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MAHARAJA AGRASEN COLLEGE

University of Delhi

Vasundhara Enclave, Delhi - 110096 Phone : 91-11-22610552, Fax : +91-11-22610562

Website: mac.du.ac.in

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Indian Journal of Social Enquiry

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List of Contributors

- **Prabira Sethy**, *Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi*
prabirasethy@gmail.com
- **Pramod Kumar Ray**, *Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, L.B. Jr. College, Angalo, Jajpur, Odisha*
pramod67ray@gmail.com
- **Rachita Kauldhar**, *Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism, Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi*
rachita.kauldhar@gmail.com
- **Sangit Sarita Dwivedi**, *Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Bharati College, University of Delhi*
sangitsarita@gmail.com
- **Rakesh Sinha**, *Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Motilal Nehru College (Evening), University of Delhi*
- **Sanjay Agarwal**, *Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi*
sanjaydbc@rediffmail.com
- **Shilpa Gupta**, *Assistant Professor, Department of English, Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi*
shilpa.shimpy@gmail.com
- **Sudhir Rintin**, *Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism, Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi*
sudhirkrinten@mac.du.ac.in
- **Suman Kumar**, *Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Rajdhani College, University of Delhi*
sumankumar0005@rediffmail.com
- **Sushant Kumar Jha**, *Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Rajdhani College, University of Delhi*
sushantjha49@yahoo.in
- **Vinay Kumar Rai**, *Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism, Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi*
raivinay2005@gmail.com

Editorial

Dr Gitanjali Chawla

The National Education Policy 2020 is the effort of a decentralized participatory process which took into account feedback and suggestions from stakeholders at all levels - Gram Panchayats, Blocks and Districts in a bid to make education accessible, equitable, holistic, inclusive, flexible and multidisciplinary. It sought to bring in long overdue reforms and plug the gaps that had plagued the education sector since 1986. This is an attempt to keep pace with the fast-changing needs of industries and technology and innovative shifts in pedagogy world over, but at the same time this policy also harks back to ancient wisdom and knowledge by focusing on Indigenous knowledge systems and languages. When the world is looking east wards for alternative medicines and mental health, for yogic practices and Sanskrit, it is all the more imperative that we strengthen, preserve and propagate what is quintessentially ours.

Furthermore, NEP 2020 targets raising the gross enrolment ratio to 50% by 2035 and sets an academic bank of credits which will allow more flexibility and diversity. Student driven research is being encouraged and fostered by the setting up of the National Research Foundation. It also takes into account the need for a skilled workforce by setting up vocational streams to boost employment and productivity. The NEP is governed by the principle of inclusivity as is evident in the setting up of Special Education Zones for hitherto marginalized zones and a special fund for gender inclusion. Apart from greater flexibility in entry and exit options with transfer of credits, and a holistic approach to mentoring and mental growth, what is of special interest is

the multilingual framework of this policy which marks a significant departure from the hitherto imposition of English as the dominant language.

Pedagogy in early education will now be in the regional or local language till grade 5 with a greater focus on students acquiring a minimum of three languages, of which two will be native. Though there is no denying the importance of English as the unifying language at the workplace given how the virtual space has transgressed geographical and linguistic limitations, but the importance of native and mother tongues along with other regional languages will add a boost to socio-cultural and economic mobility and assimilation. India is unique in its cultural and linguistic diversity and the benefits of encouraging the same in a structured way in organised education will lead to greater understanding and healthy appreciation of each other's cultural milieu. And though English is the common language at the workplace and is seen as the language of empowerment and a key propellor to socio-economic prosperity and there is no denying that it is the language of trade, commerce, technology and industry, but it cannot be the language at the cost of our own linguistic wealth.

Introducing multilingualism is not new in the educational framework in India, the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005 had also envisioned primary education in the local language as did the National Policy of Education 1986. Both had argued for linguistic rights of minorities citing Articles 29 (1) and 350 (A), in which the former states that citizens of India with a distinct language or script shall be entitled to its conservation and the latter states that states should make provisions for the same by providing primary education in the desired language. It has been argued that multilingualism augments cognitive development as well as broadens world views as children will have access to other cultures besides their own. Not only will this aid in professional mobility but also be an important resource in learning. The three-language policy of the NCF 2005 sought to promote centrality of languages, inclusiveness and increased cross-cultural interface.

In a sharp contrast to the swing towards liberalization and globalization in the nineties, the world is looking inwards. The microcosm holding greater sway over the macro and the global. Regionality and local elements hold the fort even for multinational giants like Google and Facebook, paving the way for content in regional languages with a stronger localized cultural ethos. Be it the publishing industry, where translations are gaining currency, or digital media

which is increasingly becoming more local, the world of advertisement or OTT, the multilingual flavour is much in demand. The key though is not to teach these languages in isolation as any other subject but to be taught within its socio-cultural milieu with a greater focus on its evolution and usage. Innovative technology and digital content interface will make the propagation and conservation of languages more engaging and enriching. The NEP 2020 has also envisaged setting up of the Indian Institute of Translation and Interpretation (IITI) as well as a National Institute for Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit. The move is not only geared towards promotion of languages but also through localized linguistic mediums, encourage interest in 'Lok Vidya', indigenous crafts and art forms. This move towards multilingualism at an early age will also necessitate preparation of both pedagogical resources and trained teachers in languages hitherto not brought to the fore and will also make teaching more interactive and experiential.

NEP 2020 takes cognizance of the fact that 220 Indian languages are fossilized and nearly 197 in danger of becoming extinct with shifts occasioned by the increasing migration to urban milieus. With loss of language, an entire knowledge system gendered by its ecosystem is lost along with its literature and performing arts. In a bid to conserve the linguistic community, digital documentation is being promulgated through online portals and web interfaces which will include not only online dictionaries and translation tools but also audio visuals of performing arts of that language with field recordings of native speakers, all of which will be governed by the National Educational Technology Forum (NETF) under the larger umbrella of Higher Education Commission of India (HECI).

While on paper, the multipronged approach and initiatives to encourage India's linguistic diversity is commendable, ground reality will be challenging. Given the large-scale migrations, a child's mother tongue may not always be the same as the local language which will be the medium of instruction at the primary level. And how will the lofty declaration of not imposing teaching in a specific language be met given the poor student teacher ratio in our education system. While learning in one's mother tongue will ensure a low dropout rate, which of the multiple dialects in a particular area will be considered the local language of education? Furthermore, challenges in the implementation of this policy are not spelt out clearly and left rather vague in usage of terms such as 'wherever possible' and 'efforts be made' etc. What will perhaps be more

daunting is to change the mindset of people who continue to hold on to the primacy of English as the language of empowerment and commercial success. It is pertinent to first create job opportunities in the local language, to encourage its usage at the workplace and to project it as a language of multifarious opportunities.

Having spelt out the gaps in the policy, one still commends the spirit behind its conception and there is hope that the policy makers and grass root educators work in tandem to ensure that what was envisaged and encouraged in the National Policy of Education 1986, NCF 2005, Right to Education Act, 2009 and NEP2020 finally bears fruit and hegemonies in languages are reduced and no language is driven to extinction because of lack of effort in the right direction.

Immigration Politics of US-Mexican Border: Escalation of Crisis

Sangit Sarita Dwivedi

Abstract

This paper seeks to evaluate contemporary trends of international migration using Mexico-US migration as a case study. It intends to capture the true diversity of migrants from Mexico and their evolving migration patterns over time. After evaluating it conceptually, the paper will analyze whether a country should have more open or more closed borders. Both US and Mexico understand the need for control and so the discussion will be on how much control. It will also focus on why people participated in protests against migration laws and what are the effects of these events. Thus, the empirical study will analyze the emergence and obstacles of social movement in order to better understand the immigrant rights movement highlighting the importance of protest intensity in influencing political attitudes as well as the relationship between protests and public opinion on immigration policy in the current scenario.

Keywords: *Migration, Migration Laws, Immigrant Rights, Immigration Policy, USA, Mexico*

Immigration is being debated in numerous countries. It is argued that immigrants displace citizens of the receiving country, while others claim that their tax contributions stimulate economic growth. Mexico remains at the center of today's immigration debate. The United States-Mexican Border stretches 1951 miles from California to Texas and is the most frequently crossed international border. The border between Mexico and the United

States has witnessed millions of individuals crossing to and from each country. Legal immigrants have been welcomed to the United States for centuries. At the same time a high rate of illegal immigration from Mexico has been tolerated for many years. Measuring migration flows between the two is challenging because there are no official documents of how many Mexican immigrants enter and leave the U.S. each year. Despite the risks, Mexicans continue to come to the U.S. as illegal immigrants in search of an economic opportunity. The United States is by far the top destination for Mexican emigrants. In 2006, an unprecedented wave of protests emerged across the United States in opposition to H. R. 4437 known as the Sensenbrenner Bill. The U.S. President Donald Trump committed to build a wall along the entire U.S.-Mexico border and persuaded Mexico to pay for it.

This paper seeks to evaluate contemporary trends of international migration using Mexico-US migration as a case study. It intends to capture the true diversity of migrants from Mexico and their evolving migration patterns over time. After evaluating it conceptually, the paper will analyze whether a country should have more open or more closed borders. Both U.S. and Mexico understand the need for control and so the discussion will be on how much control. It will also focus on why people participated in protests against migration laws and what are the effects of these events. Thus, the empirical study will analyze the emergence and obstacles of social movement in order to better understand the immigrant rights movement highlighting the importance of protest intensity in influencing political attitudes as well as the relationship between protests and public opinion on immigration policy in the current scenario.

Historical Background

Both geography and history have made the Mexican migration flow to the U.S. the largest in the world. Mexico has three border sharing neighbors: the U.S. to the north, Belize and Guatemala to the south. In order to gain access to America, Mexicans must cross a border which spans four U.S. states and six Mexican states. In America, it starts in California and ends in Texas. After the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 however, the number and countries of

origin for illegal immigrants coming to America from Mexico has raised concern for safety and security of citizens. The most debatable topic in Congress is how to gain better control of U.S. borders and stop the flow of illegal immigrants. There are two sides of the debate: A major section of the U.S. population is in favour of physical barrier and better enforcement of immigration laws. They favor closed borders and absolute control of all immigration as the most important issue. The other section favors controlled access, but more open borders to allow foreign workers into the U.S. economy to provide for labor shortage. A major legislative effort on immigration was signed into law, the Immigration and Nationality Act by President Clinton in 1996, targeting the flow of illegal immigrants from Mexico. The Immigration and Naturalization Service estimated there were five million illegal immigrants in 1996 which became 11 million in 2005. These numbers indicate that illegal immigrants in the U.S. more than doubled in just nine years, despite the increased emphasis of law enforcement and border surveillance.

Literature Review

Why do Mexicans migrate to the United States? Using survey data from over 145,000 Mexicans and in-depth interviews with nearly 140 Mexicans, Filiz Garip in his book *On the Move: Changing Mechanisms of Mexico-US Migration* reveals a more accurate picture of Mexico-U.S. migration. In the last fifty years there have been four primary waves: a male-dominated migration from rural areas in the 1960s and 1970s, a second migration of young men from socio-economically more well-off families during the 1980s, a migration of women joining spouses already in the United States in the late 1980s and 1990s, and a generation of more educated, urban migrants in the late 1990s and early 2000s. For each of these four stages, Garip examines the changing variety of reasons for why people migrate and migrants' perceptions of their opportunities in Mexico and the United States. Looking at Mexico-U.S. migration during the last half century, the author uncovers the vast mechanisms underlying the flow of people moving between nations. Using data gathered in 25 Mexican communities, D. Massey & K. Espinosa in the article 'What's Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis' in the *American Journal of Sociology*, link individual acts of

migration to 41 theoretically defined individual, household, community, and macroeconomic-level predictors. The indicators vary through time to yield a discrete-time event-history analysis. Over the past 25 years, probabilities of first, repeat, and return migration have been linked more to the forces identified by social capital theory and the new economics of migration than to the cost-benefit calculations assumed by the neo-classical model. The authors find that Mexico-U.S. migration stems from three mutually reinforcing processes: social capital formation, human capital formation, and market consolidation.

A range of literature seeks to understand who participated in the protests, why they participated, and what were the effects of these events. Beltrán presents a historical overview of Latino social movements over time, through the 2006 events. He emphasizes that even as Latino social movements strive to mobilize around a unified voice or message, significant variation persists within the Latino population. Focusing specifically on the 2006 events, Barreto et al. seeks to understand who participated in the protests, and whether or not the Latino community was unified in their opposition to H. R. 4437. The edited volume by Voss & Bloemraad presents the most comprehensive treatment available of the marches themselves, including extensive background on the events and the wide range of groups that organized them. The coincidence of the 2005–2006 Latino National Survey and the spring 2006 protests has also led to research studying the effects of these events on Latino attitudes and behavior. Because the survey was in the field before, during, and after the protests, some scholars have treated these events as a natural experiment, comparing Latino attitudes before and after these events. Silber Mohamed focuses on the framing of the 2006 protests, reflecting on their implications for Latino political incorporation. She finds that consistent with the “We are America” theme of the protests, individuals interviewed after these events are more likely to feel American than similar respondents interviewed before, but that differences in Latino attitudes about immigration policy persist. Wallace et al. and Branton et al. add geographical complexity to their analyses. Wallace and colleagues highlight the importance of protest intensity and size in influencing political attitudes, while Branton et al. studies the relationship between proximity to protests and Latino public opinion on immigration policy.

Approximately half of the 11.7 million Mexico-born persons in the United States today are estimated to be undocumented (Passel, Cohn, & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2012). This population's dramatic growth and remarkable persistence since the mid-1960s is surprisingly given several changes to U.S. immigration policy that have attempted to stem its flow over the past five decades (Massey et al., 1998).

Reasons for Migration: Push and Pull Factors

There is a noticeable difference in the quality of life between America and Mexico. There are high crime rates in Mexico. Homicide rates come in at around 10-14 per 100,000 people. America is a more stable place to live, with lower crime rates. Poverty is a major issue in Mexico, with 6% of the population lacking access to pure drinking water. With high unemployment and poverty rates in Mexico, people are forced to move to America, where they have better prospects and maintain a reasonable standard of living. The climate and natural hazards in Mexico also force people to move to America. High birth rates and limited economic opportunities have been “push factors” that encouraged emigration from Mexico. Plentiful employment opportunities, connections to family networks, and an aging population have been “pulls factors” within the United States. Existing communities make it easier for people to settle once moved. 86.1% of the Mexican population can read and write in comparison to 99% of the population in America. There are significantly better academic opportunities in America than in Mexico.

Socio-Economic Impact

Assimilation of Mexicans into American communities has been problematic. Many Mexicans can't speak fluent English. This can create tension between migrants and locals which can lead to segregation, crime and violence. It is now common for Spanish to be taught in American schools. There are concerns that immigrants are increasing crime rates in areas that they migrate to as Mexico is a country associated with drug trafficking. The introduction of Mexican cultural traditions to America have helped to improve cultural aspects of those states. The majority of migrants leaving Mexico are males leaving a population with a high number of females. Mexican migrants often take low paying jobs,

which, is still higher than what they are offered in Mexico. As unemployment rises in America, this can lead to increased social tension as Americans believe that their jobs are being taken away. Many companies are now also replacing American labour with cheaper migrant labour. While legal Mexican migrants are working and paying taxes, they often send money what they earn, back to their families in Mexico, rather than spending it in America harming country's economy. Conversely, the increased amount of money being sent back to Mexico is helping its economy. As people move out of Mexico, it does relieve pressure on land, social services and jobs. The problem, however, arises when the young and skilled workforce leave, resulting in a shortage of potential workers to fill these newly freed jobs.

Immigrant Rights Social Movements

Mexico's prominence in the U.S. migration system means that U.S. immigration policy primarily affects Mexico. Recent Mexico-U.S. migration flows and the Mexico-born population in the United States are the product of previous immigration policy decisions, as well as of the long and complex history of the U.S. and Mexican economies, labor markets, and demographics. Migration from Mexico to the US primarily involves the movement of Mexicans from Mexico to the southern states of America. Due to their proximity to the border and the high availability of work in these states, the majority of Mexicans move to California followed by Texas. California currently houses 11,423,000 immigrants with Texas holding 7,951,000 (Jackson, 2015).

