that insisted on partition. It was Jinnah who was against partition" (P 262). "Pakistan", according to her, "was a mere bargaining counter" (P 213, F.N. 18). The disarray in the Muslim League not long after the formation of Pakistan shows that if the Congress had accepted some constitutional form of keeping India united, a new alignment of forces would have taken place inside the country—i.e., within the Congress, Muslim League and other political forces opening up new choices of social organisation and development before our people.

74. Contrary to the Congress and the Muslim League claims of partition as the only viable solution, the facts point out that it was the worst solution ever imposed on the country. It charged a horrible human and material price from the people on both sides. And after paying such a high price for a very poor bargain, we are still wandering in the dark.

(viii) Cause Of Gandhism's Failure

75. The reason why Gandhism failed to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity and why it could not prevent partition has been that it was not a realistic perception of the Indian reality. That is why its theory and practice were not consistent with India's nature and thus were not in conformity with national interests.

76. India, having been a multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-casteist and multi-regional country, required a rational humanist agenda, free from all varieties of religious fetishes and miracles which could unite the various types of social groups on a common platform.

77. Instead of responding to the multifarious social character of India, Gandhi raised the banner of reformed Hindu humanism which he developed by re-casting the theories of his traditional Hindu revivalist predecessors. Coining a new slogan of *Ram-Rahim*, he preached respect for all religions but practically advocated the cause of his own religion. He overtly or covertly sided with all types of Hindu organisations, such as *Go Raksha Samiti*, *Go Seva Sangh*, *Sangathan Shudhi*, etc. Coupled with this was his role in Hindi-Urdu controversy. Earlier, he favoured Hindustani in Devnagari and Persian scripts, but later he began to identify *Hindustani* with Hindi in Nagari script to the near exclusion of the Persian script. The establishment of the Hindi Paracharini Sabha further confirmed these charges. Some of his comments on Hindu-Muslim relations, having been partial to the Hindus, were resented by the Muslims. His remarks that "Muslims did not regard India as their home" and that "The Mussalman as a rule is a bully and the Hindu as a rule is a coward" aroused a great deal of criticism in Muslim quarters.

78. It is not for nothing that, 32 years after his assassination by a Hindu fanatic, the BJP, the political wing of the RSS, adopted Gandhism as its guiding thought. The main difference between the Gandhian religious politics and the BJP's militant Hinduism is that, while the former is non-violent and value based, the latter is power and money oriented and violence based.

79. The Gandhian religious agenda created a very damaging effect on the Muslim mind. The Muslim League took full advantage of the situation. With the passage of time, it was communalism of all varieties which got ascendancy in every nook and corner of the country.

80. The partition was, thus, the logical conclusion of the then prevailing Indian reality. As expected, the partition did not solve the Hindu-Muslim problem in the sub-continent, it merely internationalised some of its aspects.

(ix) Freedom Lacking Human Sense Of Achievement

81. The decision of partitioning India as concluded between the Congress, Muslim League and the British Government was followed by a communal holocaust in which about 10 lakh people, including Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, were massacred and about 147 lakh people (mostly from Punjab and Bengal) uprooted (Hindus and Sikhs fled from Pakistan and the Muslims from India)—thus constituting the biggest human tragedy in history.

82. But the tragedy did not fall from the skies. It was the inevitable result of what we had sown. Gandhian nationalism had pronounced to produce a non-violent *satyagrahi,* a *sarvodaya* practitioner and a man of renunciation. But it had actually given birth to a violent, ruthless and greedy Hindu and the same variety of Muslim and Sikh.

83. Whether it was the attainment of freedom (as interpreted by the Congress and similar political brands) or the transfer of power from the British to the Congress and the Muslim League (as characterised by Britain and many other historians and writers), it was devoid of any human sense of achievement.

84. On August 15, 1947, the day when India became independent, a dejected Gandhi said: "The kind of independence we are going to get does not merit celebration through illumination…We do not have foodgrains, clothes and oil, nowhere is the need for celebration."

IV. Post-1947 Indian Nationalism

(A) Objective

85. "We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Soverign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: Justice, Social, Economic and Political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the (Unity and integrity of Nation); in our Constitute Assembly this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give ourselves this Constituttion."

This is how our Constitutional Preamble holds out the prospects of the Indian people.

86. But how do the matters stand after 50 years of independence and 47 years after the promulgation of the Indian Constitution. What sort of *Bharat* have we built? What type of quality of life have we provided? And what kind of man have we produced? Where have our nationalism, Constitution, agenda, priorities and politicians exactly taken us?

87. The Indian "national" leaders proclaim that India has made remarkable progress. According to them, the GDP has gone up. Agricultural production has been trebled. Literacy has risen from 18 to 52 percent. Life expectancy has increased from 35 to 60 years. And India had been turned into a land of cell phones, Cielo

cars, high quality computers, TVs, videos and so on. But how genuine is this claim? Only facts can provide the answer.

88. Progress could be defined and assessed in terms of many parameters. The UN Development Programme (UNDP) has listed several factors, such as income, poverty, education, food and nutrition, health, status of women and children, etc. But, in addition to this, we also include the parameters of economy, politics, culture and foreign-cum-defence related matters.

(B) Human Development

89. It may sound strange and even fantastic that after 50 years of Indian independence, about 62% of our population remains in the category of the poor, 40% below the poverty line, 33% houseless, 25% devoid of safe drinking water and 75% lacking sanitary facilities.

90. The poor have become more numerous, numbering about 418 million as against India's total population of 332 million at the time of independence.

91. In the field of education, the national literacy rate today is a pathetic 52%. This is not only lower than the ASEAN countries, like Singapore (91%), Thailand (94%) and Indonesia (80%), but is even lower than the African troublesome economies, like Zambia (78%), Uganda (62%), Tanzania (68%) and Kenya (78%). With regard to the rural-urban gap, as per the 1991 census, the literacy rate was 62% in urban areas versus 36% in rural ones. For females, it was 54% in urban and only 24% in rural areas. The percentage of female children aged 10-12 who had never been enrolled was 51% in rural areas and 19% in urban ones.

92. Indicators of health present an equally dismal picture. The infant mortality rate (IMR)—which is generally dependent on family income and female education—stood around 70 per 1,000 against 4 per 1,000 in Singapore, 10 per 1,000 in Korea, etc. As to the rural-urban gap, the IMR was 79 in rural versus 5.1 in urban areas in 1992. In Orissa, the gap was far wider: 105 in rural versus 57 in urban areas. In Kerala, which ranks higher in terms of human development, it was 16 versus 14 for rural and urban areas respectively.