The U.S.-Mexican migration system has passed through four main phases since the early 20th century. Migration flows were limited and mainly short-term prior to the 1920s, and Mexicans were exempted from certain immigration restrictions and admitted as the first U.S. guest workers during World War I. In the Immigration Act of 1924, the Border Patrol was established to combat smuggling and illegal immigration. Mexican immigration to America continued to grow until 1929 when the Great Depression reversed the flow of immigration from Mexico. Many Mexicans were deported. World War II (1939-1945) created another labor shortage in the U.S. as many of Americans were drafted into the military. In 1949, the Border Patrol seized nearly 280,000 illegal immigrants. By 1953, the number of illegal Mexican

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immigrants seized by the Border Patrol had grown to more than 865,000 which led to implementation of Operation Wetback in 1954. It was a system of cooperation between the U.S. Border Patrol and the Mexican government to control illegal immigration. The bilateral “Bracero” temporary worker program marked a second phase, with 4.6 million temporary visas issued to Mexican workers between 1942 and 1964. The Bracero Program (1943 - 1965) encouraged Mexicans to work in America and Mexican immigration to the United States began to increase again. With the end of the Bracero program and other immigration reforms in 1965, along with social and economic changes in the United States and Mexico. In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act granted Legal Status to qualifying Immigrants who entered the U.S. illegally before January 1, 1982. The Secure Fence Act authorized fencing along the U.S.-Mexican Border. The third stage was marked by growing illegal inflows, eventually leading Congress to pass the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. Finally, despite a series of additional enforcement measures, the Mexican population in the United States doubled during each decade since 1970, with unauthorized migrants accounting for a majority of the growth, followed by legal family-based immigration.

Recognizing Mexico's status within the U.S. migration system focuses attention on how the U.S. immigration debate affects Mexico, and on how Mexico may affect certain migration outcomes. Mexico is referred six times in H.R. 4437 and the fact that the largest proportion of undocumented immigrants are of Mexican origin. The legislation, which was passed by the Republican-controlled House of Representatives in December 2005, contained a range of proposals that immigrants and their allies viewed as highly punitive, including construction of a nearly 700-mile wall along the U.S.-Mexico border, and the classification of undocumented immigrants and anyone helping them to arrive or stay in the United States as felons. In opposition to the bill, an estimated 3.5–5.1 million people, mostly of Latino descent, took to the streets to protest.

In the spring of 2006, an unparalleled demonstration emerged across the United States in opposition to H. R. 4437 that would mean staying in United States without proper documentation a federal crime. The first large protest

took place in Chicago on March 10, 2006. On March 26, 2006, a “national day of action, marches were organized. Demonstrations included widespread student walkouts (Loyd & Burrige, 2007). On May 1, 2006 another series of national protest was organized. Immigrant workers, students and supporters were encouraged to participate in a nationwide boycott in order to demonstrate immigrant contributions to the United States (Pulido, 2007). In Los Angeles, over a million protesters took to the streets between March and May 2006. Tens and hundreds of thousands set records in America's largest cities, including Chicago, Dallas, Houston, Phoenix, Denver, and San Diego (Bernstein, 2006; Korosec & Garza 2006; Prengaman, 2006). Dallas police estimated that between 350,000 and 500,000 people took part in the peaceful demonstration.

About a dozen anti-illegal-immigration protesters gathered and shouted, "Go back to Mexico!" as the marchers carried placards reading "Secure our Borders" (Korosec & Garza, 2006). Dallas police Chief David Kunle said. "This is a family-oriented group that come here to demonstrate. No one, we saw, looked like t planning to cause any problems" (Korosec & Garza, 2006). "This is the largest civil rights march in the history of Dallas," said former Texas Rep. Domingo Garcia, who helped organize the event. "We're making history." Other demonstrations also drew thousands of protesters in New Mexico, Minnesota, Michigan, Alabama, Utah, Oregon and California.

The 2006 movement was based on a single issue i.e., the issue of immigration. Instead of merely demanding the rejection of punitive immigration measures, the protesters sought justice for immigrants and supported legislation allowing undocumented immigrants the opportunity to regularize their immigration status (Johnson & Hing, 2007, p. 100). The two common slogans that emerged in the demonstrations were: "We Are America" and "Today We March, Tomorrow We Vote" indicate multiple constituency support, in particular among eligible or future eligible voters. H.R. 4437 represented a powerful external threat that activated multiple Latino constituencies, including the Latino citizenry and organizational elite, to come together in group solidarity, for immigrant rights. Unlike previous Latino social movements, the immigrant protest marches and subsequent public sentiment

among Latinos are distinct because H.R. 4437 was a strong external impetus for solidarity among the multiple constituencies who would be affected by the bill. However, the Sensenbrenner Bill was not passed by the Senate.

The Congress has debated numerous pieces of immigration reform over the last two decades. Comprehensive immigration reform refers to omnibus legislation that attempts to address the following issues: demand for high-skilled and low-skilled labor, the legal status of the millions of undocumented immigrants living in the country, border security, and interior enforcement. Legislators debated immigration reform in 2013, when the Democrat-led Senate passed a comprehensive reform bill that would have provided a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants and tough border security provisions. The bill did not receive a vote in the Republican-controlled House of Representatives.

Presidential Actions in Recent Years

Barack Obama - President Obama took several actions to provide temporary legal relief to many undocumented immigrants. In 2012, a program, known as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), offered renewable, two-year deportation deferrals and work permits to undocumented immigrants who had arrived at the United States as children with no criminal records and characterized the move as a “stopgap measure”. In 2014, Obama attempted to extend similar benefits to as many as five million undocumented parents of U.S. citizens and permanent residents. However, more than two dozen U.S. states sued his administration, alleging that the program, known as Deferred Action for Parents of Americans (DAPA), violated federal immigration law and the U.S. Constitution. A Texas federal judge blocked the program in 2015, and the Supreme Court effectively killed it in 2016.

Donald J. Trump - President Trump has signed several executive orders affecting immigration policy. The first, which focused on border security, instructed federal agencies to construct a physical wall “to obtain complete operational control” of the U.S. border with Mexico. It called for an end to catch and release practices, where certain unauthorized immigrants who were captured at the border to be released into the United States while they await court hearings. It also expanded the application of “expedited removal” to

include any unauthorized immigrant who cannot prove they have been in the United States for two years, allowing them to be removed without a court hearing. The second executive order, which focused on interior enforcement, expanded the categories of unauthorized immigrants prioritized for removal. It also moved to restrict federal funds from sanctuary jurisdictions, which in some cases limit their cooperation with federal immigration officials. The third order, which focused on terrorism prevention, banned nationals from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen from entering the United States for at least ninety days; blocked nationals from Syria indefinitely; and suspended the U.S. refugee program for 120 days. These actions, particularly the ban on travelers from seven Muslim-majority countries, drew widespread protests and legal challenges. The travel ban suffered several legal setbacks; the Trump administration revised it twice, and it eventually found its way to the Supreme Court, where justices allowed a third iteration to stand. In 2017, the Trump administration ended temporary protected status for thousands of Haitians and Nicaraguans who were allowed into the United States after environmental disasters in their home countries. Beneficiaries of this scheme are permitted to live and work in the United States for up to eighteen months, a period that can be extended at the president's discretion. In 2018, Trump ended the same relief program. In early 2018, the Trump administration implemented a zero-tolerance policy at the southern border, in which authorities arrested and criminally prosecuted all unauthorized immigrants. As a result, more than two thousand child migrants were detained separately from their parents or guardians. President Trump ended the family separation policy in June following widespread protests.

Role of State

Different states treat unauthorized immigrants differently. For instance, California, allow undocumented immigrants to apply for drivers' licenses, and obtain other benefits. Arizona has passed laws permitting police to question people about their immigration status. The federal government is generally responsible for enforcing immigration laws, but it may delegate some immigration-control duties to state and local law enforcement. President Trump decried sanctuary cities and issued an executive order to block federal

funding to such municipalities and to reinstate a controversial program, known as Secure Communities. State and local police provide fingerprints of suspects to federal immigration authorities and hand over individuals, deemed to be in the country illegally. He also ordered the expansion of enforcement partnerships, in federal, state, and local agencies. Several cities are challenging Trump's order in court. Some state governors have also protested, some said they would refuse to send National Guard troops to the southern border until the president ended family separations.

Role of Media

Press conferences, radio, television, and newspapers spread information about the rallies to mobilize the individuals & their opinions. Organizers and activists have some incentives for localizing their efforts. At the city level, it is easier for activists to move an issue to the top of the agenda (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). Newspaper articles discuss the local relevance of immigration in the community, the national policy debate, and related policy implications. The urban context also provides an efficient means to mobilize and legitimize a cause. Protest is the least discriminating form of political participation as it requires no citizenship, age, or residency to participate. Over the past ten years, the growth and dispersion of the Latino immigrant population has dramatically altered the demographics and politics in many American cities. It is reasonable that the marches were situated in the communities where large numbers of Latino immigrants reside. The Latino and Asian alliance over this issue is a theoretically expected outcome, both ethnic groups have significant non-citizen populations, many do not have English as first language. Thus, these communities were perceived to be the target of a threatening political environment and were too receptive to mobilization efforts. The church was an important platform used to inform and mobilize large numbers of people from both immigrant and non-immigrant communities to oppose the bill and participate in the demonstrations. The contemporary immigration protest rallies did not rise due to changing power dynamics or elite receptivity. Instead, in California during the mid-1990s, the political opportunity was created but in response to H.R. 4437 as a political threat associated with inaction. Unlike earlier social movements which specifically targeted Mexican origin Latinos,

the contemporary protests incorporated a broad base of national origin and ethnic groups. The Spring 2006 immigration protest rallies yielded both positive and negative consequences. It is again debatable that whether the marches marked the beginning of a new Latino social movement or a short-lived response to a specific policy. Protests were held simultaneously in many American cities, indicating widespread grassroots support for immigrant rights. Millions actively engaged on this policy issue in their home towns.

The immigration policy debate sparked heated exchanges by conservatives and liberals. With private armed militias declaring their right to patrol the border and 5,000 National guard troops deployed to the U.S.-Mexico border, it is reasonable that Latinos in America feel threatened and side with other Latinos on immigrant-rights issues. It is realistic to expect the politics of protest to continue among Latinos into the near future.

Critical Analysis

Two main marches were held in multiple cities, the first on April 10, 2006 and a second on May 1, 2006. The marches drew millions of people waving flags from their home countries. Every section of the society - students, housewives, laborers and union organizers took part in the protests. The protests blended claims for humane treatment of immigrant families, protests against the Sensenbrenner bill, immigration reform, fair immigration policy and claimed that undocumented immigrants were an intrinsic part of the US. However, self-reported participation is the only available data. As a result, participation in the 2006 marches cannot be validated at the individual level.

The study suggests that more Mexican immigrants have returned back to Mexico since the end of the Great Recession. Between 1965 and 2015 more than 16 million Mexican immigrants migrated to the United States – much more compared to any other country (Pew Research Center, 2015). From 2009 to 2014, one million Mexicans including U.S. born children left the U.S. for Mexico as per data from the 2014 Mexican National Survey of Demographic Dynamics. In recent years, immigration is used as a political tool whether there is election or mid-term elections to divert people from other socio-economic and political issues, for example, oil prices, conflict with North Korea, Iran,

Russia, tax deductions, health insurance etc. This in turn impacts sentiments of the locals and consequently sudden rise in hate crime causing substantial damage. The local residents perceive that their problems like competition in jobs, education, rise in traffic on roads are due to migrants. While the reality is that there is no change in jobs availability. Those who can prevail the education system and study hard, get benefits and better job opportunities. It is wrong to say that sudden rise of traffic is due to migrants, which in turn is due to emergence of new ventures like uber and Lyft. On the contrary, there is a sudden rise in the illegal immigrants as the legal migration becomes complicated and slow process. The new restrictions led people to adopt illegal migration which gives benefits to human traffickers as they do exploit sentiments of illegal migrants to meet their ambitions. Consequently, children of illegal migrants suffer due to human traffickers or through well-educated government, their processes and policies as we have seen with recent shift of policies of President Trump which was rejected by Supreme Court. Supreme court can reject and unite the kids with the parents but no government or no Court can help them overcome the trauma which little innocent child faces due to such radical immigration policies. Migrants are moving from their parent country where they have grown up due to their govt inefficiencies to deliver quality life which leads them to move to other countries for better prospects.

Conclusion

Mexico's role in the U.S. immigration system, along with the importance of the bilateral relationship to both countries, creates a number of opportunities and challenges. The Latino population is already the largest ethnic minority in the United States and the fastest growing. Despite increased attention to border security since 2001, immigration from Latin America continues to be a reality of the American economic system. The immigration protest rallies have been viewed by some as an event that transpired spontaneously. There are visible similarities between contemporary and earlier protest marches with respect to endogenous (i.e., influence of Latino demographics for the composition of those who participate in political protests) and exogenous factors (political threat as a mobilizing opportunity). However, there are also fundamental

differences between the modern immigration marches and the previous Latino social movements, their nature and effects of the exogenous political factors. It is not right to come across illegally. The poor people in Mexico have to find a way out. Many people have made the journey for a cause and the cause is justice and the legalization of the great number of Mexicans who are in the United States illegally.

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Information Flow Management in Higher Education Institutions

Sudhir K Rinten, Vinay Kumar Rai & Rachita Kauldhar

Abstract

In this information age, information literacy and its management has gained importance with the rapidly changing technological environment and proliferation of information resources. Information literacy and its management became significant for students, academicians, and professionals involved in Higher Education especially in terms of need, access and preservation. Information in the higher education system is available through libraries, community resources, and internet along with various other resources in a much unfiltered form. This research paper provides an insight of 'Probability', 'Expertise', 'Efficiency' and 'Accountability' of information management in Higher Education Institutions in order to 'Identify', 'Classify' & 'Rectify' the information. Further this paper examines the flow of information at different levels and the importance of information literacy for information management in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs).

Keywords: *Information Management, Information Literacy, Higher Education Institutes, Technology*

Information literacy is a set of abilities requiring individuals to “recognize when information is needed and have the ability to locate, evaluate, and use effectively the needed information”(Information literacy competency standards for higher education, 2000). In the contemporary information age of “Data Dinosaur”(Robson, 2015), Information literacy & Information Management are becoming increasingly important because of rapid technological changes and proliferating information resources. Due to changing data dynamics; in terms of need, access, and preservation;

Information Literacy & Information Management are important for students, academicians, and professionals involved in Higher Education. Individuals are faced with diverse, abundant information choices—in their academic studies, in their workplaces, and personal lives. Information is available through libraries, community resources, special interest organizations, media, and the Internet—and increasingly, information comes to individuals in unfiltered formats, raising questions about its authenticity, validity and reliability.

To keep in mind the dynamics of information flow and information overflow, it is important to analyze the 'Probability', 'Expertise', 'Efficiency' and 'Accountability' of information management in any system like Higher Education Institutions. In absence of these skills, one may not be able to 'Identify', 'Classify' & 'Rectify' the information. Information literacy is a set of abilities requiring individuals to recognize when information is needed and have the ability to locate, verify and evaluate, and use effectively the needed information (Information literacy competency standards for higher education, 2000). These eight aspects i.e. (a) Locating (b) Verifying (c) Evaluating (d) Classification (e) Rectification (f) Archival (g) Retrieval are the basic components of information literacy.

Locating / Identifying - Today there are an umpteen number of channels where one can get information from, there are archives, libraries, research papers and then there is the internet. With these many options, it is important that one knows where to look for the information as it is very easy to get lost in the sea of this information jungle. Another significant aspect related to this is to identify which data is required and which is of no use.

Verifying - While one has been spoiled for choices with the internet and other forms of media, one needs to keep in mind that not every source would have the exact correct information. Thus, verification of any information is very important. One needs to confirm the information at least from one or two credible sources.

Evaluating - While information is precious but without proper knowledge of how to process it is nothing but raw data. One needs to evaluate what information is really important and what is not. This segregation of information is crucial as a lot of unnecessary data which is not needed but would get eliminated and save us the hassle of storage and processing.

Classification - In any institution, information is received in the form of bulk raw data. Before further processing this data, one needs to classify the different forms of data, in order to make the process more efficient.

Rectification - After classification has been done, the next component is to look for the discrepancies and then rectify them. Once the wrong data is fed into the system, it would require a whole new procedure for its correction, that is why rectification is required beforehand.

Archival - Data archiving is the process of identifying and moving inactive data out of current production systems and into specialized long-term archival storage systems. Moving inactive data out of production systems optimizes the performance of resources needed there while specialized archival systems store information more cost-effectively and provide for retrieval when needed.

Retrieval- This is the end objective. It is the process of getting any particular information from the sea of information. If this process is quick and efficient, a lot of problems with information management would be solved.

In the 21st century, man has never known as much as he knows today. But that is just half the work done. The other half can only be fulfilled by Information Literacy. All the above-mentioned components of information literacy are fundamental requirements for any Higher Education Institutes. The amount of information fed into our servers every year is huge and with all this information, it is imperative that the people dealing with this information are equipped with the knowledge of Information Management and the process of Information accesses and distribution.

It is also important in this line of action that one should acquire the knowledge of various information flows in any Higher Education Institution. This knowledge will fulfill the requirement of information literacy up to a certain level. These stratified literacies create awareness, which can be translated into intelligence later on. American psychologist Howard Gardner states that the traditional view of intelligence is too narrow. Rather than conceiving of intelligence as a single, relatively fixed entity, Gardner's emphasis was on intelligence as comprising a number of relatively independent faculties. Gardner proposed facets, like, bodily/kinesthetic, linguistic, logical/mathematical, interpersonal (understanding others) & intra personal (understanding oneself) etc. He further suggests that these aspects of

intelligence are modifiable. This again contrasts with the traditional view of intelligence, which conceptualized it as relatively fixed (Johnston & Anderson, 2005). It means to provide information literacy among stakeholders, it is required to tighten the information channels and spreading the awareness of the information flow in any institution.

Information literacy empowers people in all walks of life to seek, evaluate, use and create information effectively to achieve their personal, social, occupational and educational goals. Information-literate people are able to access information about their education and work, and to make critical decisions about their lives and profession (UNESCO, 2018). Obviously, the information literacy of the stakeholders of Higher Education Institutions are of various levels, and thus their intelligence level is also varied in nature. That is why information literacy is called the “basic skills set of the 21st century.” This is widely recognized and accepted for all types of workers—entry level to top executives (Eisenberg, 2008).

In any Higher Education Institution, flow of information includes the information related to library, classroom learnings, co-curricular & extra-curricular activities, administrative affiliations, examination & student support system, dues and credits etc. In this sequence, information about the library system is of great importance. In the developed world, during the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, academic and school librarians developed the concept of information skills instruction from library orientation to library instruction to course-integrated user instruction. Librarians developed teaching materials, guides, teaching methods, library skills tests, web-based tutorials and other online teaching modules. Although the information skills teaching units were often separate from the academic curriculum and not integrated into instructional programs for students, librarians have continually tried to integrate the teaching of information skills modules into the curriculum (Rader, 2002). In recent years, India has taken a leap in information technology and is now looking to achieve the same level of information literacy that exists in the first world countries. Information literacy has become the foundation for learning in our contemporary environment of continuous technological change. As information and communication technologies develop rapidly, and the

information environment becomes increasingly complex, educators are recognizing the needs for learners to engage with the information environment as part of their formal learning processes (Bruce, 2004) and improved management procedures. Nowadays, in the era of converged technological environment (Jenkins, 2016) information literacy is inextricably associated with information practices and critical thinking in the information and communication technology environment (Virkus, 2003).

Information literacy practices in Higher Education Institutions are limited to their traditional modes of communication like: Annual orientation programs, physical notices, informed/uninformed opinions etc. but after a lot of development of information clusters, it is important to denote and reflect information flow and information practices at various levels. In this regard we can classify the flow of information in the following manner for any HEI.

D2D - Department to Department

S2D - Stakeholders to Departments

D2S - Department to Stakeholders

SPs2D - Service Providers to Department & Vice Versa

D2D- Department to Department

This facilitates the exchange of any Information from one department to another department. It helps the departments to interact with each other and provide necessary details. It includes communication channels between authorities, institutions, various colleges, funding agencies etc. with respect to various information necessary for their functioning and working. It also reflects the passage of information flow from university to colleges and reversal of the same.

S2D - Stakeholders to Departments

This facilitates various forms of notices, projects etc. from the department to the students of the same department. This also includes teachers and employees. The various information that the employees and the teachers are meant to provide to the college are categorized in this channel.

D2S - Department to Stakeholders

This facilitates various forms of notices, projects etc. from the department to the stakeholders of the same department.

SPs2D - Service Providers to Department & Vice Versa

This caters to the flow of necessary information from service providers to the college and also makes it possible for the college to avail services from the providers.

Challenges in Ensuring the Information Flow at Various Levels

In order to ensure information literacy among stakeholders who need an access to information, it is paramount to overcome the hurdles that come in the way. With so many people and procedures involved in the process of collecting, evaluating, classifying and retrieving information, there would be a few challenges. No one would disagree with the fact that even the slightest gap can lead to a huge mis-communication and data misinterpretation. In our study, 'Assessing the information flow and its management in HEIs, following challenges were observed at various levels of information flow.

University to College (U2C)

1. University to college communication must be strong and flawless. Sometimes, due to some barrier in flow of information, the updated information does not reach the college from the University and this affects the smooth working of the college / university. For example, Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi shifted to its new building in Vasundhara Enclave in the year 2010. The new address of the college was not updated in the university records. Though the normal academic procedures and functions were in order, but the college could not receive travel grant, research grant, and other facilities from the funding agencies like UGC. It could have been updated in February 2017 but it was only after several efforts of the college that UGC was able to approve and incorporate the new address of the college in August 2017.
2. The information of the examination comes directly from the University on the University Website. Since there are 79 colleges and 86 academic

departments in the University of Delhi, there may arise a lot of confusion regarding the examination dates. For example, in the academic year 2016-17, two dates of AECC / EVS exams were announced by the University. This led to a huge chaos among the students. Since there is no direct information flow between students and the university, it took a while for the administrative department to solve the problem.

College to College (C2C)

A connection between the digital libraries of different colleges would have built a strong bridge of information exchange among the students but there isn't really any communication system between any two given colleges. An interconnected library would mean more resources. Also, if the colleges are associated, the students would get to know about the other academic activities of their interests.

Department to Department (D2D)

1. There are so many departments working simultaneously in a college / university. There are a few departments which are responsible for providing some specific facilities. Even if there are resources, people don't get the access and that is where the need for information literacy arises. Due to lack of a proper information channel, people don't get to access the facilities. For example, the Department of Journalism has cameras and all the other equipment that can be used in different activities of different departments but there are a few people who are aware of this fact. Likewise the same for ICT, Abdul Kalam Centre etc.
2. There is a slight inaccuracy between the data filled by the students in the admission form and other forms related to their family background, address, contact details etc., different departments have no common platform to share, retrieve and rectify the information. For example, the details filled in the form of Students Aid Fund, sometimes happen to be different from the admission form. Student Aid Fund helps the students in financial need. But due to this discrepancy, it gets difficult to distribute the funds based on the given details and a new information bank is created in the process.

Stakeholders to Department (S2D)

Following shortcomings were observed in the research process about information flow from the stakeholders.

1. Updating information such as address or phone numbers, publication details, research activities, visits, participation in various national / international activities, consultancy etc. proves to be a daunting task because of the lack of awareness regarding the procedure of initiating an updating process.
2. Students seem to have no idea about where one should ask for a particular information. Information literacy is not just about accessing all sorts of information but also about the sources where one could get the right information. For example, the Facebook page of Maharaja Agrasen College has been bombarded with questions that a Facebook page isn't

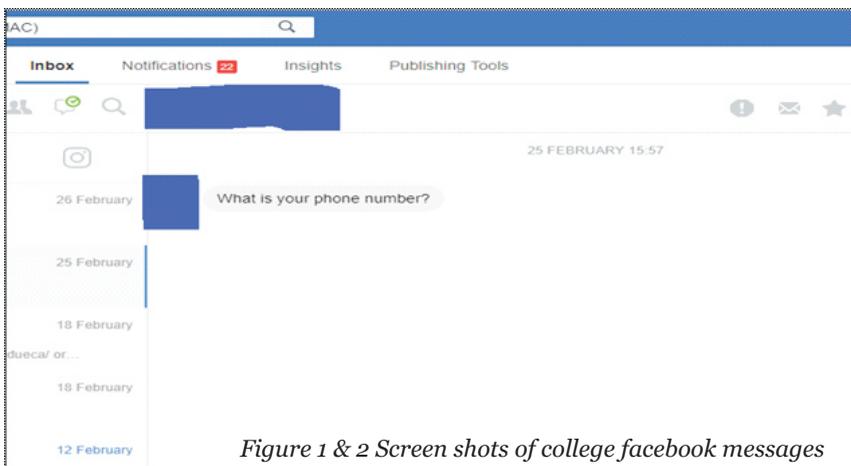
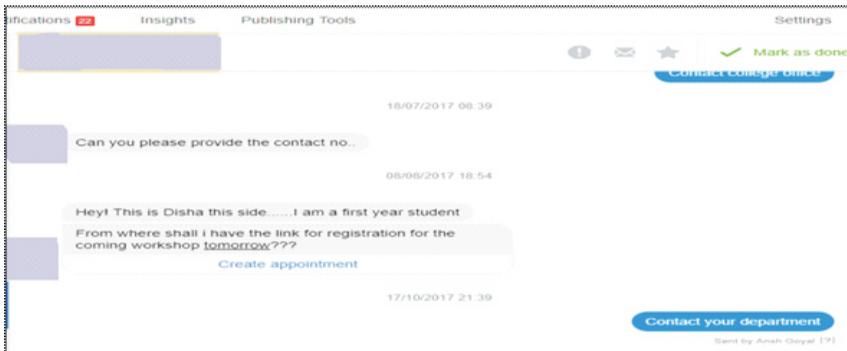


Figure 1 & 2 Screen shots of college facebook messages

supposed to answer. Undoubtedly, the website is the right place to go to for any kind of official notice or information. Following are the types of queries the page receives.

The queries raised by students in their messages over Facebook were found undirected and inappropriate. This is just another example of information literacy lacuna.

Departments to Stakeholders (D2S)

There are various traditional media vehicles between stakeholders and departments like, notice boards, help desk, letters etc., but they are not sufficient to communicate to satisfactory outcomes due to limitations of the medium and changes of consumption pattern of the stakeholders. Therefore, the new communication channels are required to maintain information & communication flow between departments and stakeholders. For this specific purpose websites are considered as the primary source of information for the students, teachers and parents. One can access desired information if one is aware about the information flow and is subject to availability of the information over websites. Information literacy not only leads to access of desired information from any online source but also to place information in appropriate places. It was found that the websites of Higher Education Institutes were designed in away information arises instead of the way in which information is accessed. Tabs visible on such websites are not properly linked with their content and normally site maps are also absent which can create an ease of access to stakeholders. Different pages of the website are not interconnected, even if the information is available, students do not get an easy access to the same.

Another major issue with the website is the lack of space because of which the website does not have enough details and information. The website runs under the domain of the University of Delhi and there are 78 other college websites running under the same domain. And thus, not much space has been allocated to an individual college website which becomes a hindrance to the smooth functioning and information load of the website.

A feedback form is supposed to take into consideration the student's point and their grievances, but the feedback forms and their redressals reach a dead end because of the lack of information literacy.

There is no such established communication channel between department to parents except the traditional media vehicles i.e. letters and notices published online. Several times, letters are not delivered to parents because of change of address and lack of update of the address by the students. Last semester, letters were sent to the parents of students who were short on attendance, out of which 40% letters found their way back to the college. Not much information is passed about the remedial system either. There is a provision of arranging remedial classes for the students who really require it in any subject. But the remedial classes do not function properly due to improper flow of information.

Service Providers to Department (SPs2D)

Information channels between service providers and departments are not effective enough, even certain services provided by different cells of the university itself are not known and thus not accessed. Information gap in various administrative and financial procedures are evident enough in their course of action.

Government e-Marketplace has facilitated online procurement of common use goods and services required by various Government Departments and organizations. It aims to transform the way in which procurement of goods and services is done. This is a very recent phenomenon as it started in 2016, this is why not many people in government bodies have the information about procurement of goods and other services. Government e-Marketplace (Gem.gov.in) is efficient, transparent, safe and secure but the potential customers are not aware about the same.

Suggestions and Conclusion

Based on the studies conducted at various stages of information flow mentioned earlier in this paper, it was observed that:

1. There should be a flawless information network between one department to another and all responsible individuals should be given appropriate training of all communication and information flow. There should be an Information Management Software such as ERP, CMS etc. to manage information. It was found that human resources of the institutions who are using any kind of ERP or CMS are not trained enough to manage the information flow.

Information Flow Management in Higher Education Institutions

2. Stratified training programs and refresher programs related to information literacy need to be organized. Apart from contemporary practices of orientation to stakeholders, participatory workshops of stakeholders should be organized for the literacy information flow at various stages. Regular publications and information flow manuals may be published for stakeholders. E- Learning materials and site maps should be uploaded.
3. Various departments who are close to stakeholder communication channels should be given a facility to register their information directly over websites. All tabs of similar links should be hyperlinked and directed towards a single content to avoid multiplication of data and repetition of messages.
4. Classroom participation and performance along with beyond classroom activities should have flexible channels of information flow, where we can introduce multi-directional communication channels. If we can establish a multi-directional communication channel between stakeholders to department, it will help in establishing information flow networks from department to stakeholders. Departments should have access to associated communication networks to disseminate information to their stakeholders. Software like CMS and literacy of the same may go a great deal in bridging the gaps.
5. Various functionaries of the institution should be aware about norms, practices and procedures of various institutions and bodies. They should be apprised and reinforced about the same. There is a huge time constraint as the stakeholders in any HEIs do not have a provision of professional training for longer durations. Also, the administrative, financial, teaching and other duties are in itself a very time-consuming job and taking out time for any extra activity proves to be rather difficult. Along with the same, the country is on its way to great educational development, and thus it is important that we are equipped to provide the stakeholders with the best facilities that we can. The utilization of these various facilities can only be fulfilled through information literacy at various levels. Through our project, we would be working towards the challenges to information literacy and their probable solutions.

This project is fully in line with UNESCO's mandate as it aims to raise awareness of the significance, role and scale of media and information literacy and improve policies and professional strategies at international, regional and national levels. But applying these norms and standards at a Higher Education Institute is problematic. Adapting the International standards to our professionals would not be as effective as it is meant to be.