As regards the disease burden in India, gastro-intestinal disorders are responsible for more than a 10th of the diseased cases. About 12 million are blind and 20 million are visually handicapped. Three to four percent of the population suffer from one or other form of renal (kidney related) diseases. Total new

cases of TB per annum was over 9 lakh in 1990; in 2001, it is estimated to be 1.1 million annual new cases. HIV infection is projected to grow to 2.1 to 6.7 million by the year 2000. Projected cancer incidence for 2001 is about 9.3 lakh. Road accidents take a toll of about 70,000 per annum. Fatalities and injuries caused by industrial, domestic and road accidents will number about 87,000 and 4 lakh respectively by the year 2001.

93. In East Asia, the expenditure on education and health over the period 1965-90 was 22% of the total government spending versus 14% in South Asia and less than 10% in India. Indeed as a percentage of GDP, India spends less on education (4%) than sub-Saharan Africa (6%).

94. In terms of food and nutrition, the per capita availability of foodgrains per day has fallen from 511 to 465 grams during 1991-96. A UNICEF report says that South Asia, particularly India, has the worst nutrition levels, with the highest number of maternal deaths and 50% of underweight children.

95. The data collected by UN agencies shows that 55% of the Indian people are poor compared to 47% in sub-Saharan Africa, 17% in South Asia and 20% in China. In case of the extremely poor category, India's percentage is as high as 33, sub-Saharan Africa's and China's comes down to 30 and 8 respectively.

96. Productive employment is the only proper solution to poverty in any country. Every political party goes on promising to eradicate unemployment if voted to power. But, the inefficient economic performance coupled with the high rates of population growth has been leading to continuous worsening of the unemployment situation in India. In 1991, unemployment was of the order of 23 million. It is expected to increase by another 35 million in 1997.

97. Assured supply of adequate power is an essential requirement for economic development. Per capita power consumption of a country is considered to be one of the important indexes of a country's development. But India's record in power generation/consumption has been quite deplorable. It is unable to meet even its meagre energy needs and is suffering from a shortage of about 20%. A 1996 UNDP report shows that, while the per capita commercial energy used in China, Thailand and Malaysia increased from 278 to 623, 178 to 678 and 436 to 1,529 kg of oil equivalent respectively, the increase in India was only from 111 to 242 kg of oil equivalent.

98. The main fault with the post-1947 Indian democratic and

developmental model is that it has never made the people, particularly the deprived masses, as its focus and reference point. That is why education, health and other social sectors have remained neglected during the past half a century. They never became election issues at any time in India. For they are not issues at all for the national parties.

India's failure on the human development front exposes the argument that some developing countries grew faster because, in contrast to our path of social justice, they built a capitalist structure.

(C) Economy

99. In the pre-1947 India, a widespread impression was that the Indian impoverishment and the British prosperity had been the two ended result of the British draining of our wealth to England and that the end of colonial rule would enable us to rebuild the country on the basis of our ancient model where rivers of "honey and milk flowed in this sacred land."

100. At the time of our independence, all the East and the South-East Asian countries (except war-ravaged Japan) stood way behind India which had a superior industrial base, a well developed educational system, a reservoir of scientific-technical experts, a set of ICS administrators and sterling balances of Rs 1,600 crore. Everyone then rightly expected that India had a great future.

101. But the facts, however, could not be more disgusting. India's per capita income today is just $340. That of Singapore is $26,730, of Hong Kong $23,000, of Taiwan $13,000, of South Korea $9,700 and Thailand $2,740.

102. The UNDP's human development index ranks India at 135 out of 174 countries. Japan is 3; South Korea is 29; Singapore is 34; Thailand is 52; Malaysia is 53; North Korea is 83; Indonesia is 102 and China is 108.

103. In 1950-51, India's share of the world's GDP was 2%; now it is less than 1%. India's share in the world foreign trade declined from 2.5% in 1950-51 to 0.6% at present. In 1950-51, India's share in the Third World's GDP was about 12%; now it is 5%.

While the total world output and commerce had in the post-second world war period increased by 5.5 & 14 times respectively, our national output had grown only by 2.5 times and the external trade slided from 2.5% to 0.6% share in the world trade.

104. In the much advertised green revolution (1970-90), while Indian agriculture has grown by 2.1 %, the corresponding figure for China was 6%, for Malaysia 4.7%, for Thailand 4.6% and for Indonesia 3.7%.

105. India's rice yield per hectare is the lowest in Asia, i.e., 2,576 kg, while the average world yield is 3,581 kg. Against the average world yield of 3,257 kg per hectare, India's yield in maize is only 1,474 kg. In sunflower, China's productivity is 3 times higher.

106. In labour productivity, while China's per worker per year rate stands around $11,000, India's comparable figure is only $1,000. The two countries were at the same productivity level in 1947.

107. As regards the cost of production, while the capital/output ratio in India around 1991 stood at 6/1, it has been 2.5/1 in the developed and 3/1 in the ASEAN economies. That is, while India has been spending Rs 6 for one unit of output, developed countries invest only Rs 2.5 and the ASEAN members Rs 3 for the same quantity.

108. The quality of our products has been mostly below international standards. Leaving aside the traditional items, like tea, jute, cotton, textiles, footwear and a few eatables, our goods and services hardly fetch any demand from outside.

109. A worrisome economic area of the Indian economy is its crumbling infrastructure—i.e., power, telecommunications, roads, railways, ports, airports, banking, insurance, finance, etc. The importance of the infrastructure for economic development has been an admitted fact the world over.

The poor transport network (i.e., air, rail and road transport), is causing a loss around 15-20% of foodgrains every year, amounting to Rs 50,000 crores. About 30% of milk, vegetables and fruits go waste due to inadequate transport, poor marketing and lack of appropriate technologies for preservation.

There is acute power shortage in the country. It is going to cause an estimated loss of Rs 18,000 crores in terms of production and the loss is expected to grow to Rs 45,000 crores over the next five years.

At a recent conference on infrastructure in India, a delegate commented: "At the current pace of reforms, India would be 10 years behind the East Asian countries by the year 2005."

110. Another area of grave concern of the Indian economy is its public sector. This sector provides 2.5% returns on the invested capital, while average interest on PSEs debt is about 9%. The loss of around 6.5% on PSEs causes an estimated loss

of about Rs 2,000 crores. The present position of the public sector demands an efficient management of the viable enterprises, on the one hand, and the proper disposal of the loss making ones (either by handing over their managements to the concerned workers on suitable terms or by disinvesting them), on the other.

111. Another, but highly disturbing, economic area of the Indian economy is its indebtedness. With its foreign debt amounting to $100 billion, India has become the third biggest indebted country in the world. But the internal debt has assumed dangerous proportions. According to the Comptroller and Auditor General of India, the total internal debt of the government increased from Rs 1,72,750 crores at the end of March 1992 to Rs 3,07,869 crores at the end of March 1996, representing an increase of 78% over 1991-92.

In the current year, the debt servicing charges constitute about 48% of the Indian budget. The net receipts from borrowed funds have turned negative. This year, the government is expected to receive Rs 65,454 crores as loans, but the interest payments on past loans will be Rs 68,000 crores. That is, the government will be receiving 23 paise out of every rupee of its borrowings, but will be spending 25 paise out of that rupee to pay the interest on the previously taken loans.

112. Corruption and black money have always remained the two hallmarks of the Indian economy. Scams and scandals are matters of every day occurrence. According to Berlin based Transparency International, India stands among the most corrupt countries in the world. The phenomenon of black money is equally alarming. At present, it is believed to be more than Rs 4,00,000 crores. India's high rate of corruption in contrast to that of the world puts the former in a disadvantageous position in regard to its cost of production and trade.

113. A study by three Florida (US) University professors discloses that over-invoicing of imports and under-invoicing of exports in Indian foreign trade results in the flight of capital from India. According to the estimation of these professors, there had been a total capital flight of about $11.3 billions during 1994 and 1995 through the foreign trade route.

114. According to a World Bank estimate, if India's corporate sector had not transferred $100 billion abroad, the 1991 Indian balance of payments crisis (involving only $95 billion borrowings from all international lending agencies) would not have occurred.

Population

115. India's population has grown from 34 crores in 1947 to 96 crores in 1997. It is estimated to cross one billion mark by 2001. No amount of planning can be successful with this sort of population growth. Such a huge population is bound to devour all the resources. Today, it constitutes one of the greatest hurdles in the way to India's social progress.

Environment

116. Environmentally, India has become one of the most polluted countries in the world. Air pollution, water contamination, decreasing water availability, 40% of land degradation and denudation of nearly 50% of its forest area have brought forth greater environmental threats and increased health risks, including new type of deadly diseases.

117. During the past 50 years, our economic performance has been, due to inefficient use and wastage of our human and material resources, characterised by inefficiency, high cost of production, low productivity, poor quality, outdated and anti-environmental technology and fiscal imbalances—limping from one economic crisis to another. That is, why India's pace of economic development has been slower not only in comparison to the world in general, but also to other developing countries.

(D) Politics

118. In the realm of politics, the sad truth is that, while claiming to be the biggest democracy of the world, our politics is characterised by all-sided social evils—like criminalisation, corruption, communalism, casteism, violence, etc.

119. By the criminalisation of politics is meant that our political process is being managed by politician-mafia gang ups, power brokers, extra-constitutional centres, power abusers and mis-users and money and muscle power.

120. By the corrupt politics is meant that our political process is dominated by all-round corruption.

By the communalisation of politics is meant that our political process is manipulated by different varieties of communal forces.

By the casteisation of politics is meant that our political process is deviously handled by various hues of casteist groups.

By the violent politics is meant that our political process is controlled by the politics of gun, especially that of the state.

121. The degeneration of the political process means the

hindrance in the implementation of all those constitutional and legal measures which are required for the smooth working of a genuine rule of law, on the one hand, and the deprivation of the people of even the meagre rights that are available to them under the existing system, on the other.

122. All this has resulted in creating fissures and splits in our national process, on the one hand, and the denying of human rights to the weaker sections, i.e., women, children, minorities, SCs, STs, etc., on the other.

123. All the institutions of the state have in one way or another failed the people and shared a collective responsibility for ensuring the rule of law.

(E) Culture

124. In the cultural sphere, our tragedy is that, while parroting the universal values of truth, peace, non-violence, equality and justice, our culture is distinguished by all types of tricks & frauds.

125. At the top political level, this culture of cheating says one thing, does another or professes one thing, practises another.

126. For instance announcing peace as the goal and non-violence as the fundamental principle, but actually pursuing the path of confrontation and militarisation; swearing by democracy, but always crushing dissent by all means; making solemn declarations of upholding secularism, but at the same time hobnobbing with communal forces; pledging to fight corruption, but either personally indulging in corruption or shielding the corrupt; etc.

127. At the public level, this culture of cheating has created an immoral atmosphere all around. Food adulteration, sub-standard goods and drug-taking, black market in getting water, electricity, ration cards, gas facility, telephone connections, railway reservation, admission to schools, colleges, hospitals, hiring for a house or a shop, fleecing through bogus companies, employment exchanges and visa agencies, tax evasion, money laundering, smuggling, manipulation of foreign trade, bank frauds, securities scams, etc.—flourish all over the country.

128. We have created a social environment where there is a premium on dishonesty.

(F) Foreign-Cum-Defence Matters

129. In foreign-cum-defence matters, the objective of regional superpowerism has always upheld the politics of gun and denigrated the politics of social peace. It has made defence

India's top national priority. The unproductive expenditure on defence had led India into a borrowing spree, both from the internal and the external sources. Today this indebtedness has reached an unsustainable level and is hindering the growth of India's economic progress.

130. The route of regional superpowerism has always hampered the improvement of India's relations with its neigbbours. It has already led us into four wars with the two neighbours, i.e., Pakistan and China. Even after the end of the cold war era, when global military expenditure has been coming down by $4 billion each year since 1987 and when every region of the world has reduced military spending, India continues on the same old military track—with a distinction of having been the biggest importer of weapons among the developing countries in the world.

(G) Reasons For India's Poor Performance

131. Why has the post-1947 Indian nationalism (as personified by the national perspective of majoritarian nationalism or Gandhism, constitutional approach of a centralised system and the mechanism of centralised political parties) not worked well as anticipated by its propounders.

132. The reason is that none of the above three interconnected factors of the post-1947 Indian nationalism reconciles with the fundamental reality of India as well as other existing social realities.

133. The fundamental Indian reality has been that modern India, having arisen as a single unit after its unification under the British rule in the 19th century, has been a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-lingual country. The British ruled it through a colonial system (which mainly rested on force), but, after the end of British rule, the multifarious reality of India demanded a fully federal and decentralised system. Instead, the post-1947 mainstream politicians, especially those belonging to the Congress, opted for a national model which has been based on centralism and majoritarian secularism. Both these characteristics stress and tend towards uniformity and thus conflict with India's multi-sided reality.

134. Of the other social realities, one has been that the emergence of a multi-party parliamentary system in India required adherence to the rule of law. But oriented by the politics of power grabbing by hook or by crook (having its basis in the constitutional centralism), the Congress and other main national parties adapted unscrupulous means of money and muscle power alongwith the socially divisive communal and caste

cards—thus undermining rational thinking and all ethical norms.

135. The other social reality has been that, while the post-second world war reality demanded India's active participation in the expanding global market, India's economic aim of self-reliance acted as a constraint on any such integration.