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South China Sea: Sino-India Interest and Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific Region

Sanjay Kumar Agrawal

Abstract

The South China Sea region caters as a political and economic life preserver for the coastal region. It also has important strategic implications and base ground for coastal states to project their specific legitimate claims over oceanic resources. The narrative established by the post-cold war is of a unipolar world leaning highly towards hegemonic American interests, which turned out in rising of various geopolitical powers, those of India, China, and South-East Asian countries like, Laos, Thailand and Cambodia. The rise of stakes of these countries in international relations is not just a by-product of American policies but also the product of their individual sovereign endeavours e.g. the rise of Asian tigers is a testimony to this fact. After the liberalisation policies of China and India in 1970s and 1990s respectively, the growth of South-East Asian Nations accelerated in world trade and geopolitics making the Malacca strait and South China Sea (SCS) as strategic rallying point for the powerful contenders of the region. This paper highlights how due to growing energy demands globally and its economic exploitation leads to the rise of the chances of strife among the surrounding coastal nations. The surrounding region is the main navigation route of heavily transported and largely populated area of South Asia and South East Asia. All these factors accumulated in the hegemonic interest of China were overtly protected by its cheque book diplomacy (financing Hambantota port-Sri Lanka, Gwadar port-Pakistan, One Belt, One Road strategy) to protect its economic and strategic national interests. Presence of America in Japan and South Korea is seen as a counter balancing force for China, however post 2008 subprime crises that gave economic shocks to

America created economic gap in aiding these countries to tackle China. Hence it became the pivot to America's Asia Strategy to tackle China by combining efforts of contending nations of Indo-Pacific region (Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand)-the Quad to offer a united front against China. Further various issues pertaining to South China Sea dispute and challenges in the Indian Ocean region is dealt with. It also pertains to Chinese assertion on Indian Ocean under the garb of protecting it from piracy and oil spill disaster is frequently creating its rivalry with India; its military base in Djibouti is another reason for Indo-Chinese rivalry, which has its roots in India's interest in South China Sea, which is the main topic of discussion here. The paper also covers South China Sea in India's 'Act East Policy' as how India's long-standing Look East Policy is transformed into more assertive Act East Policy in the region.

Keywords: *South China sea, China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Indo-Pacific, The 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), One Belt-One Road, String of Pearl Strategy, Spice Route and the project Mausam, The Nine-dash line, Act East Policy*

Introduction

Time is the ultimate cradle in which International relations are formulated. Within two decades of 21st century, the world has progressed with unprecedented pace in the politico-economic scenario. The narrative established by the post-cold war is of a unipolar world leaning highly towards hegemonic American interests, which turned out in rising of various geopolitical powers, those of India, China, and South-East Asian countries like, Laos, Thailand and Cambodia. The rise of stakes of these countries in international relation is not just a by-product of American policies but also the product of their individual sovereign endeavour e.g. the rise of Asian tigers is a testimony to this fact. After the liberalisation policies of China and India in 1970s and 1990s respectively, the growth of South-East Asian Nations accelerated in world trade and geopolitics making the Malacca strait and South China Sea (SCS) as strategic rallying point for the powerful contenders of the region.

The South China Sea region caters as a political and economic life preserver for the coastal region. It also has important strategic implications and base ground

for coastal states to project their specific legitimate claims over oceanic resources. SCS consists of major catchment basin of heavy metal and petroleum products and is believed to be harbouring large reserves of oil and natural gas and is in demand for its rich fishing (Majumdar, 2013). Due to growing energy demands globally and its economic exploitation rises the chances of strife among the surrounding coastal nations. The surrounding region is the main navigation route of heavily transported and largely populated area of South Asia and South East Asia which is considered as the life blood of 21st century's trade. It is perceived as important shipping lane for ASEAN, India, Taiwan, China, Japan and South Korea which are all heavily dependent upon international and extra regional trade-most of which is shipped through the area (Cordner, 1994).

All these factors accumulated in the hegemonic interest of China were overtly protected by its cheque book diplomacy (financing Hambantota port-Sri Lanka, Gwadar port-Pakistan, One Belt, One Road strategy) to protect its economic and strategic national interests. Presence of America in Japan and South Korea is seen as a counter balancing force for China, however post 2008 subprime crises that gave economic shocks to America created economic gap in aiding these countries to tackle China. Hence it became the pivot to Asia Strategy of the US to tackle China by combining efforts of contending nations of Indo-Pacific region¹ (Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand)-the Quad to offer a united front against China.

South China Sea (SCS) Dispute

South China Sea is considered important because of its busy international waterway, cutting across the world trade, commerce and economy. More than \$4.5 trillion worth of global trade crosses through this region. The resource rich SCS with numerous offshore oil and gas blocks never fails to attract India's interest in the region¹, as it provided the technical assistance to these mineral rich littoral regions (Vietnam, Philippines) in exploring the oil and natural gas in the region. This infuriated China against India and manifested as its adventuring in region encircling India in Indian Ocean region through its massive String of Pearl strategy.

India's oils exploration in SCS is always vehemently opposed by China projecting it as 'disputed area' and asserting insurances of Chinese sovereign

jurisdictional claim over the oceanic region. China is continuously asserting its right over SCS taking this reservation in cognisance. India carefully crafted its agreement and signed a Joint Vision Statement for the period 2015-2020 on defence Cooperation with Vietnam as India-Vietnam Relations² with Vietnam for oil exploration also which is being undertaken at Vietnam's request so as to maintain its panchsheel principle of 'non-interference in internal issue'. These explorations zone is although within the living nautical space of Vietnam but China perceive it as a threat to its territorial sovereignty.

China continuous assertive denial on the various issues including sovereignty of India over Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) and also by being engaged intervention on a various infrastructural development plan and investment projects in Gilgit-Baltistan region which is popularly known under the umbrella project of CPEC (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor).

South China Sea: The Issue

The historical claim of China is being ruled out by the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA), Hague, Netherlands and ruled that, China has no statutory base to it. Philippines brought the matter to legal scanner of PCA in 2013 focusing on Scarborough Shoal however China stayed away from the proceedings. The PCA at the Hague discarded Chinese claim over “nine-dash line”³, with boundary of wide-spectrum of economic and financial interests and held it as a gross perversion of international norms under the framework of the 1982 United Nations Convention on law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and violates it. The Court slammed China for causing irreparable losses over the ecosystem of Spratly islands, a contentious conglomeration of island, due to over fishing and construction of artificial of artificial island. The PCA held that China transgress the sovereign rights and infringes upon economic interest of Philippines by causing severe harm to the coral reef by constructing synthetic isle. The International Arbitral Tribunal decided in favour of Philippines that China's maritime entitlements exceeds the geographic and substantive limits under the UN Convention (Permanent Court of Arbitration, 2016 & Jash, 2016).

China further went on to reject an international ruling of PCA (Permanent Court of Arbitration) on the SCS claiming it as “null and void” and without of any “binding force”. Moreover, China is venturing in military Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ) in the South China Sea (SCS) such ADIZ would

require overflying planes to first notify China. Chinese experts claim that the entire scheme of thing is the strategy of China to contain 'pivot to Asia' strategy of USA which is perceived to counter China. On the other hand, India is a firm believer in the tribunal which had been set up within the statutory and legal provision of the United Nation's Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and opines that it must be given the "utmost respect".

Challenges in the Indian Ocean Region

The Indian Ocean occupies one-fifth of the globe's oceanic region and is bordered by the most demographically rich and varied nations of the world which contributes highest among biodiversity, flora, fauna, minerals and culture along with its beautifully mystifying geography. Such characteristics of Indian ocean makes it a highly desirable trade route and also the peaceful relations among the surrounding states makes it perfect for free, frank and fair-trading hotspot. It connects Middle East, South Asia, Africa, and South East Asia. It is also a host to number of strategic trade points like Straits of Hurmuz, Strait of Malacca.

India and China are constantly making effort to widen their zone of influence in this critically acclaimed mineral and resource rich region. Given that the Indian Ocean harbours more than one-third of the bulk cargo, two-third of the world's oil shipments, and half of all container traffic, with its unquestionable strategic importance. It is also important in forging strategic relation with our extended neighbour in order to counter the increasing presence of China in the region.

Although Indian Ocean region remains the island of stability and growth in the recent global upheaval which is encountered by terrorism, conflicts of ethnicity and statelessness, however some instances of turbulence are evident in the region like increase in number of drug shipping in Asian coastal region in last few years, human migration due to both political and apolitical factors, the unprecedented level of humanitarian crises witnessed in Bangladesh and Myanmar's refugee movement.

Chinese assertion on Indian Ocean under the garb of protecting it from piracy and oil spill disaster is frequently creating its rivalry with India; its military base in Djibouti is another reason for Indo- Chinese rivalry, which has its roots in India's interest in South China Sea, which will be the main focus of discussion hereon.

India-Sri Lanka-China

India and Sri Lanka share the closest links since inception of civilization being similar in culture and ethnicity, which has a huge influence on the social, economic and political growth and stability of both the nations. In the last few years, there has been a surge in amicable relation between India and Sri Lanka in all the possible dimensions of international relations. The joint commission which was setup in 1992 for addressing the problem related to bilateral issues between India and Sri Lanka is still relevant and fruitful as evidently manifested by the frequent visits of external affairs ministers of both the sides to reach at a common solution through amicable and friendly manner, to discuss, debate and deliberate on issues and solve the problem locally. Further the economic ties are strengthened in collaboration by setting up of Special Economic Zone in Trincomalee and enhanced partnership, cooperation and expertise sharing in aerial navigation, India also extended its satellite system 'GAGAN' and IRNSS to south Asian countries including Sri Lanka. The second meeting of joint working group on tourism was held in mid-2016. To take things forward the collaborative partnership on development of Buddhist circuit in India along with Ramayana circuit in Sri Lanka was proposed.

Sri Lanka is of strategic importance for China, pertaining to which China added Sri Lanka's Hambantota port as one of its 'pearl' in its 'String of Pearl Strategy'. Sri Lanka is also a focal point to China's Maritime Silk Road where it is also modernising the Hambantota port. Recently, Sri Lanka has given its nod to the Chinese investment in Colombo Port City project to make it an ambitious international finance outpost center in the Indian Oceanic region.

India - Pakistan - China

Chinese interest in Pakistan goes hand in hand with Pakistan's rivalry with India. Chinese initiative of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) as a segment of its 'OneBelt-One Road' initiative is to counter India and maintain its hegemony in South Asia. The project includes 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road building highways, railways, as well as pipelines. China through this ambitious project seeks to bypass the bottleneck of Malacca Strait to access Indian ocean and reach out trijunction of West Asia, Africa, South Asia which is under the influence of India; CPEC connects the Xinxiang province of China to the

Gwadar port in Pakistan which will considerably reduce the distance for China's energy import from Middle East by 11000 km.

The huge, comprehensive and complex mechanism of rails, trading zones, roads, energy project and pipelines of CPEC will link Pakistan's Gwadar deep sea port to China's underdeveloped far-western region getting access to the Arabian Sea via Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK). China certainly through this corridor is also in a position for direct entry in the Indian Ocean at the apparent tri-junction of South Asia, West Asia, and Africa. India openly raised its unwillingness to join OBOR and staunchly against CPEC as this project compromises the territorial sovereignty of India and also it is perceived by India as a China's strategy to contain India from western borders.

The One Belt, One Road (OBOR)

In a constant pursuit to reshape the world order, and maintain its hegemony in Asia and strengthen its claim over dominant world power, China shaped this comprehensive policy framework to encourage domestic progress and foreign diplomatic politics. About OBOR, the initiative is premised on two components—first, the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) which is to be established along the Eurasian land corridor from the Pacific coast to the Baltic Sea and second, the 21st century Maritime Silk Road (MSR). Thus the name “belt and road” initiative which runs via the three major mainland of high economic potential that are Asia, Africa, Europe, linking the vibrant economies of East Asia at one side and full-blown economies of Europe at the other.

Scholars point out that the 'One Belt One Road' initiative, have enough potential to redefine the geo-economic power away from the United States of America and Anchor it towards the Eurasian nations, provided that it is backed by a firmed fiscal organisational mechanism and implemented without creating the issues of territorial sovereignty. More than half the population of world is expected to reap the fruits from this ambitious project of China. Analysts are of the view that “belt and road” initiative could shift the centre of geopolitics and geo-economics power towards Eurasia, and threaten the “Pivot to Asia” strategy of the United States and its 'quad' members. China is expecting that the general trading segment amongst the Silk Road nations would touch \$3 trillion over the next 8-10 years. India is not part of OBOR and reiterated its firm opposition on belt and road initiative of China, with Foreign Secretary communicating the fact

that India will join multilateral connectivity initiatives in Asia, only if they were ensured through a consultation and dialogue. India views China's OBOR as a “national Chinese initiative” which compromises the territorial sovereignty of India. The defence establishment which unequivocally opposed the project is of the view that the OBOR might not be altogether beneficial and that these corridors in forthcoming period could be used for strategic military mobilisation and services can be hindered by extremist elements from Pakistan and also it will require huge investment in protecting such critical infrastructure from being hijacked by non-state actors. There is apprehension in India about being part of a “hegemonic project” that would ensure China-model of development in the Indian Ocean region, which reminds India of previous failure of implementing doctored dictated approach from developed countries. The prime issue of dispute for India is the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which has an inextricable link with OBOR. For India, OBOR may be a potentially viable economic juncture but it threatens India's territorial sovereignty and its overall interest.

India's Strategy to Counterbalance the OBOR

'Cotton Route' is the India's response to China's silk route, and is considered as counter balancing strategy to OBOR. Cotton Route is envisaged to severe and strengthen already amicable relation among the countries of Indian Ocean rim. On the other hand, India has also started Project Mausam and Spice Route in a direct response to belt and road initiative of China. The project 'Mausam' is related to the re-establishing of India's pristine marine trade routes with its traditional trading partners along the Indian Ocean. The 'Spice Route of India', envisages India as a linchpin in revival of ancient sea routes in Africa, Asia and Europe. Many scholars and analysts in India view the project Mausam and the Spice Route as rival contestation to the Maritime Silk Road.

China and India's Strategic and Economic Interest in South China Sea

Both the countries have shown economic growth and emerged as island of stability in environment of global turbulence, the global dynamics offer the opportunity for both India and China to forge a relationship on the principle of cooperation and coordination in order to promote the regional interest of Asia

which is considered as the light of 21st century. In the last two decades, bilateral trade has increased considerably and both countries have emerged as a major trading partner. In 2014, the bilateral trade between India and China surpassed \$60 billion mark. In 2013, 4% of India exports were destined for China and India's import from China was upto 11%, the major products that are exported by China are electric and electronic equipment, furniture, fertilisers and organic chemical. On the other hand, China's imports from India mainly comprises of slag, and ash, cotton, pearls, copper ores, precious stones. Given the strategic importance of the Malacca Strait and of the mineral-rich South China Sea, both nations constantly pursue the acquisition of maximum resources and hassle-free navigation. Hence, both are contesting fiercely in the region by applying various modes of soft diplomacy, cultural ties, cheque book diplomacy, etc. The overlapping of EEZ (exclusive economic zones)⁴ of various littoral nations of South China Sea provide the room for India in strategic role played there by providing soft assistance in term of technology, standards of procedure, training etc. to these nations, which help them to claim their rights over minerals hence countering China in fragmented manner.

The South China Sea, in particular, and the Indo-Pacific region, in general, is the golden trade route due to the growing presence of economies and trade blocs like ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations), TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership), and RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership). This strategically important region is also witnessing armed rivalry where the two major powers China and the US are confronting each other. Chinese 'infrastructural might' has championed in the region and created the two artificial islands of Paracel and Spratly for military adventure in Indo-Pacific to which the US responded by placing THAAD (terminal high-altitude area defence) in South Korea. India is also echoing in the same chorus of free navigation in Indo-Pacific along with the US and other South-East Asian nations against Chinese assertion over South China Sea and its military adventure in the Indo-Pacific region.

Military Reforms of China

China announced a military reform to rejuvenate its strategic strength and to make it more substantial, connected and effectual combat-ready fighting beyond its borders and shores. China announced that the People's Liberation

Army (PLA) will be cut by 300,000 personnel from its 2.3 million strong military force. The reforms involve strengthening the Central Military Commission (CMC) command structure over the PLA. China in collaboration with Djibouti developing a robust overseas logistics facility to strengthen its ongoing anti-piracy patrolling in the Gulf of Aden, analyst of the view that China may try to manipulate and convert this into its first military base in Indian Ocean Region. Reasons behind the reforms is that China wants to proportion its teeth to tail ratio, focus more on intelligent armaments and agile movements of military units and equipment in order to make it more modern on terms with US forces capable of handling multidimensional challenges and expand power in all direction. It also contains the strategy to realign its existing seven military area commands of Beijing, Nanjing, Chengdu, Jinan, Shenyang, Lanzhou, and Guangzhou into four strategic zones. Such restructuring will revamp older fragmented and bulky nature of its armed forces and establish joint operational military command, as China put it, “an elite combat force” by 2020 (Pandit, 2015).