136. Another social reality has been that, while the post-second world war epoch demanded a non-hegemonic and non-confrontationist path from all the developing countries, India, having been oriented by the chauvinistic theory of ancient *Bharat*'s great power grandeur and following the footsteps of the present day great powers, took to the politics of regional superpowerism that gives first priority to militarism and tries to lord over the weak and be soft to the strong.

137. Still another social reality has been that India's democratic and development model made India's upper and middle classes as its first priority.

138. The above misperceptions and improper responses have brought India to its present state of affairs.

139. The varying excuses of our national failures made by India's mainstream parties, i.e., pro-minority secularism, upper caste oppression, foreign created troubles, India's huge size and peoples diversity, etc., arise from the misconception about India's multi-dimensional social reality.

(H) Setting Matters Right

140. Setting matters right demands the observance of three principles: (a) learning from the past experience, (b) starting from the present social reality, and (c) adopting a correct social vision.

141. The past experience calls for the restructuring of the old social system. The present reality demands the systemic restructuring in the light of the emerging regional communities the world over, particularly the SAARC, with which we are directly and principally concerned. The future vision, arising from the ongoing process of the interdependence of countries, points out towards an emerging global human community.

142. The above essentials underline that India should immediately replace its majoritarian nationalist basics by the fundamentals of a global or human oriented nationalism. These may be stated as under:

(a) Sustainable development which demands the harmonising of the interests of nature and society (i.e., environmental protection), on the one hand, and of different social groups (i.e.,

rich-poor, rural-urban, gender inequality, etc.) within society (i.e., India), on the other.

(b) Sustainable development needs the politics of genuine peace and discards the politics of superpowerism and its confrontationist mode. Today, a genuine world peace can be ensured only by reconciling the interests of various nations and the national peace can be achieved only by balancing the interests of various social groups within a nation. For a lasting peace in South Asia, it is necessary to adjust the interests of India, Pakistan and the Jammu-Kashmir people.

(c) The politics of genuine peace requires the organising of India on a confederal basis—giving the states semi-independent status, full democratising of all institutions and the empowering of people at all levels.

(d) A thorough democratisation asks for a democratic behaviour, with proper ethical norms.

(e) Sustainable development, peace and full democratisation call for a balanced economic growth, having a closer integration with the global economy and based on the twin principles of market generated growth and state organised social justice.

(f) All the above fundamentals necessitate the adoption of the general approach of scientific realism and the social approach of rational humanism alongside a fully democratic and value based practice.

143. The present national scenario is highly dismal and distressing from every angle, especially the moral-ethical one. There is no new national perspective which may pull us out from the clutches of politician-mafia gang-up and the morass of corruption, scams, scandals and degeneration; no national style which may improve our performance; and no national value to make us justice loving and fair minded. This desperate situation calls for an immediate but appropriate response. If we do not tackle the problem in time, the consequences may be disastrous. The political uncertainty, economic deterioration, moral decay, and sharpening ethnic, communal and caste conflicts may lead to confusion, disorder and destabilisation. It is time to act before it gets too late.   14-08-1997

Science-Technology And Engineering For Achieving Sustainable And Equitable Development

I. Role of Science-Technology
In human society

Science-Technology constitutes one of the two most fundamental factors that underlie change and development in human society.

Science in general may be defined as the knowledge of certain natural processes, attained through supposition (i.e., provisional explanation of anything also called hypothesis) and observation ascertained through analysis and experimentation and finally systematised into formulae or principles. There are various branches of science, each having its own theory, practice and structure of a given natural process.

Technology in general may be defined as the knowledge of the application of all of the practical sciences to their relevant processes. Following the different branches of science, technology too comprises different types (e.g., industry, agriculture. etc.), each with its particular methodology.

The other most fundamental factor; that transforms human society has been the humankind.

II. Two Factorable View Of
Human Development

The above view of the change and development in human society is based on the proposition that the latter (i.e., human society) has been since its origin, changing and developing through two basic interactions. One is the interaction between humankind (i.e., one of the phenomena in the universe) and nature (i.e., various natural processes). And the other is among the human beings themselves.

(A) Interaction Between Nature And Humankind

Nature acts upon and reacts to society through various integral (e.g., air, water, food, etc.) and conflictual procssses (e.g., virus, earthquake, drought, etc.). These interacting natural processes are of two broad categories—that whose mode of organisation, operation and change is known to humankind (e.g., land, machines, oils, foodgrains, etc.) and that whose mode of organisation, operation and change is yet unknown or little known to them (e.g., black holes, galaxies, stars, space, etc.). Of these two types of processes, the knowledge of the theory and practice of the former is known as scientific-technological mechanism (or socio-natural mechanism) which denotes all types of scientific concepts, technological means and objects and their products.

This scientific-technological mechanism is characterised by a given social division of labour or a method of operation (e.g., a machine requires factory-type organisation and functioning or an aeroplane demands an airport-type of arrangement and working, etc.) which mankind must follow in order to operate the scientific-technological mechanism. If mankind disregards this rule, the scientific-technological mechanism cannot be operated (a machine only works if the worker adjusts his labour to the motion of the machine; it refuses to move according to the dictates of its operator).

Thus, the social division of labour constitutes a very important factor in the organisation, movement and change of human society. By binding mankind to follow its social division of labour, nature acts in the primary position in relation to human society.

(B) Interaction Within Society

The interaction within human society is closely related to the social division of labour whose implementation requires two interconnected things: (a) men's social units for working in different spheres—political, economic, cultural, security and foreign matters—and (b) social norms and terms for the observance of social units and their individual members to smoothly carry out the social division of labour.

III. Astounding Historical Achievements Of Science-Technology

Historically, the process of science-technology has been quite an astounding story. It has been as old as humankind itself. After separating itself from the animal world, particularly since the

emergence (about two lakh years ago) of homo-sapiens (meaning sensible beings who began to use logic for judging things), human rationality and ingenuity have been setting a record of trail blazing achievements one after the other.

For example, in the early human society, when human beings, then working as food gatherers in the jungles, faced continuous threat from predatory animals, the human discovery of using available stones and sticks as tools provided them with the means for not only their defence but also offence, while, at the same time, turning out to be the hunting mode of production and transforming the food gatherers into hunters-cum-collectors of jungle products. Later, when natural conditions became favourable (i.e., the ending of ice age and the melting of glaciers), the hunters-cum-food-gatherers adopted the technique of the domestication of animals and became herders themselves. While leading a nomadic life, they evolved the method of elementary cultivation (i.e., shifting or Jhumming) through the simple implements of sticks and hoes. Thereafter, when circumstances necessitated permanent settlement near river banks, herders developed their elementary knowledge of stick and hoe cultivation into the knowledge of plough cultivation and thus changed themselves into cultivators.