China is involved in various regional brawls with several other Asian countries including India. The threat of facing combat from different borders simultaneously urges China for military reform although their navy is not equipped to fight at two fronts simultaneously. Prior to the reforms in the military, the PLA's disciplinary mechanism was not upto the mark but now, the Commission reports directly to Xi Jinping which has made a difference. The Chinese forces have a better command along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and will continue to maintain its aggressive stance.

India necessarily requires to be vigilant about the Chinese military reform so as to realign its own military capabilities to handle any untoward situation as India is well versed with Chinese aggression in Doklam (tri-junction) and strategic locations in Arunachal and Kashmir region. Certainly, these reforms will lead in enhancing strength, capability and capacity of the PLA, primarily the Navy, which has now been entrusted with an extended role of carrying out the task of 'open seas protection'. India should take cognisance that conflict in East China Sea and South China Sea are certain to rise, due to its economic and strategic military necessity which may have negative implications of its Act East policy. China trying to make foundational base in Djibouti, which threatens India's role

as security and safety valve in Indian Oceanic region. Andaman and Nicobar Command (ANC) which is being formed by India to bring equilibrium and counter balance China's naval invasion in the region which has substantially failed to live up to its initial obligation and promise of a robust theatre command due to turf fights among the three Services. India has not gone in for major strategic military reformation so far to inject the much-awaited synergy requirement among the three services of Navy, Army, and Air Force, reduce their poor teeth-to-tail combating ratio and better utilisation of rare resources to systematically transforming military capacities in a cost-effective holistic manner.

Growing Security Dilemma and Balance of Power in the Region

Although India is neither directly involved in the SCS dispute nor has any direct stakes there, it is recognised as an extra-regional power through its maritime naval exercise in collaboration with the stake holding countries in SCS, and its growing strategic partnership with various littoral states of The South China Sea (SCS). SCS is directly linked to India through its two conceptual connotations that are; firstly, “extended neighbourhood” concept that emerged in 2000 and became the buzzword in issues of far neighbour, recent example is SCS. Extended neighbourhood recognises geographic regions outside South Asia in which India feels it has interests to loss, gain, defend and maintain. Secondly, “Indo-Pacific” dimension where South China Sea gets directly linked to India's strategic framework as South China Sea is sandwiched between Eastern Indian Ocean and Western Pacific. In this context, major interests of India in the Indo-Pacific region are to check the Chinese assertiveness in the Indian Ocean in order to secure the freedom of the navigation.

SCS linkage has also surfaced in India's military maritime qua naval doctrinal and strategy documents such as the 2007 doctrine on Freedom to Use the Seas: India's Maritime Military Strategy and the 2015 maritime doctrine on Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy, which identified the South China Sea among the “secondary areas” of focused maritime interests.

South China Sea in India's 'Act East Policy'

India's long-standing Look East Policy is transformed into more assertive Act

East Policy under the able guidance of administrative machinery and leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, with the 10 member ASEAN (Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Brunei, Vietnam and Singapore) in order to make strong connect of vibrant South Asian Countries and Asian. Regions strategic and economic outlook are re-shaped and revamped by various conflicting ideological and strategic framework like, US 'pivot to Asia', Japan's 'Democratic Security Diamond' and China's 'Maritime Silk Road'. In this backdrop, endeavours are made by India to stabilise the security framework of the region by participating and redrawing the mutual consensus-oriented relationship in Indian Ocean and South China Sea region, one of the primary strategies of India is reflected by Act East Policy (AEP) in the case of South China Sea. India has firmly articulated its principled position of maritime security, freedom of navigation and expeditious resolution of disputes according to provisions of international law viz-UNCLOS (the UN Convention on Law of the Seas, 1982), developing a code of conduct, and settlement through peaceful mechanism of discussion, debate, and dialogue.

Given the context of safeguarding maritime security, strategic interests and ensuring the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, stability of SCS is of substantial importance to India which also have direct impact on India's 'Act East policy', given India's increasing engagement with the countries in East and Southeast Asia. That is, India's strategic objectives in playing an extra-regional power in the Southeast Asia is based on the twin objectives: First, its ambitions to be the predominant power in the northeast Indian Ocean, which is mainly centred on the huge bay of the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea. Here, it acts as a key defensive against potential threats from and through the Southeast Asian archipelago. Secondly, it stands within the broader objective to assume a greater strategic role in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. This interest is mainly driven by an imperative to balance China's growing influence in Southeast Asia as well as its aspirations to expand its own strategic space (Brewster, 2013, p. 151).

Conclusion: Focusing Future Trajectory

It appears that an urge for closer cooperation motivates and enhance the economic affairs between India and China, competition is still what marks their bilateral diplomatic relations considerably. Where, India expressed a non-

South China Sea: Sino-India Interest and Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific Region

participative stance over China's ambitious economic corridor with Pakistan pointing out its potential sovereign threat to Indian territory. India sees CPEC as China's policy to contain India from western border. In case of conflict, China can mobilise troops using CPEC, which is a move to have a strategic foothold by China and jeopardises India's security concerns. The diplomatic rivalry in question is not limited to strategic concerns, but is further fuelled by a chronic border dispute. On the other hand, neither China nor India can afford to turn a blind eye to the huge benefits that intense economic cooperation can potentially bring about. Therefore, both countries are trying to capitalise on mutual economic benefits while working hard to contain political frictions in South China Sea within manageable limits.

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Endnotes

- ¹ The term Indo-Pacific was used by a strategic thinker Khurana in 2007 for the first time, in one of his articles, "Security of Sea Lines: Prospects for India-Japan Cooperation". According to him the meaning of this term, was a maritime space stretching from the littorals of East Africa and West Asia, across the Indian Ocean and western Pacific Ocean, to the littorals of East Asia.
- ² "India-Vietnam Relations", A note prepared by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, March 2002, as quoted in SD Muni and Grojesh Pant, *India's Energy Security: Prospects of Cooperation with Extended Neighborhood*, Rupa and Co, New Delhi, 2005, Chapter 3, Section 4.
- ³ The 'nine-dash line' stretches hundreds of kilometres south and east of its southerly Hainan Island, covering the strategic Paracel and Spratly island chains. China buttresses its claims by citing 2,000 years of history when the two island chains were regarded as its integral parts.
- ⁴ The 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea created a number of guidelines concerning the status of islands, the continental shelf, enclosed seas, and territorial limits. Three of the most relevant to the South China Sea are: Article 3, which establishes that "every state has the right to establish the breadth of its territorial sea up to a limit not exceeding 12 nautical miles"; Articles 55–75 define the concept of an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which is an area up to 200 nautical miles beyond and adjacent to the territorial sea. The EEZ gives coastal states "sovereign rights for the purpose of exploring and exploiting, conserving and managing the natural resources, whether living or non-living, of the waters superjacent to" (above) "the seabed and of the seabed and its subsoil..." Article 121, which states that rocks that cannot sustain human habitation or economic life of their own shall have no exclusive economic zone or continental shelf.

Minorityism During British India

Rakesh Sinha

Abstract

The politics of minorityism in India was an outcome of the British design especially thought for saving the reign of British empire. Lord Mayo, a Viceroy and W.W. Hunter, an ICS in India, were prime contributors in this deliberate and nefarious policy. The Wahabi movement among Muslims was also seen by Mayo as a threat to the Empire. The movement advocated and practiced radicalisation of Muslims and was considered an immediate danger to the political stability and civil society. Therefore, the apologists of the Empire wanted to pacify Muslims on the one hand and divert the anger of Muslims from the Empire. This was laborious and was done by inventing the majority-minority dictum and by inventing a new definition of secularism. This colonial imposed theoretical conceptualisation of secularism was perpetuated not only during the colonial period but also in the post-colonial India. This paper looks into the reasons why secularism in India faces both conceptual and empirical crisis.

Keywords: *Minorityism, British India, Muslims, Colonial Rule*

The politics of minorityism in India was an outcome of the British design especially thought for saving the reign of British empire. Lord Mayo, a Viceroy and W.W. Hunter, an ICS in India, were prime contributors in this deliberate and nefarious policy. The Wahabi movement among Muslims was also seen by Mayo as a threat to the Empire. The movement advocated and practiced radicalisation of Muslims and was considered an immediate danger to the political stability and civil society. Therefore, the apologists of the Empire

wanted to pacify Muslims on the one hand and divert the anger of Muslims from the Empire. This was laborious and was done by inventing the majority-minority dictum and by inventing a new definition of secularism. This colonial imposed theoretical conceptualisation of secularism was perpetuated not only during the colonial period but also in the post-colonial India. This is the reason why secularism in India faces both conceptual and empirical crisis. It largely remained uncontested due to lack of alternative theoretical and empirical exploration. However, it constituted centrality of all discourses on it in both, pre and post independent India. The definition of secularism does not reflect the Indian realities. Its construct and political motive were also contributed by two more factors: One, British colonialism abysmally failed to understand diversities of Indian people in the forms of culture, language, dialects, customs and social traditions. Their own European experiences of racial, communal and religious differences and conflicts for hegemony led them to define Indian cultural, social and linguistic diversities as perpetual contesting and competing identities for hegemony. Therefore, they derived a perception of 'many peoples' instead of 'one people'. They cultivated state policies and programmes and social philosophy based on such a perception. The natural corollary to this is that they conveniently assumed the state of Hindu majority vs others (religious minorities). This led them to define secularism in the context of majority-minority relationship. In the Pre-British period despite the communal and religious feuds, the game of dice (numerical division) had not been a part of the Indian discourse. Majority-minority division and such identities based on religious practices were British inventions. The second reason was Machiavellian statecraft. They were haunted by the growing nationalistic feeling and rebellions against them in different parts of the country. They used the tool of 'Divide and Rule' to stabilize the empire's control on the Indian soil. They used their understanding of the presumed dichotomous relationship between the Hindu majority and Muslim minority to institutionalize the policy and politics of divide and rule.

Insecurity after 1857

In the mid eighteenth century the British administration was perturbed and felt endangered by the first war of independence in 1857. The united battle of the Indian people against the British Empire had shaken them from top to bottom.

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This led the colonial administration to think in terms of breaking the unity of the Indian people. And the conflict between the Hindus and Muslims was considered as a useful tool to avoid the repetition of 1857. They spent almost a decade to implement their agenda. But the rising nationalist fervour deterred all such efforts. The feeling of nationalism suppressed sporadic conflicts and therefore they pondered how to end the historical togetherness of the two communities. This was possible only through sowing the seeds of psychological division by convincing the Muslims that they were facing deprivation in economic and political life due to their numerical strength as a religious minority. The task before the Empire's apologists was to present this theory of deprivation in a convincing and logical manner. It led to a paradigm shift in the Empire's policy towards the question of bread and butter. Till then, economic problems were addressed as a common issue irrespective of religions and races. Now the question of bread and butter was given communal interpretations and the deprivation of people of one community or race was projected as a result of domination of one by another. In other words, poverty and unemployment were categorized as Hindu and Muslim poverty and unemployment. Manipulation of empirical statistics was a method to be adopted to disseminate message to common Muslims that there were unequal opportunities, and their space was grabbed by the Hindu majority. Thus, the concepts of majority and minority were introduced in the political and social discourse of colonial India.

The Wahabi Movement

Another vital question which was posing a serious threat to the Empire's stability in India was radicalization of a section of Indian Muslims under the impact of Wahabism which was expanding (Skrine, 1901, p. 103). They considered the British as their enemy and declared war against the empire on religious pretexts. Therefore, Lord Mayo contemplated to deradicalise and limit the expansion of Wahabism in India. He made an obvious connection between the Muslim youths' alienation from the school education of the British Government. He believed that the failure of Muslims to go to government schools in Bengal was the root cause for the spread of Wahabism in Bengal. Therefore, he maintained that it was essentially required to encourage Muslims to send their children to the schools and colleges run by the government. And their inhibition can only be removed if the government ensured their religious

rights and in a way their customs would remain undisturbed also. He then formulated a common policy for all the Muslims of India. In a resolution of August 1871, he proposed ways in which they might be encouraged to go to government schools and colleges, and instructed local governments for their opinion as to how they might be implemented “without infringing the fundamental principles of our educational system.”¹ The honorary principal of Calcutta Madarsa, W.N. Lees who had been a critic of the government education policy on the basis that it set Muslims at odds with the British rule, started a fresh campaign in 1871. He wrote three strong letters in *The London Times* on 14 October, 20 October and 2 November 1871 ridiculing the government for not giving much attention to the Muslims world view. Mayo's attention was also caught by William Wilson Hunter, an ICS and the Editor of the *Government Gazette of Bengal*, who was unwell and utilized his time in writing articles on Wahabism for the Calcutta *Englishman*. These caught Mayo's eye, and he asked Hunter to write a book on the question of the day “Are Indian Musslmans bound by their religion to rebel against the queen?” (Skirine, 1901, p. 199).

Contribution of Hunter

The objectives of Hunter were to trace the reasons for the grievances of the Muslims against the Empire on the one hand and to create a schism between the Hindus and the Muslims by establishing that Hindus caused Muslims' deprivation whether economic or political. He dealt with the subject as a part of his official duty. He was provided with all the documents concerning employment and economic status of people of Bengal belonging to Home, Foreign and Military departments. He shrewdly manipulated the data to prove the objective of the Viceroy. He was asked to prepare the report in four weeks which he did. It was duly received by Lord Mayo who gave him a 'hearty approval'. The government rewarded him by promoting him as Under Secretary in the Home department (Hunter, 1871). The report was published in 1871 with the title *Indian Musalmans*. The administration acted swiftly to legitimise and publicise it. Excellent reviews were published in the Anglo-Indian and Urdu journals.

Hunter dealt with the British administration's complicity in the negligence of the Muslim question. He had before him the vital question “Are they (Indian

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Muslims) bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?" Hunter wrote,

While the more fanatical of the Musalmans have thus engaged in overt sedition, the whole Muhammadan community has been openly deliberating on their obligation to rebel. During the past nine months, the leading newspapers of Bengal have filled their columns with discussions as to the duty of the Muhamadans to wage war against the Queen. (Hunter, 2002, p. 2)

The Wahabi movement² made its space in India and its expansion caused radicalisation of the Muslims. In the late 1860s, the Government of India faced increasing dissatisfaction among the Muslims. The government's unpreparedness to deal with recrudescence of notorious Wahabism particularly in Bengal and Bihar was clearly visible. In 1868, a military expedition was sent to crush a Wahabi centre at the North West frontier. Lord Mayo was convinced that men and money were being supplied from the Wahabi base in Patna. Many Wahabi activists were arrested in the late 1860's and in mid 70's and their trials began. Simultaneously some Muslims in Allahabad and Bareilly too stirred and showed radical traits. All these were indicatives that the British population feared another mutiny (Robinson, p. 102).

Hunter said, "The Wahabis start with the declaration that India has become a country of the enemy, and from this they deduce the obligation of the Holy war against its rulers" (p. 122). It further blamed the administration for not realising the gravity of the situation nor contemplating its resolution. He further stated that,

The truth is that, had we hastened by a single decade in our formal assumption of the sovereignty, we should have been landed in a Muhammadan rising infinitely more serious than the mutinies of 1857...The admirable moderation of the East India company's servants, and their determination to let the Muhammadan Power expire by slow natural decay, without hastening its death a single moment, averted this danger. India passed from a Country of Islam into a Country of Enemy. (p. 130)

Further, he concluded that a "Chronic sense of wrong which has grown up in the hearts of the Musalmans under British Rule" (p. 141). They also felt that the reason for anti-British feelings among the Muslims was their alienation from

the Empire and growing disbelief with them, “Musalmans of India are, and have been for many years, a source of chronic danger to the British power in India. For some reason or other they have hold aloof from our system” (p. 3). Furthermore, Hunter categorically blamed the Hindus for the deprivation and degeneration of Bengali Muslims. Hindus took advantages of the English education and thereby grabbed most of the opportunities while Muslims remained confined to their old stereotype educational systems. Hunter wrote,

The educated Muhammadan, confident in his old training, sees himself practically excluded from the share of power and of the emoluments of Government which he hitherto had almost monopolised, and sees these and all the other advantages of life passed into the hands of the hated Hindu. (p. 143)

Hunter blamed the administration for denial of due share to almost thirty million population of Indian Muslims whose capacity as rulers and conquerors was suppressed in due course in the Mughal period. Hunter wanted special treatment for the Muslims to safeguard their interests. He wrote,

a great section of the Indian population, some thirty million in number, finds itself decaying under the British Rule. They complain that they, who but yesterday were the conquerors and Governors of the land find no substance in it to-day.... Before the country passed under one rule, the Musalmans professed the same faith, ate the same food, and in all essentials lived the same lives, as they do now. To this day they exhibit their old intense feeling of nationality and capability of war like enterprise; but in all other respects they are a race ruined under the British rule. (pp. 143-44)

He finally concluded that Hindus and British administration were responsible for “Muslims' decadence and decay” in the post Mughal rule.