The inventions of the plough, wheel, bronze, iron, etc., in the early and the middle times marked various stages of human social development.

Later, the continuous evolution of scientific theories—i.e., Copernican (1473-1543) theory of earth revolving around the sun, Kepler's (1571-1630) three laws of planetary motion, Boyle's law (1662) that, for a gas at a given temperature, pressure varies inversely as volume, Newton's (1642-1727) law of gravitation and three laws of motion, Einstein's special theory of relativity (1905) that all motion is relative and that the velocity of light is always constant relative to an observer, Planck's quantum theory (1905) of the emission and absorption of energy not continuously but in finite steps, quanta, Bohr's law of indeterminism (1929) that denies determinism—has initiated a new era of research, innovation and development for humankind.

In modern times, the science-technology of steam power followed by electric power set in motion the industrial process—leading to the transformation of the agricultural man into an industrial man. The 20th century science-technology has carried us to the age of electronics, atomic energy,

space, bio-technology, superconductivity, materials and information technology.

Recent achievements of science-technology are marvels of human progress which have been utilised to solve a number of human problems, like increasing food production for a growing population, providing energy and transportation to people, improving human health and protecting environment and eco-system.

Here one may well ask: how is it that, in those days, when there did not exist any science-technology and the people practised various rituals under the belief that by doing so they were either producing some desired state of affairs or preventing some undesirable one, such innovations were made.

True, there did not exist science-technology as a developed discipline. But history shows that people have generally had a practical, common sense attitude to different work processes, e.g., farming, manufacturing, etc., and try out new techniques and to adopt or reject them on the scientific basis of trial and error. Science-technology has been simply a summed-up experience of humankind about different processes of nature. In the early and the middle ages, experience has gone accumulating in the form of human practical knowledge. It assumed its present formulated and codified form only in the modern period when objective and subjective conditions matured for this development.

IV. Scientific-Technological Scenario Today

As we march towards the close of this century, science-technology is poised for opening up new vistas of highly enriched knowledge before us through its various branches. These consist of information sciences, materials sciences, bio-technology and bio-medical research, energy and space.

Information Sciences

These sciences provide us a totally new perspective of unprecedented human connectivity by shrinking time and space. The key technologies involved in this sector comprise Micro-electronics, Opto-electronics, Switching, Parallel Processing Software, Data Compression, Storage and Display Devices. The rapid advances in these technologies are, in turn, bringing rapid changes in the Information Sciences.

Computer has become a powerful and evolving tool for

managing & sharing knowledge. The Internet has become a global network which provides access to unlimited sources of information.

Materials Sciences

There has been extraordinary success in the developing of new materials in this sector. These are polymers, ceramics, composites, superconductors, nano-materials, smart materials and biomaterials.

High temperature superconductors have enriched the science of Physics. Still much remains to be understood about the mechanism of superconductivity in high temperature superconducting materials.

Clusters are an important state of matter. They have a large number of atoms, but are not big enough to have the same properties as the bulk liquid or solid. Their electronic, optical, magnetic and mechanical properties are size dependent. Their properties can be tuned by controlling their size. This offers possibility of their technological applications. Today it is possible to deposit semiconductor structures of 10 nanometer (a nanometer is one-billionth of a meter) in length, width and height. Predictions are being made about startling developments in nano-technology.

Success has been achieved in developing smart materials which can adapt to a changing environment. In smart materials, structural materials are combined with sensors. Such a material can monitor signs of failure, say in bridges, aeroplane wings, etc.

Biotechnology

Biotechnology is an integrated use of biochemistry, molecular genetics, microbiology and processing technology which aims at finding applications of micro-organisms or cells to practical or industrial purposes.

Genetic engineering has the potential of alleviating diseases by producing new drugs, better disease diagnostics and fighting starvation by developing high yielding and pest resistant plant varieties. There are applications of genetic engineering in environmental protection and remediation.

Plant genetics uses recombinant DNA technique to engineer certain crop plants which are resistant to insects, diseases and external conditions like heat, drought and saline soil.

Biomedical Research

The information technology now enables a patient to communicate with a doctor from a long distance. Medical

imaging is already being used by doctors in diagnosis of diseases. Robots can be used in some operations to do things better than a human hand.

The human genome project is aimed at mapping and sequencing every single of the estimated 1,00,000 human genes. Its completion would greatly improve our medical capacity of understanding diseases.

Diseases affecting the brain, like Alzheimer, are considered to be the most difficult to cure. A vigorous effort is being made to unlock secrets behind the brain.

Energy

Energy has been a highly important component of development. Traditional sources of energy are nearing their end. A lot of research is being done to develop improved-cum-viable technologies for non-traditional sources of energy, i.e., solar, hydrogen, wind.

Space technology gives us the perspective of the world as a single unit. It had a profound and significant impact on the social and cultural life of our people. The remarkable developments in satellite technology which can reflect synoptic and repetitive, high resolution imageries of our physical and human world has now become a powerful tool of providing knowledge.

Science-technology is changing so rapidly that it is difficult to surmise their shape in coming decades. But it is sure that a new scientific-technological world is emerging.

V. Source Of Scientific-Technological Knowledge

The debate on the origin of scientific-technological theories is as old as their history. Some hold that these theories are created by human thinking (i.e., scientific-technological thinkers), while others regard that all theories are a reflection of objective phenomena (existing outside independent of human thinking) by our sense organs. Thus, the former view holds the scientific-technological knowledge as subjective, while the other regards it as objective. But both these concepts present a one sided view of reality.

The process of the evolution of scientific-technological theories itself shows that both the categories of the subjective and the objective constitute the two sides of every idea or theory. In the beginning, when human thinking provides a hypothesis, the subjective plays the main role. The moment one starts observation (on the basis of hypothesis), where the phenomenon

reflects some of its tendencies on our sense organs, and then undertakes experimentation, where the phenomenon (in given conditions) displays its characteristics to our sense organs, the objective acquires the first place. Again, in the phase of analysis and systematisation of the data obtained through observation and experimentation, the subjective comes to the fore. The foregoing facts indicate that, while the essentials of a theory are reflected by the objective, their provisional explanation and the final analysis and systematisation are made by the subjective.

Further, as regards the role of the individual versus the collective in the formulation of theories, both contribute their respective shares. While the individual plays the role of an ideological processing plant, his related team, department as well as the whole community (through its sense of realism) supplies the ideological raw material.

VI. State Of Science-Technology In India Today

Where do we exactly stand with regard to science-technology after 50 years of independence?