The Design

Hunter found that the system of education was a major reason for the Muslims to lag behind the Hindus. Muslims expected and wanted the system of education which suited their religious temperament and according to their requirements. The English education benefitted mostly to the Hindus. He wrote,

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that our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion, of the Musalmans. (pp. 168-9)

Besides the syllabus and subjects, the Muslims also did not prefer to be taught in English or by the Bengali or Hindus. They preferred to learn Arabic and Persian. His recommendations were in line with Mayo's resolution of 7 August 1871, that the government should temper its education system to Muslim requirements. However, measures taken by Mayo and his team could not yield immediate support to the cause he professed using Hunter's study and report. Robinson wrote,

the effect of the book was considerable, not because it was particularly well argued or well written, but because five weeks after its publication the acting CJ of Bengal was assassinated by a Muslim on the steps of the HC, and five months afterwards Mayo himself was stabbed to death by a Muslim convict. Thus, Mayo's education measures and Hunter's arguments about Muslim backwardness attained an all-India importance that they did not deserve and might not otherwise have had. (Robinson, p. 104).

The government's decision to give separate and special education based on Muslims' desire and religious needs caused consternations among officials. For instance, in the North West Frontier, the Director of Public Instruction vociferously attacked the government of India's attempt and instructions to give religion-oriented education to the Muslims³. He argued that education must be kept above religions and communal requirements. He wrote to the Government of India that "the question of Mahomedan education in India" was "unnecessarily and unfortunately hampered by political considerations."⁴ His arguments and dissent made the central government furious. He was informed by the secretary of the Local Government that,

the decadence of Mahomedan scholarship in India, and the disinclination of the Mahomedans, as a body, to fall in with our university system, and the appropriate remedy for these evils, are matters of highest importance, both socially and politically. Socially, because it is a duty incumbent on

the British government so to shape its educational measures as to make them agreeable to this large section of the people, who at present by their predilections, or it may be prejudices, are shut out from the influence of our education system. Politically because the enlightenment of Musalmans... would prove one of the surest means of attaching them to our rule.⁵

The official of the Empire considered orthodox Muslims' support for political stability essentially required and therefore they buried the rational and secular approach professed by the public instructor of the NWF and his likes. Robinson aptly said, "As far Muslims were concerned, politics now came first and administrative policy second. This was to have far reaching consequences" (p. 105).

The work proved very effective and highly influential in helping the British attitude in framing its policy towards the Indian Muslims. Moreover, it became the handiwork of the Muslim communalists, who frequently used the quotes from the book to communalise the Muslim mind. Its popularity and impact can be gauged by the fact that in the late colonial period it was reprinted in 1940s 'to meet a great demand' (from Publisher's note, Hunter. Comrade Publication Calcutta, 1945). Around the same time an Urdu edition too was published in India, *Hunter, Hamar Hindustani Musalman kya vah apne zamir ke muttabiq malikah ke khhilaf bagawat par majbur hain?* (trans. Dr Sadiq Hussain, Lahore, Milne ke Patah, Iqbal Akaidmi, 1944)

Hunter's Indian Muslims redesigned and reoriented the communal politics of the All India Muslim League (AIML). They increasingly used the arguments and content of the work to consolidate Muslim masses against the Indian National Congress. Hunter established the theory of relative deprivation and proportional disadvantage of the Muslims in Hindu majority India. When the congress formed the government in the provinces in 1937 under the Government of India Act 1935, the League used methods adopted by Hunter to discredit it as a Hindu fascism. The congress withdrew from the government against the British decision to drag India in the World War II in 1939. The League celebrated it as the day of deliverance. It published reports to falsely propagate the discriminatory treatment with Muslims by the Congress governments in the provinces. The most infamous report was known as the

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Pirpur Report. It stated, “the communal problem remains unsettled not because of the communalism of minorities, but because of the communalism of the majorities”⁶. It further stated that “the Muslims are not getting their due share in the department such as medical and engineering...the Government... prevents Muslims from getting legitimate share in the appointments”⁷. It was followed by the Shareef report (in 2 volumes) based on an enquiry into grievances of Muslims in Bihar, the Kamal Yar Jung Report showing the position of the Muslim education under Congress governments and the last Fazal Haq Report (Muslim sufferings under the Congress Rule). All such reports strengthened the arguments of the Hunter report and used similar tools to prove discrimination with deprivation and denial of Muslims. Hunter, in fact, intellectualized the policy of divide and rule and provided the basis for minorityism. His work also caused definitional deficit to secularism. The prophesy of modern education to Muslims both from inside and outside the community was given a blow by his report. The study was primarily confined to the Muslims of Bengal, but it transcended its boundaries and impacted the relationship between the Hindus and Muslims and communal discourses across the country.

The British policy of divide and rule was very much successful in India. They continued with the same till the end of their rule and the country ultimately had to bear with the partition. The Muslims were made to believe that they would always lag behind the Hindus unless they opposed them. A sense of insecurity was infused in their psyche. The underlying agenda was to strengthen the British rule in India, but it disturbed the entire social fabric of India. The politics of minorityism was pursued by the British to secure their political gains and the Muslims of India fell in their trap. The Wahabi movement was seen as anti-British and felt the brutalities of the British. The Hindus were projected as the cause of misery of Muslims. The secularism of west was not suitable for the culture of India as Indian variety of secularism was strong enough to provide enough space for all other religions on this land. The Indian as "One Indian" was deliberately misinterpreted, and the temporary dividend was received by the British, but the implications are continuing.

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Endnotes

¹ Extracts from Secretary, Govt of India, Home department to Officiating Secretary to Govt NWP, dated 7 August 1871, as quoted in Robinson, p 103.

² The Wahabis were the Muslim sect that followed the doctrine of Abdul Wahabi, an 18th century Arab reformer. Their chief objective was to establish an independent Muslim state in which true Islam could be practised and to establish jihad was necessary.

³ Memorandum by M Kempson, Director Public Instruction, August 1872, NWF Educ, June 1873, IOR (India Office Records)

⁴ Memorandum by M Kempson, Director Public Instruction, enclosed in Director of PI to secretary to Govt, NWF 18 August 1873, NWF Educ, November 1873, IOR (see Robinson, p 105)

⁵ Secretary to Govt NWF to Director PI, 14 November 1873, NWF educ, November 1873, IOR, Robinson, p 105

⁶ See Pirpur Report, 1939, AIML, p. 1.

⁷ See Pirpur Report 1939, AIML, pp. 92-93.

Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ramjee Ambedkar : His Concepts of Social Democracy and Doctrine of Democratic Humanism

Pramod Kumar Ray & Prabira Sethy

Abstract

Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ramjee Ambedkar is one of the greatest political thinkers and social revolutionaries that modern India has ever produced. He was the foremost exponent and expounder of social democracy based on basic human values and freedom, liberty, equality and human dignity. He considered the institution of caste system as the greatest social evil and a major stumbling block in the path of a cohesive national psyche obstructing an inclusive and emancipated society which can only be possible by complete annihilation of caste. He waged a relentless struggle against the then prevailing dehumanised social order in India where a vast multitude of people belonging to the depressed communities were treated less than humans and sub humans for which he wanted to abolish the worthless birth graded status and its functions. Being the chief architect of the democratic Constitution of independent India, he inculcated in it the basic values such as the sovereign equality of every individual, self-respect, human dignity and reclamation of human personality. Keeping this in mind, this paper makes an honest and earnest endeavour to foreground his concept of democratic humanism as the guiding principle in achieving the goal of social democracy as a necessary precondition to political democracy.

Keywords: *Democratic humanism, Social democracy, Autochton, Aborigines, Brahminical social order, Social exclusion, Constitutional exclusiveness, Dialectical human social interaction, Caste hierarchy, Dalitbahujan*

Introduction

The nature and character of a particular society and its people are known from its Constitution. A Constitution is the mirror of the socio-economic and political culture of that particular nation or society. Constitutions of different countries of the world are born in the bosom of the time, in the womb of socio-cultural exigencies, whose embryonic genesis gets fertilized in the vision of a great visionary. The emancipatory socio-economic and political philosophy and great humanitarian value and freedom enshrined in the Indian Constitution are the brain child of India's greatest visionary and messiah Bharatratna Dr. Bhimrao Ramjee Ambedkar. His greatest contribution to the world of constitutionalism and political philosophy is social democracy and the doctrine of democratic humanism that precisely envisages basic human value, dignity and freedom. In 1930 at a Depressed Classes Conference in Nagpur he urged independence for India and the first leader to urge the British to leave. He was made the first Law Minister of independent India in Nehru's Cabinet and he was the first untouchable to become the Cabinet Minister of independent India. He also wrote some books in order to project his point of view. Of these, *Annihilation of Caste*(1936), *Who were Shudras?*, *The Untouchables* (1948), and *Buddha and His Dhamma* (1957) are quite famous. He died on 6 December, 1956. With his death the era of selfless crusade for the cause of the depressed class and the downtrodden came to an end. In 1990 he was bestowed with Bharat Ratna and the year 1990-1991 was observed as the "Year of Social Justice" in India in the memory of Dr. Ambedkar. The present paper seeks to provide a contextual interpretation of the democratic thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar and his concept of democratic humanism and social democracy as is reflected in his numerous tracts written over a period of time and his various other activities that have a clear manifestation in the mission and vision of our democratic constitution.

Life Sketch

A multifaceted genius, a distinguished economist, a reputed author, a great jurist, an eminent lawyer, an excellent orator, an outstanding constitutionalist, an astute parliamentarian, a champion of social justice, a messiah for weaker sections of the society and a great political leader Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ramjee Ambedkar was born on April 14, 1891 in a village named Ambedgaon in

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Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra. His parents belonged to the scheduled caste community of Sakbal Mahar. His father's name was Ramji Maloji Sankpal and mother's name Bhima Bai. His mother died when he was 6 years of age. His father after retirement from the British army continued as a school teacher. Among the galaxy of thinkers in modern India, Dr. Ambedkar stands on a pedestal quite different from others. He was by all standards a great visionary, statesman, a creative thinker, an inclusive analyst and an extraordinary student of history, economics, sociology, philosophy, law and politics. He waged a relentless struggle against the denial of social justice, economic opportunities, and human dignity to the marginalised classes throughout India. He stood for the social equality, economic emancipation and political freedom of the downtrodden millions, a task never undertaken by any high caste Hindu leader with so much vigour and force. Thus he struggled all through his life to establish a new social order based on principles of liberty, equality, fraternity and social justice. Besides being the chief architect of modern Indian Constitution, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was a prolific writer and author, who has the distinctive credit of authoring many hidden treasures to the world of academics which includes: 'Problem of Rupee', 'Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India', 'Castes in India', 'Small Holdings and Their Remedies' and a large number of occasional Research Papers which reflecting his revolutionary thoughts and ideas.

Young Bhimrao : A Social Democrat

Bhimrao Ambedkar had to face a number of problems and difficulties due to the then prevailing evil practices and customs of a hierarchical Hindu social order. The Indian society particularly the Hindu social order before the colonial rule was mostly dominated by 'Brahminical hegemony' and the social system was divided and subdivided into different caste categories and units. Social chemistry in Indian society was shaped by heinous social groupings, large scale inequality among different social categories and human relations was more asymmetrical than bound by common brotherhood and fraternity. During those days the Autochtons, the Dalits were segregated from others in every field of action. Hindu social practices and customs blinded by purity and notions of pollution did not even allow the upper caste people to talk to the Autochtons or the Dalit people. This purity and pollution was also widely prevalent in schools

and educational institutions where the upper caste students were not talking to the Dalit students (the untouchables) as they believed that their talking with Dalit students would pollute them. Most heinous practices and beliefs such as books and other belongings of the Dalit students would not be touched by the rest of the students. Such a society with its highly graded inequality, hatred casteist feeling perpetuated utmost inhuman treatment on an untouchable Mahar boy, who was segregated in the school in his boyhood and thrown out of his cart, ousted from hostel, hotel and temple precisely because of his sin of being a low born in the stratified Indian society. A child, Bhimrao was terrible shocked with such discriminatory behaviour and attitude of his fellow peers at school which germinated the seeds of discontent in the minds of a tiny tot Bhimrao who vowed to bring a social renaissance and to rescue the chaotic social order towards a humanistic society. Such inhuman culture and social anarchy revolted the mind of this untouchable young boy, who wanted to make the upside down, of this all pervading monster by bringing about a social renaissance.

The progressive and reformist ideas of Bhimrao Ramjee received a moral boost from one of his reformist Brahmin teacher who played an instrumental role in equipping him (Bhimrao) psychologically in his mission of social reform and social revolution and humanising the then Indian society. This teacher also took personal care of Bhimrao in doing better in scoring in studies than the upper caste students. Being overwhelmed and deeply impressed by the support of the said teacher Bhimrao latter added to his name, the surname of that teacher namely Ambedkar. Besides, another reformist teacher by name Krishnaji Arjun, who was a social revolutionary and reformist and also contributed immensely in making Bhimrao as a greatest reformer and revolutionary.

Amidst social ostracism and financial distress, experiencing a lot of hardship and hurdles, Bhimrao completed his BA from Elphinstone College in Bombay and that was due to the patronage of Maharaja of Baroda. After completing his graduation, he joined the Maharaja's civil service. In the worksphere also he faced humiliation and caste segregation. Here the Maharaja of Baroda sent him to USA for higher study where he completed his MA and Doctoral Degree from the Colombia University in 1916. Though he was interested in further study but

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as per the contract he had to return to serve the State of Baroda. His new higher position in the State Government of Baroda also had no respite from caste segregation and humiliation as his subordinates threw files on table and declined to serve water to him. His complaint to the Maharaja on this issue had no effect and finding no way out and being disgusted and with utmost frustration Bhimrao left Baroda for Bombay. In 1918 he joined Sydenham College, Bombay as Professor of Political Economy where he became highly popular among the students for his brilliancy but had to resign in 1920 owing to a highly discriminatory and regressive social environment and left for London to study law and economics. On his joining London School of Economics and Political Science, he received financial assistance from Maharaja of Kolhapur and completed his M.Sc in Economics from University of London in 1921. As fortune favours the brave, Bhimrao was appointed as Finance Minister by Maharaja of Baroda which was a rare distinction for him and the whole of untouchable community. Here also he was unacceptable to the caste-minded Hindus and his towering achievement did not free him from the stigma of social disability. Such deplorable social environment revolted the mind of young Bhimrao who vowed to bring to an end the evils of untouchability towards securing a better humanistic society. In his crusade against salvaging Hindu social order he was greatly influenced by Lord Buddha, Sant Kabir Das and Jyotirao Govindrao Phule. His agenda of anti-colonialism got intertwined with his agenda of annihilation of caste (Ilaiah, 1998, p. 269).

As a mark of protest and revolt against the social tyranny and social injustice he advocated his followers to come out of the dragon of Hindu social and religious orthodoxy and accept Buddhism which could help them in establishing social democracy. He strongly believed that political democracy has no meaning without social democracy. He argued that the theory of democracy be used as a means to provide social justice to the vast multitude of depressed and socially marginalised. From a theoretical point of view, democracy was most sensitive to the demand for political participation (Rousseau's Social Contract) and Equal Rights of Citizenship (Thomas Paine). Ambedkar believed that equality in political domain will continue to be a misnomer unless the social order and institutions based on prejudices, natural hierarchy and inequality are dismantled to the core. For long the advocate of democracy believed that equality in the political domain would go hand in hand with social equality. Of

late, the champion of democracy emphasised the value of social equality of a non-hierarchical society; and the two programmes were placed alongside each other in the struggles of the discriminated people as well (Mahajan, 1998). To Ambedkar unless the socially discriminated people are not mainstreamed in a democratic form of society, the idea of democratic form of Government would be highly counter-productive. He argued that without social democracy, the framework for political democracy and independence will carry no value and indeed be a misfit. He strongly argued that democracy is not merely a form of government but essentially a form of society (Ambedkar, 1943, p. 36).

He believed that democracy is incompatible and inconsistent with isolation and exclusiveness, resulting in the distinction between the privileged and unprivileged (Ambedkar, 1943, p. 36). To Ambedkar in a highly structured society like India, politics is nothing but 'theology in action' and unless it is completely abandoned and society is not completely secularised, representative government could not function and sustain. He argued that the principle of equality is grossly violated with treating the unequals equally that complicates the task of democracy. To Ambedkar, socialisation in the context of deprivation and discrimination deprives the depressed class people and their ability to even aspire for their entitlement and their legitimate positions in the government and in society. In an environment of inequality of background, conditions, and social positions, the oppressed and discriminated people cannot compete successfully with the members of the better-off social groups. In such an unequal and discriminatory environment, the members of the dominant communities have always an edge over the others. In order to salvage a dilapidated society and strengthen the democracy, Ambedkar strongly advocated for the concept of positive discrimination, a special privilege for the depressed communities to compensate for the unequal initial advantage enjoyed by the privileged groups. He emphasised positive discrimination as essential for realisation of social democracy and cautioned that without the principle of equality and social justice neither democracy can triumph nor unity of the country could be achieved if social anarchy based on untouchability and casteism continue to prevail in the new India in the same form and magnitude.

Thus, Dr. Ambedkar is the product of his time, and child of this social renaissance. He is the man, whose caste had been 'dehumanised, demoralized

and devitalized for ages' and became saviour of its society and polity and shaped the nation's democratic tradition with highly humanitarian and ethical standard that were reflected in the democratic constitution drafted by him. To put in the words of a famous jurist of India N.A. Palkhiwala that Independent India witnessed this great son of mother India as the chief architect of constitutional skill and fidelity, designing the structure 'which has been reared for immortality'.

His Concept of Democratic Humanism as Reflected in the Constitution of India

The idea for a draft Constitution by a duly elected Constituent Assembly although germinated in the minds of Dr. M.N. Roy, a radical humanist but the leading responsibility of drafting such a Constitution for India on the basis of basic human values and freedom was the handiwork of a social democrat Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Yet a kind of national amnesia has loomed large all over the country on the question as to how, when, and by whom our Constitution was framed? On this particular baffling question most Indians are still confused. But the most shocking thing is the ruling elites coupled with upper caste Hindus are hell bent to deny and to derecognise even this historical fact and his official status by wiping out all easily available official records. They are taking well calculated steps to create a bundle of false and fabricated documents. They did not want to give any importance or to attach any meaningful significance to the role and value of the position of the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. This office, as if, was a mere rubber stamp like the office of the British Queen (Biswas, 1997, p. 3).

One such disrobing of the fact is primarily noticed in the works of M.O. Mathai, who in his book *Reminiscences of Nehru Age* has belittled the significant role of Dr. Ambedkar in making of Indian Constitution. Mathai wrote "It was Ambedkar who piloted the Constitution Bill in the Constituent Assembly" (Mathai, 1978). Mathai's statement though without any falsehood but it is half-truth which does not recognise the instrumental role played by Dr. Ambedkar in making of the Constitution of India. Besides M.O. Mathai, authors like Prof. V.D. Mahajan, D.C. Ahir, K.L. Chanchreek and Arun Shourie also neglected the very fact of the pioneering role of Ambedkar in Constitution making. Shourie, a foreign-root Brahmin journalist has blatantly disrobed the fact in one of his

newspaper article 'Which of the Many Ambedkars is the Author?' in which he has accredited the credit to Sir B.N. Rau and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyaras playing a significant role in making of the Constitution. Thus these critics and authors of higher caste not merely distorted the fact but tried all factors of permutations and combinations to disprove Ambedkar as the chief architect of the modern Indian Constitution. However such erosion and distortion of fact pertaining to Ambedkar's contribution in making of the Constitution by all such higher caste intellectuals and authors has been well exposed by Dhanajay Keer, another Brahmin biographer of Dr. Ambedkar admitting the gigantic role of Ambedkar in the making of the Constitution of India. He has written that,

an untouchable who was kicked out of his cart and who was segregated in schools in his boyhood, who was insulted as Professor in the college and ousted from hotels, hostels, schools and temples in his youth as a despicable Mahar...became now the first Law Minister of a free nation and the chief architect of the Constitution” (Keer, 1971, p. 397).

However the fact remains that Dr. Ambedkar was elected to the Constituent Assembly from the Bengal Provincial Legislature in 1946. He acquired the rare opportunity and privilege to assume the office of the 'Chairman of the Drafting Committee' of the Constituent Assembly and played the most vital role as the chief architect of India's new Legal Testament. There was no better or capable and meritorious person in India than Dr. Ambedkar to assume the office with plenitude of responsibility. Endowed with superior brilliance on the subject called Constitutional Law, Dr. Ambedkar was well-equipped to undertake the job of framing the new Constitution of free India. He spent his work-weary nights on sleepless pillows for getting himself associated with the Constitution making. However the governing class people have ignored his tirelessly active role in making of Indian Constitution (Biswas, 1997, p. 3).

Gifted with creative talent and amazing memory, his scholarship was unparalleled and incomparable to anyone. Beverley Nichols rightly observed such extraordinary ability of Dr. Ambedkar, who wrote in *Verdict of India, 1944* that "To compare the average oration of Congress Politician with a speech by Dr. Ambedkar is like comparing a Hindu chant with a fusillade of pistol shots" (Nichols, 1944). His deep intellectual faculty and deep sense of belongingness towards the oppressed people of the society provided him basic

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impetus to find the root of the ills of Indian social system. It is his unique union of theory and practice that enabled him to make a proper diagnosis of the terminal ills of the Indian society. Thus, he wanted to prescribe the right kind of panacea to the horrifying, terrible common man problems and misery. He advocated for a common, holistic, integral humane approach to the whole problem. So he made a brilliant choice in selecting some of sensitive canons of humanism like individualism, self-consciousness, self-respect and dignity, basic human values and democratic aspiration as to be the guiding and governing principle in framing the legal code of conduct for a humane India.

Democratic Humanism: An Inroad to Social Democracy

The principal objective of a democratic society is to humanize the social fabric and democratize each human of the whole edifice. How can a society be a democratic one where majority of its people like limbs of the body, cannot properly exchange either their place or function. Such inhuman/pitiable condition of man in society observed Dr. Ambedkar has been held hostage by the monster of caste perpetuated by the Brahminical Social Order of the Hindu society. Witnessing this inherent contradiction of a 'dehumanised Indian society' where a vast multitude of humans are treated as sub-human and less than humans, he apprehended political freedom to bring about 'democracy' in its true sense of the term. He argued independent India to be democratic, must recognise the basic human values, must humanise its society first. He said how can a country like India mostly governed by the notion of caste and creed and does not have a sense of individualism, self-consciousness, self-respect and democratic aspiration could be democratic and have a democratic Constitution. So he emphasised the new Constitution of India to carry the essence of translating India into a social democracy based on the principle of democratic humanism. So he worked with a missionary zeal to acquire constitutional provisions to safeguard political power and social recognition for those vast multitudes of people who were being treated as untouchables and suffering from dehumanization (Biswas, 1997, p. 2). His concept of democratic humanism discarded human subordination of any forms and treated every human as useful member of the society and recognised individual as basic unit of the nation rather than caste or creed.

He believed that democratic values could prevail only when there will be total annihilation of both caste and class divisions. The basic unit of a democratic society observed Dr. Ambedkar, must be individual human being, never the caste or creed. The natural rights of man must be respected and each individual must be provided with right to life, liberty and equality. Sovereign equality of man in a free society provides freedom for all, respecting human dignity and social identity through freedom of speech and not having restraints unnecessarily. The cardinal principle of 'democratic humanism' advocates Dr. Ambedkar is to uphold self-respect and human dignity, which have paramount importance in a free society. It is basically a battle for freedom, and a battle for the reclamation of human personality. So he concentrated on the sovereign virtue of having the provision of 'Bills of Rights' in the Constitution that would guarantee basic human freedom for all.

His doctrine of 'democratic humanism' promoting the 'Magna Carta' of human freedom and equality has been incorporated in the democratic Constitution under the exclusive provision of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. Some of the specific articles responding to such exclusive provision refer to Article 15 that abolishes discrimination in using public facilities, Article 16 provides for equal opportunities in public employment, Article 17 provides for abolition of untouchability, Article 19 provides right to life and personal liberty for all, Article 20 protects from double prosecution for same offence, Article 23 provides human dignity, Article 29 prohibits forceful and compulsory acquisition of property, Article 39 provides for equal source of livelihood for men and women, Article 43 provides for a living wage for descent standard of life, Article 45 provides for free and compulsory education to children till the age of 14, Article 46 promotes educational and economic interests for weaker sections, etc. All these constitutional provisions and articles are the clear embodiment of the virtue of 'democratic humanism' that opens the inroad to establish social democracy par-important with economic and political democracy.

The constitutional arrangement and sanction behind the establishment of social democracy has been best reflected and manifested in the soul of our Constitution. The Preamble of the Constitution which reads as follows: Justice; social, economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; and fraternity assuring the

dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. The *raison d'être* behind such a universal declaration is to feel the essence of the democratic humanism, which means all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. But they all are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another with a spirit of brotherhood. Under the new Constitution Dr. Ambedkar wanted to lead a vast group of human beings out of the terrible slavery of caste system into justice and freedom. Democracy, he argued, is another name of equality that strikes a balance between liberty and equality indicating individual freedom in the egalitarian society. Thus the spirit of social democracy is embodied in the soul of the Constitution that guarantees a truly egalitarian society where no class would be under privileged or privileged on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth or residence. Political democracy in independent India without dismantling its age-old hierarchical caste ridden social structure would not fit notions of democracy which requires killing altogether the monster of caste from our social fabric. In a caste ridden society each individual with caste/class consciousness will place its caste/class interests above the common interest. This will be the end of justice and fair play. With this back ground, no government can remain truly democratic, if society is much divided into heinous caste categories. Dr. Ambedkar was of strong opinion that a casteless society annihilating all caste order is the necessary precondition for the success of political democracy. He had strong reservations in this point and had differences of opinion with leaders of Indian National Congress like S.N. Banerjee and others regarding an early political independence. Social democracy he opined should be the first step as a stepping stone to political and economic democracy. Political democracy cannot last unless its basis is social democracy.

What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principle of life. It establishes sovereign equality of man and abolishes discrimination of man against man. Social democracy witnesses the march on democratic humanism, on the principle of each man ascounted as one, nobody is more than one. Thus, social democracy opined Dr. Ambedkar abolishes the worthless birth graded status and its function. But the irony is democratic institutions in independent India instead of its old traditional caste institution has yet to embrace the democratic humanist tradition. The apparent paradox lies with the wilful intention of the

political class mainly the caste Hindus by making use of the caste institution as its official doctrine through the policy of reservation for their cheap electoral gains. Today even after 72 years of our Constitution coming into existence, the long cherished dream of Dr. Ambedkar converting India into a social democracy with democratic humanist tradition and its sovereign virtue of human dignity and freedom is yet to be recognized.

Contemporary Challenges to the Goals of Social Democracy

The immediate human problem in contemporary India, the problems of food and hunger, clothing, shelter, health and human dignity still continues to be major concern that unfolds the inside story and real character of our economic and social democracy. The basic human concerns and question of human rights challenges with deplorable social solidarity in India calls for a paradigm shift in the notion of social democracy envisioned by Dr. Ambedkar. The limitation and laxity of a common political approach to the ever-deepening socio-economic crisis and the escalating tyranny of the political class hinders the preservation and perpetuation of our social democracy. Thus the egalitarian social solidarity approach of Dr. Ambedkar, based on the principles of democratic humanism in the contemporary situation needs a realistic assessment that really is passing through an acid test of time. In the first expanding era of globalization and privatization, the vision of Dr. Ambedkar is facing a 'withering away' situation. Economic liberty and social justice has been marshalled by the so called 'merit syndrome' and eclipsed by 'Dronacharyamindset' that in turn has become the real peddlers of the burgeoning and deepening social crisis.

Conclusion

The greatest contribution of Dr. Ambedkar to the world of political and social philosophy is his concept of social democracy and democratic humanism. The twin concepts have provided new insight to the Indian society and democracy by humanising its social fabric and have become a precondition for a successful working of our political democracy. Undoubtedly, his concept of social democracy provided the vast multitude of depressed communities mostly the untouchables, their entitlement and basic rights as human in an inclusive society. He believed that the evils of caste system is a stumbling block in the

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path of a cohesive national psyche and an inclusive and an emancipatory society is impossible without complete an annihilation of caste system. Being a foremost exponent and expo under of social democracy he wanted to salvage the Indian society from the scourge of evils of caste system by emphasising the basic human values, dignity and self-respect of all individual as the governing principle of democracy for its triumph. As the chief architect of democratic Constitution of India, he had a clear message to the microscopically minority mainstream society that the modern Indian democratic Constitution based on the principle of equality, liberty, and fraternity allows no place for a savage society governed by traditional caste institutions, a Constitution which is a product of socio-cultural exigency and epithet of democratic humanism. He had an appeal to the depressed classes to preserve and allow the 'caravan of social movement' to remain lively and continue, that was brought through miseries and utmost difficulty. All conscious citizens of India, who are striving for 'people-centered governance' and 'humane India', must uphold the spirit of democratic humanism enshrined in our Constitution. Under no circumstances these basic human values and dignity should be sacrificed and surrendered to the neo-imperial grand global design.

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Aristotle and Kautilya

A Comparative Account

Sushant Kumar Jha

Abstract

The study of politics in a systematized way sprawls in the historic treatises of both Kautilya and Aristotle. The universal appeal in the ideas presented by both, labels them as political marvels, keeping the significance of contextual truths of society. Aristotle and Kautilya teach us the values of self-fulfilment and self-achievement. This paper is a humble attempt to widen the canvas of comparative study of both astutepolitical philosophers, teachers and mentors. The present zest of political inquiry to the comparative study between both would have far-reaching implications to the body of knowledge. Both, *Politics* of Aristotle and *Arthashastra* of Kautilya are the seminal contributions to the study of politics.

Keywords: *Greek, Slavery, Saptanga Theory, Rajamandala, Matsya Nyaya, Ideal State, statecraft, Good Life, Alexander, Chandragupta*

Introduction

Aristotle's system of thought is very often compared with other western political thinkers, especially with that of Machiavelli. There are various points of similarities and dissimilarities between the thoughts of Aristotle and Kautilya (an ancient Indian exponent of statecraft). On that very basis, we can have a comparative account of Aristotle and Kautilya's system of thought. To some extent, both thinkers are contemporary, because in 322 BC when Aristotle died, Kautilya was engaged in planning to destroy the Nanda Dynasty (Magadh), to establish the Maurya Dynasty under the leadership of Chandragupta Maurya.