Our much trumpeted "biggest democracy of the world" daily boasts of having the third largest scientific-technological working force in the world. But there is hardly ever any word about our scientific-technological innovations. Why? Because, our mafia and money based polity has, in fact, generated a corrupt and anti-innovatory social environment which throttles the creative genius of our scientists-technologists and engineers. Obviously, the lack in the transformation of their potential into actual reduces their effectiveness to make a mark in the world of science-technology. This is why every seeker of scientific-technological knowledge opts, if he has the means, for some other country. The present scientific-technological scene in the country is dismal than even the colonial days when the Indian stalwarts, like C.V. Raman, J.C. Bose, Megnath Saha, Satyan Bose, etc., were able to put their stamp on international science-technology.

As the country celebrates the golden jubilee of its independence, eminent Indian scientists have, in a stock taking, made the following comments.

Director of the B.M. Birla Science Centre, Dr. B.G. Siddharth, says that at 50, Indian science and technology has on the whole neither been effective nor cost effective, nor "practical nor competitive with a few exceptions." The fact that excellence has been sacrificed in every field of endeavour has had its impact on

science and technology also and lack of proper environment has led to brain drain, worsening the situation. Dr. Siddharth said the outlook was particularly gloomy in pure sciences, where lack of funds was compounded by poor human resource as the brighter minds were turning away to more lucrative professions. Dr. Siddharth said in technology the absence of any notable achievement was partly due to the fact that the country had not built up a tradition of private sector funded research and development. At a deeper level, the sorry state of science education right from the secondary school upwards has been responsible for the poor human resource, also due to the fact that science education in India was by and large highly theoretical.

Echoing similar sentiments, chief executive of the Nuclear Fuel Complex (NFC) Dr. K.K. Sinha said, though the country was able to manufacture from bicycle to cars, railway engines and aircraft, nuclear power stations to satellites and produce enough food to feed its millions, "unfortunately", science and technology has not been able to control the enormous growth of population and check the wild spread of casteism, parochialism, corruption and inefficiency. Thus, we find that inspite of adequate growth of knowledge in civil engineering the conditions of our roads continued to be "very bad". Inspite of many Indian authors making brilliant expositions on the subject of administration, the process of dispensing justice was much more tortuous than in the British days. The country inspite of possessing many valuable minerals and large fertile land, remained under-developed. Dr. Sinha said, a majority of the population was a silent witness to today's realities. Vulgar display of ill acquired wealth by a few and abject poverty of hapless millions was what others associate our country with. "We proclaim that our national motto is *Satyameva Jayate* but real truth continues to elude our investigating agencies and justice dispensing courts." Dr. Sinha said, if the country has to bring itself anywhere near the ranks of the prosperous nations, "the people would have to develop the ability to distinguish between the right and the wrong," adding, "if for carrying out a process in industry we use more energy or more materials than optimally required, we call it an inefficient process. Similarly, for managing or governing an area or a state, there has to be a yardstick for efficiency and expenditure. This was one of the basic issues which the people of the country should realise because it was their share of wealth that gets misappropriated or dissipated through wrong governance of ill-

conceived management systems." The per capita consumption of electricity in the country was amongst the lowest in the world, he said. Underlining the need for faster electrification, he said the country would have to utilise all available resources of energy whether it was coal, liquid fuel, hydel or nuclear. He however said that "while we do find that occasionally we have made materials, equipment or devices equal to world standard, consistency and competitiveness has been severely lacking—why should otherwise our share of trade in the world exports be coming down? What could be the reason for this?" He said a thorough analysis would invariably point either to state of technology, capital cost, approach to quality and/or to productivity.

Dr. K.K. Dwivedy, who heads the Atomic Minerals Division (AMD) of department of atomic energy, said that "we have seen all-round development in various fields in the country, though at a lesser pace than we perceived. Still there is a lot to be achieved." Corruption has increased rapidly after the Nehruvian era and sullied the country's image. The country was still far from our goal of primary education and health for all.

Director of Centre for Cellular and Molecular Biology (CCMB) Prof. D. Balasubramanian said that one problem with the state planning of science has been the confusion between apparatus and results. The approach has been if there is a problem, set up a commission, a panel, a laboratory or an institute. This done, everybody thinks the job is done, while the job has just begun.

VII. Need For A Scientific-Technological Outlook

The development of humankind lies in the advance of science-technology. And the progress of science-technology rests with the growth of a scientific-technological human outlook. Without a scientific-technological temper, the optimal utilisation of science-technology is not possible. Unless society assigns a social priority to the development of a scientific-technological approach, the irrational views will not disappear.

Though the development of science-technology has, as shown by history, played a great role in making the people more realistic and rational, yet much remains to be done. Age old mindsets and attitudes (superstitions, magic, miracles and myths, fate, hell, heaven, etc.) still continue to dominate the global scene.

Superstitions (meaning irrational beliefs in omens) are widely prevalent. For example, sneezing is considered a bad omen when someone is about to do something important. If a cat crosses

one's path, something bad may happen. An itch in the palm of the right hand of a person might lead to his rewarding by money. The owl is a sign of bad luck. The continuous cawing of a crow at your wall indicates the arrival of a guest. The howling by a jackal during the day signals an impending disaster. In England, a common saying goes 'marry in May, rue for aye' (regret for ever).

The magical ritual (supposed method of influencing events) still remains in place in various areas. Rain making magicians continue to be hired by drought afflicted peasants. Offerings to ghosts and spirits, magic tricks for treating various types of illness, attribution of most misfortunes to witchcraft and the hiring of witches to bewitch one's enemy hold on in far off rural areas. Oracular technique to deal with witches is also in vogue.

Belief in miracles (supernatural events) stays on in many quarters. The news of the Ganesha icon drinking the milk shook the whole of India only two years ago. Even many scientists tried to justify the reality of this incident.

Religion and magic both imply ritual. Even certain religious beliefs and practices often contain a magical element, (e.g., some rituals may entail invocations and sacrifices to gods or evil spirits).

The belief in god, fate, hell and heaven still commands near universal appeal.

The only motive in pursuing the irrational themes is crude selfishness which aims at either to bring about a desirable end or ward off some impending trouble, or get rid of a bad situation, or to get a seat reserved in the heaven after death.

All inexplicable beliefs violate the established laws of nature. They are not based on any lofty ideal.

Science-technology very rightly declares that it does not have a last word or a final authority in an ever-changing reality. The miracle believers misinterpret this by saying that science-technology is intrinsically unreliable and has no answer to fundamental questions, like the origin of the world.

Science-technology is based on rationality. It makes a clear distinction between right and wrong. Its four parameters of judging right and wrong are hypothesis (without which one cannot determine what he should observe and how), observation, experimentation, and analysis plus systematisation. There is no place for any irrationality in science. Any superstition, magic, miracle or myth has no place in science-technology. Science-technology cannot, and does not, accept these irrational phenomena, because they violate the fundamental laws of nature.

VIII. Misuse Of Science-Technology

Science-technology represents the knowledge of the different processes of nature. So far, the stock of this knowledge is very very limited. There are only a few natural processes whose knowledge is sufficiently (not fully) known to it (e.g., air). But it has no information at all about a huge number.

However, if humankind, despite having scientific information about a natural phenomenon (e.g., nuclear energy concentrated into a bomb), deliberately misuses it to secure some selfish or partisan ends, the fault lies with the former. Again, if we unconsciously (i.e., due to misperception or ignorance) make use of a phenomenon (e.g., the use of the traditional sources of energy), which gives us a temporary gain but harms in the long run, even then the responsibility rests with us. In whatever way, we may look at our handling of the natural phenomena, science-technology cannot be blamed.

(A) Two Grave Threats Facing Bio-Life

Recently, science-technology has identified two highly destructive threats, unconsciously generated by humankind itself, to the existence of not only human but the entire bio-life.

One is the degradation of our environment (constituting of air, water, land, etc.), which is already running a havoc with the bio-species, many of whom are becoming extinct in hundreds everyday. The other is the unprecedented increase in human population which has increased fourfold during the present century. The population explosion has put increasing pressure on the natural resources—thus intensifying the environmental crisis. The problem has got further accentuated due to the prevalence of poverty and unemployment the world over.

(B) Alarming State Of Two Threats

The state of the two fundamental threats, as obvious from the facts provided by different expert agencies and now known to the public, is highly alarming.

In The Domain Of Environment

1. The earth is losing 25 billion tonnes of the top soil and 17 million hectares of tropical forests every year.

2. A total of 1.5 billion hectares of land had become degraded and deemed unsuitable for crops.

3. The non agricultural areas of precious arable land for

townships, parks, railway tracks, car and bus parks, air strips, etc., is accounted at 0.1 to 0.2 hectares per person.

4. 35% of the world's crops are produced from 15% of available irrigated land.

5. Since 1958, the water table descended by 80 feet in Bangkok and 100 feet in Tamil Nadu.

6. Nearly 70% of the Earth's forests have already been cleared at a rate of over 17 million hectares of tropical forests every year.

7. Due to the shrinking of forest cover, many species of birds and animals have either become extinct or less in number. About 140 species of plants and animals are threatened by extinction everyday. Nearly 60,000 species or one in four of the world's total could become extinct or near extinct by the middle of the next century.

8. If the present degree of environmental degradation continues, our earth according to experts would become uninhabitable for bio-life in about 100 years.

9. In India, the total forest area that was about 30% of its total area in 1947 has declined to 12% today.

10. About 100 million hectares of arable land out of a total of 160 million hectares in India has become degraded.

In The Sphere Of Human Population

For thousands of years, the population grew at a very slow pace, reaching one billion in over 10 lakh years (i.e., around 1800 AD). The second billion was added in 130 years (i.e., by 1930), the third in 30 years (i.e., 1960), the fourth in 15 years (i.e., 1975), and the fifth in 13 years (1988). During the current decade, 100 million people per year are, according to expert estimates, being added to the population on our globe. The exploding population exerts pressure on natural resources. India's population which was 340 million in 1947 has reached 970 million in 1997.

Obviously, the world is moving headlong towards disaster.

The above-said unprecedented state of affairs has caused anxiety all over the world. But this worry has inspite of the 1992 UN Rio Summit on environment, 1994 UN Cairo Conference on Population and a number of later international get togethers, not so far been translated into any concrete activity.

(C) Narrow National Approach—Main Hindrance

What prevents the human community from embarking on the implementation of its action slogans?

The most important hindrance that constrains our attitude towards implementing global action plan is the narrow national approach now being more aggressively pursued by each national government—which conflicts with the international action plans, concerning environment, population, etc.

The national priorities logically conflict with the core items of the international agenda. In the absence of any share in political and economic power, the majority of the world people could not have any great enthusiasm for carrying out the global agenda.

How humankind responds to the two fatal challenges—on this will depend his future.

IX. Country's Top Priority
Sustainable And Equitable Development

The two fatal challenges now confronting humankind can only be effectively faced by adopting the model of sustainable and equitable development. This model denotes the initiation of a nature-friendly and human-friendly process of change which, on the one hand, takes care of environment, and, on the other, develops the human resources. The rationale of this proposition is that these two forces—i.e., nature and humankind—are the two basic forces of the development of human society. Hence their proper development alone can bring social prosperity.

Given the above-mentioned premise, any proposition that emphasises only one or the other factor does not provide a proper perspective.

For example, enviromentalism stresses only environment as the determining element, while rejecting the practicability of using present human knowledge to rectify the ongoing human created environmental imbalances and avoiding them in future.

Similarly, the marketeers (the US, EC, Japan, etc.) depend on technology to take care of environment and project the market as the only medium of restoring economic balance in human society.

Further, the Leftists, still insensitive to the gravity of the environmental challenge, go on repeating their pet phrases of materialism as the foundation and class struggle as the law of social development.

Obviously, one-sidedness represents a distortion of reality.

From the afore-mentioned facts, it inevitably follows that sustainable and equitable development demands that top national priority be given to environmental conservation, on the one hand, and human development, on the other. It is only by

according principal place to these two areas that we can initiate an environmental-friendly and people-friendly process of change which can lead to the establishment of a sustainable, just and fair human society. The following points may help in this regard.

(A) General Principles

(i) To uphold the right and reject the wrong.

(ii) To acknowledge both nature and man as the two interrelated and interacting motive forces of human society.

(iii) To acknowledge the vision of a single human community, corresponding to the world social reality of being a global village.

(iv) To acknowledge global outlook as an imperative for the development of environment and humankind.

(v) To acknowledge environmental degradation as a human generated problem, having arisen from an unrealistic approach.

(vi) To motivate and involve the people in the preparation and carrying out of the action plans for environment and human development.

(vii) To manage the sustainable and equitable development process by empowering the people, especially women and other deprived sections.

(viii) To treat development not merely for the sake of development, but for the sake of environment as well as humankind.

(ix) To acknowledge science-technology as an imperative for sustainable and equitable development. This demands that the allocations to R&D be enhanced from the present 0.8% to 5%, education from the present 3% to 10% and health-care from the present 2% to 10% of GDP. The total increase in expenditure (equal to 19% of GDP) can be met by reducing government allocations to communications, transport and energy through privatisation. Also to make it mandatory for Indian industries to invest 5% of their gross sales in R&D.

These general principles require a number of interconnected initiatives.

(B) Concerning Environment

(i) To accept afforestation as a thrust area. Because, one sure way of preventing environmental pollution is to plant maximum number of trees.

(ii) To improve the waste and degraded land through soil conservation and afforestation measures.

(iii) To practise more efficient water conservation and re-

circulate waste water.

(iv) To regulate and control air pollution.

(v) To get the specific industrial pollution control measures implemented.

(vi) To develop environment-friendly technologies and products and to provide generous monetary help to those who develop them.

(vii) To improve energy efficiency.

(viii) To reduce waste and manage it in a more sound and efficient manner.

(ix) To preserve non-renewable resources.

(x) To develop alternative fuels and materials.

(xi) To take effective steps for the preservation of bio-diversity.

(xii) To implement effective sanitation measures in towns and cities.

(xiii) To keep environmental conservation above party politics since it concerns the future of all of us.

(xiv) To introduce people-official partnership to manage environmental concerns.

(C) Concerning Human Development

(i) To empower the people by constitutional and legal means in the decision making process at various levels.

(ii) To ensure social justice by ending all types of disparities— e.g., rich-poor, gender inequality, racial, ethnic or religious, urban-rural, developed countries-developing ones.

(iii) To take effective steps to eradicate illiteracy, particularly female illiteracy.

(iv) To provide adequate health facilities, particularly in the rural areas.

(v) To start sustainable integrated development schemes, based on vital inputs from bio-technology, integrated pest management, characterisation of land and water resources supplied by satellite monitoring to achieve increased agricultural productivity on a sustainable basis.

(vi) To take immediate measures for conservation of top soil, water, forest and other resources for improved agricultural productivity.

(vii) To pool all measures under the multitude of rural development programme to be managed by people-official joint control to implement integrated development schemes and stop all politicised *yojanas*.

(viii) To start agro-based industries in rural areas to improve rural economy.

(ix) To develop rural infrastructure.

Today, the need of the hour is that we use all our endowments to respond to the two biggest challenges not ever faced by humankind in the past. If we failed to rise to the occasion, the alternative is human doom. But history shows that human realism (or human practical commonsense) has always enabled him to prove equal to the task.

X. Engineering And Engineers Social Responsibilities

(A) Engineering As A Discipline

Engineering may be defined as an art or profession of creating all of the artefacts for the use and convenience of human society by applying the scientific-technological principles. The term artefacts includes everything—from a needle to a satellite. This breadth denotes the all-embracing creative nature of engineering in every field of human activity, like agricultural, industrial, pharmaceutical, electronic, aeronautic, astronautic, mechanical, bio-medical, chemical, etc.

The main difference between science-technology and engineering is that, while the former aims at unfolding the reality (including both its positive and negative aspects) of phenomena and thus make the humankind more realistic and rational, the latter seeks to put the available scientific-technological knowledge, coupled with its own research to useful ends which take into account the public utility, environmental safety, economic efficiency, etc. Engineering, therefore, primarily requires a creative mindset of fine tuning and improving the prevalent technology.

Science-technology and engineering are interrelated and interdependent. While the former provides the latter with the original theoretical-practical knowledge of a given process, the latter returns to the former the detailed experience derived from the extensive and the intensive application of the knowledge of that process.

(B) Evolution Of Engineering

Engineering is as old as science-technology. Its process has proceeded in conformity with the march of the scientific-technological process. That is from humankind's practical

commonsense attitude towards different work processes, developed through the trial and error experience to its present formulated and codified form.

Traditionally, engineering comprised two divisions—civil and military. With the development of the new disciplines of scientific-technological knowledge, engineering too began to branch off into various sub-divisions.

For instance, civil engineering came to be concerned with static structures, such as roads, buildings, bridges, dams etc., whereas mechanical engineering confined itself to the dynamic substances, like machinery, engines, etc. Similarly, mining engineering began to concentrate on the discovery of and the extraction of minerals, metals and ores from the earth's crust in their raw form, whereas metallurgical engineering involved itself with the extraction, refining and alloying of metals from the ores. From the practical application of electricity and chemistry emerged the electrical and chemical engineering.

Further specialisation gave rise to new distinctions in each sub-division. Civil Engineering was characterised by structural engineering, dam engineering, water power engineering, bridge engineering, etc., mechanical engineering by machine design engineering, industrial engineering, motive power engineering, etc., electrical engineering by power and communication engineering, etc. Sometimes later, communication engineering divided into telegraph, telephone, radio, television and radar engineering; power engineering into fossil fuel and nuclear engineering; mining engineering into metallic ore mining engineering and fossil fuel mining engineering. Then, the fossil fuel mining engineering split into coal and petroleum engineering.

Sanitary engineering has been expanded from treating the human waste products to also dealing with industrial effluents. Civil engineering also became concerned with soil mechanics as the physical properties of soils are important considerations in the location of civil structures. Human engineering or ergonomics emerged to deal with man-machine relations. The increasing physical and mental ailments created by environmental pollution and social complexities have led to bio-engineering (concerned with physical problems) and management engineering (concerned with mental problems).

Specialisation always requires interaction with other related things (as demanded by the universal law of interdependence and interaction). Hence, with specialisation came inter-

disciplinary activity to coordinate different specialists. For instance, the design of a modern structure involves not only the static structural members, but a vast complex, including moving parts (elevators, for example); electrical machinery and power distribution; communication systems; heating, ventilating and air conditioning; and fire protection. Even the structural members need to be designed not only for static but dynamic loading, such as for earthquake shocks, wind pressures, etc. Because people and money are as much involved in engineering as materials, machines and energy sources. The supervising of the inter-disciplinary activity has brought forth an integrating management engineering.

(C) Engineers' Social Responsibilities

Engineers are a product of a given society which provides them with the means, both ideological and material, to attain a crucial position, directly linked to national development. Hence they too owe a duty to their related community. This duty is nothing else than a conscientious fulfilment of their developmental task.

A conscientious performance generally leads to beneficial results, while its reversal brings harmful effects.

Traditionally, the engineers were guided by a two sided approach, based on sound science and sound economics. But today the global realities demand of them the adoption of the perspective of a sustainable and equitable development.

The upholding of this perspective means to dovetail all developmental activities to the benefit of environment and human welfare.

Obviously, such a perspective can be fulfilled by following the environment-friendly and people-friendly principles. These may include:

(i) To demand the establishment of a democratic partnership between the public, environmentalist, planner and engineer—all to think together, plan together and act, monitor and control together.

(ii) To participate in every human resources development programme, especially concerning women, weaker sections, rural areas, etc.

(iii) To take an active part in creating public awareness about environmental protection and human welfare.

(iv) To be innovative in one's job, while discarding all

stereotypes.

(v) To try to attain the highest productive level in one's job.

(vi) To develop the highest level of team spirit during the work process.

(vii) To be responsible in duty and answerable to public.

(viii) To ask for a new type of departmental decision making on those matters which concern the employees.

(ix) To determinedly strive to acquire a sustainable and equalitarian approach and mindset—the last but highly important.

This is, in brief, the path of contributing towards the building of a just and prosperous human future.