Aristotle

Aristotle (384-322 BC) was an ancient Greek philosopher and thinker who is regarded as the father of political science. He was also described as the first political scientist (Maxey,1956). Aristotle was the first political thinker who separated politics from ethics and gave a systematic theory of the origin, nature and functioning of the state. *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* are the famous writings of Aristotle and the fundamental sources of his political ideas. *Nicomachean Ethics* establishes his theories and *Politics* expounded upon them. In *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle first establishes his ideas about the common good and shows disagreement with Plato about the idea of good and ethics. He argues that “dear is Plato, dearer still is truth.” Aristotle gives centrality to the practical aspects of human life. He notes that if ethics is purely theoretical then it does no good to the practical world we live in. Therefore, ethics must be treated practically. Aristotle admires the happiness theory of Plato and expounds it in his own way. He is the founder of happiness theory. Human life is not only around achievement but about love, happiness and respecting mind, body, spirit, compassionate relationships and having faith. We can say that Aristotle's method was determined by his empirical or inductive habit of mind, historic temper, respect for traditions and general readiness to accept the verdict of public opinion. Aristotle was different in methods from his teacher, Plato. Due to his scientific and comparative approach to the study of political science, he is known as Father of political science. According to Zeller, "the politics of Aristotle is the richest treasure that has come down to us from antiquity, it is the greatest contribution to the field of political science that we possess"(Jayapalan, 2002, p. 161). It is Aristotle who proclaims that "the state comes into existence, originated in the bare need of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of good life"(Aristotle, Book 1, p. 28). Aristotle is one of the most influential political thinkers in the history of political thought. Without his characteristically scientific approach to political issues, we would have an only political philosophy, not a Political Science¹.

Kautilya

On the other hand, Kautilya (375-283 BC) popularly known as Chanakya, was an ancient Indian teacher, philosopher, economist, jurist and royal advisor. Kautilya assisted the first Mauryan emperor Chandragupta in his rise to power.

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He is widely credited for having played an important role in the establishment of the Maurya Empire. Kautilya served as the chief advisor to both emperors Chandragupta and his son Bindusara². He is traditionally identified as Kautilya or Vishnugupta, who authored the ancient Indian political treatise, the *Arthashastra*, a text dated roughly around the 4th century BC. One sees the faint beginnings of political ideas in *Vedas*, *Upanishads* and other epics, and then their crystallizations in the myths of the creation of the state in several Brahmanical and Buddhist texts. The most full-fledged outlining of the theory of state is found in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (Singh & Roy, 2011, p. xv). U.N. Ghoshal notes that "Kautilya makes a closer analysis and expresses a sounder judgement on the points at issue and reconstructs the science of politics" (Ghoshal, 1996, p. 375). It has been a historical irony that the *Arthashastra* written probably in 4th century BC was first discovered by a pandit in Tanjore in 1904 and translated and published by R. Shamasastri in 1915. The book prominently deals with constituent elements of the state, major departments of government, taxation system, armed force, the network of spies and the theory of Rajamandala and foreign policy (Singh & Roy, 2011, p. 2). This book marks a departure from the earlier ancient Indian tradition dominated by the supremacy of religion in every sphere of human life. It was the manual on statecraft and art of administration. Kautilya himself views his *Arthashastra* as "the science of statecraft, of politics, and of administration" (Cited in Arora & Awasthi, 2007, p. 376).

Like Aristotle, Kautilya was the first Indian political thinker who declared the independent status of polity and highlighted its significant role in human life. Kautilya's contemporary thinkers did not write as much as he wrote on the statecraft. In this sense, we can not agree with the statement of A. B. Keith that,

it is a very misplaced patriotism which asks us to admire Arthashastra as representing the line flower of Indian political thought. It would, indeed, be melancholy if this were the best that India could show as against the Republic of Plato and the Politics of Aristotle. (cited in Kangle, 1965, p. 274).

As far as constituent elements of the state are concerned Kautilya's Saptanga theory is more profound than that of Aristotle. Although, Aristotle talks about certain elements of state i.e. territory or geography, population, government,

army and treasury but does not talk about the element of the ally(friend). However, *Arthashastra* marks a paradigm shift from political philosophy to political science. Greek thinkers like Plato and Aristotle emphasize on political philosophy, whereas Kautilya focuses on practical realism or realpolitik. *Arthashastra* aims to show how a state ought to be ruled. *Arthashastra* speaks in terms of a highly materialistic world, perceived by Kautilya keeping the moral angle aside. The purpose of it was the practical aim to show how governments ought to be run. Not only that, but there are also many areas of similarities and dissimilarities between Aristotle and Kautilya's concepts of the state, therefore, a comparison could be made between both great champions of the theory of the state.

Similarities

There are various areas of similarities between Aristotle and Kautilya. Both are great exponents of the organic theory of the state. Aristotle argues that the "state is prior to the individual". It means that the state is natural. We cannot define an individual as an individual without having any idea of a state. An individual is an individual when he lives within the state, Otherwise, he is either God or devil. It implies that there is an organic relationship between the state and individuals. Kautilya's theory of Matsya Nyaya and Saptanga theory of state represents an organic notion of the state. According to saptanga theory, the state is comprised of seven elements- Swami (the king), Amatya (the minister), Suhrid (the ally), Kosha (the treasure) Danda (represents the army), Durga (the fort) and Pura or Janapada (the territory or the population). Kautilya draws parallels between the organs of the state and the corresponding organs of the human body.

Secondly, both political thinkers are realistic in their zest of political inquiry. Their ideas about the state and governance are the products of the crisis of the society of their age. In this respect, their methodology is more inductive than deductive. They construe their theories of state with their times and circumstances.

Thirdly, according to Prof. B. K. Jha, Aristotle and Kautilya both are great advocates of male supremacy. According to Aristotle, a wife has to obey the commands of her husband. While Kautilya argues that a wife is regarded as 'Bharya' when she lives under the subjection of her husband. He further writes

that both are ardent supporters of slavery. For Aristotle, slavery is just and beneficial both: for Kautilya, slaves are a very significant component for economy and agriculture. To Aristotle, Greeks could not be the slaves, Kautilya does argue that the Aryans could not be the slaves. Thus, the ideas of both are flavoured with an acute sense of nationalism, racialism and casteism (Jha, 1983, p. 458).

Fourthly, both believe that undue strain on any element of the state would culminate into the destruction of the whole structure of the state. Both are great supporters of personal property, Aristotle opines that in absence of property one could not develop one's personality or attain mental and moral growth. Kautilya also emphatically argues that "essence of religion is artha"; "the poor people have no wisdom"; "wealth is needed for all type of worldly works", and "a poor man is insulted even by his wife". To them, personal property was essential for all-round development of one's personality.

Fifthly, Aristotle and Kautilya both argue that the way to earn wealth or money should be fair and lawful. Aristotle highlights two ways to earn wealth- natural and unnatural. The wealth earned from natural resources is of natural type; the wealth earned from usury or *gombeen*, trade etc., is unnatural type. He asserted the natural way to earn wealth and rejects the unnatural way to earn it. Similarly, Kautilya also emphasises that wealth must be earned by good conduct or as per rule, not by any unjust means (p. 459).

Sixthly, both are ardent advocates of the distributive theory of justice in the sense that both believe in the allocation of power and position of offices according to one's ability and qualifications.

Finally, Aristotle and Kautilya both were great teachers, friends, philosophers and guides who mentored their famous students -Alexander and Chandragupta respectively, and taught the art of war. They were marvellous human beings and remembered for their inspiring master-mentor relationships. One can eulogize the way they have fought their battles and created a name in the history of humanity.

Dissimilarities

Besides similarities, there are fundamental differences between Aristotle and Kautilya. First, Aristotle explains the theoretical aspects of politics, Kautilya

focuses on practical or behavioural aspects of politics. At the level of theoretical politics, if Kautilya is ranked inferior in comparison to Greek thinkers, then in terms of practical aspects of politics, Plato and Aristotle are inferior in comparison to Kautilya.

Secondly, the objective to Aristotle's politics to discover happiness theory and to establish an ideal state in which an individual attains his self-fulfilment or human excellence, while the chief concern of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is to acquire and maintain the earth. In this respect, *Arthashastra* has two major objectives: (a) to discover the ways through which a ruler can protect his domain; (b) to discover the ways through which he can add new territories to his domain (Arora & Awasthi, 2007, p. 376). Thirdly, it is true that like Aristotle, Kautilya also supports slavery, but he does not believe in the natural notion of slavery, rather he illuminates on human and fair treatment for the slaves.

Fourthly, Aristotle is very critical about traders and moneylenders because they don't work and are parasites in society. They only think for themselves, and the accumulation of wealth is their primary matter of interest. That's why he regards trade as unethical (Barker, 1906, p. 38). Unlike Aristotle, Kautilya asserts that management of trade or commercial activities is a very essential function of the state. Not only that, where Aristotle regards usury as unethical, for Kautilya it is the source of state revenue.

Fifthly, Aristotle is a great advocate of the sovereignty of law. He argues that "rule of law is preferable to that of any individual...for the law is unaffected by reasons" (cited in Jha, 1983, p. 303). On the other hand, Kautilya is a strong supporter of the sovereignty of the state. His views on Rajamandala (Mandal Theory) is an explicit reflection of it, which is based on the maxim that a friend's friend is likely to be a friend and an enemy's friend an enemy. Sixthly, according to Kautilya, stability of state depends upon the awareness and vigilance of the king. But Aristotle essentialises the importance of middle class to get rid of the possibilities of rebellion and to restore the stability of the state.

Seventh, Kautilya's theory of Rajamandala (the circle of state) does not only represent a detailed theory of foreign policy but also focuses on various aspects of inter-state relations. Rangarajan is the first to use the term foreign policy in the context of Kautilya's Rajamandala theory (Rangarajan, 1992). As far as Aristotle is concerned his system of thought does not represent such a wider

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canvas of foreign policy as illuminated by Kautilya. In this backdrop, Kautilya looks more pragmatic and practical than Aristotle.

Lastly, According to Virendra Dafane, Aristotle was the first teacher and was the first one to be called as 'The Philosopher' on this planet. Aristotle was the founder of 'happiness theory' and tutor to Alexander. He did teach fundamentals of war, strategy and as well as happiness and love related aspects to Alexander. Aristotle was always in touch with Alexander however never participated in war strategy directly. If you look at Chanakya (Kautilya), he was the teacher, philosopher, economist, and royal advisor. He was famous for his wisdom and '*Arth-niti*' (Concepts of economics). Kautilya mentored Chandragupta for big battles as well as for small tactics. He played a larger role directly in defeating the Nanda. This attribute was the significant difference between Kautilya and Aristotle (Dafane, 2016).

Conclusion

The systematized study of politics is found in the historic treatises of both Kautilya and Aristotle. The universal appeal in the ideas presented by both, labels them as political marvels, keeping the significance of contextual truths of society. By comparing Aristotle and Kautilya, students of politics can derive very valuable lessons of the sense of fulfilment as well as the sense of achievement. "History remains relevant as long as we keep learning from it. So, live a life where we balance the sense of achievement and sense of fulfilment both" (Dafane, 2016). They are not only the great theorists of the state but also regarded as the great teachers and mentors for their mentee. Though there are various similarities and dissimilarities between the two excellent political thinkers, as far as their system of thought is concerned no one can be regarded inferior to another. Both Aristotle and Kautilya will always be remembered for their unprecedented and original contributions to the science of politics.

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Endnotes

ⁱ <http://law-projects.blogspot.com/2013/04>

ⁱⁱ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/:2020>

The Kashmir Problem: Article 35 A & 370

Suman Kumar

Abstract

The state of Jammu and Kashmir, ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh at the time of independence of India, finally acceded to India when the area was attacked by Pakistani rangers. The Hindu ruler of the state wanted to remain independent but under the contemporary situation the state had to merge with India. However, the two opposite political poles were having different aims. One was of the then ruler Maharaja Hari Singh and another was of Sheikh Abdullah. The fate of the state was to be decided by these two streams. Finally, agreements were concluded, Article 370 and Article 35 A were added in the Constitution of India. In fact, these two were added without approval of the Parliament but through Presidential orders. The Delhi Agreement was also an important milestone in this journey. The powers of the Government of India and the supremacy of the Constitution of India cannot have the same force in the state because it framed its own Constitution. The accession will be complete only after the repealing these two provisions of the Constitution of India.

Keywords: *Dogras, Constitution, Delhi Agreement, Article 370, Article 35 A, Accession, Constituent Assembly*

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is full of uniqueness and has a distinct cultural heritage. Situated in the north of India in the lap of the Himalayas, this state shares its international boundaries with Pakistan and China and the domestic border is shared with Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. The state of Jammu and Kashmir has diversity in itself. The Jammu region is relatively plain while the Kashmir region is hilly terrain. The third region is Ladakh which

is famous for Buddhist monasteries and a very cold climatic area. Kashmir and Ladakh have been the tourist attractions also because of beautiful landscape and religious worship.

During colonial rule it was a princely state under the Dogras. The last ruler of Jammu and Kashmir was Maharaja Hari Singh who signed the Instrument of Accession with the Government of India in the year 1947 just after the independence of India. Since its accession with India till date, there have been troubled times because Pakistan, the former territory of United India, has never agreed to accept the fact that Jammu and Kashmir has voluntarily accepted to be a part of India. The Instrument of Accession was signed under special circumstances when Jammu and Kashmir was very near to losing its identity under the threat from Pakistan. The herculean task of framing the Constitution of India was already underway so it was felt that there was no need to disturb the existing administrative set up of the state but to continue with the same. Later on, the change was witnessed at the behest of Pt. Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India. The two provisions of the Constitution of India namely Article 370 and Article 35 A were incorporated and since then, they have been the center of controversy. Article 370 gave a protected status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir and Article 35 A thereby ensuring the independent identity of the people of Kashmir. The state has undergone tremendous pressure because of cross-border terrorism on the one hand and on the other the pressure to save its distinct cultural heritage. Whenever there is less oil in the politics, it tries to bring those issues in the front that can be used as fuel. The fate of these two articles have been the same.

The Accession of Jammu and Kashmir

Jammu and Kashmir was a part of the Sikh Empire before becoming an independent state in 1846 during the colonial period of India. It continued with the status of a Princely State from 1846 to 1947. After its accession with India, it continued as a kingdom up to 1952. Raja Gulab Singh was the first ruler of the Dogra Dynasty who occupied the throne in the year 1846 and continued till 1857. The last king from this dynasty was Raja Hari Singh who ruled the state from 1925 to 1948. Dr. Karan Singh was the Prince Regent from 1948 to 1952. Mehar Chand Mahajan was the first Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir (for 142 days only) during the reign of Maharaja Hari Singh and Sheikh

Abdullah was the second Prime Minister of the state (for 5 years 5 months).

The Instrument of Accession was signed between Maharaja Hari Singh, the then ruler of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and the then Government of India. The accession day, either 26 October or 27 October, is also under shadow but it did take place. Lord Mountbatten replied to Maharaja Hari Singh on the request for help from the Indian Dominion:

My dear Maharaja Sahib, Your Highness' letter dated 26 October has been delivered to me by Mr. V. P. Menon. In the special circumstances mentioned by your Highness my Government has decided to accept the accession of Kashmir State to the Dominion of India. Consistently with their policy that in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question if accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people¹.

The Indian side of this story of accession is unconditional while the Pakistani version considers it as conditional. Thereby the terms and conditions of this accession is disputed. According to India's position on Kashmir, the argument being that irrespective of surrounding circumstances and conditions, the choice of Maharaja Hari Singh to acquiesce to the Indian Union is final and lawful and it can't be disputed (Singh, 2011, p. 1). On the other hand, Pakistan considers the province of Jammu and Kashmir to be a disputed domain because the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to India was unlawful, maintaining that Maharaja Hari Singh had no legal authority to execute an Instrument of Accession on 26 October 1947. From India's position, the plebiscite which was concurred by Nehru had affirmed the increase which was, in all regards, officially complete. India further maintains that the UN Resolutions requiring the desire of the general population to be discovered are not valid (Pauls, 2012, p. 33). Pakistan also claims and accuses that the Maharaja's offer of accession was accepted by the Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten, on the condition that as soon as law and order had been restored, the question of accession of the state would be decided by a reference to the people but India is violating the commitment to hold a plebiscite in the future.

A Composite Map of J & K



Source-<https://jkdat.nic.in/pdf/Rules-Constitution-of-J&K.pdf> ⁱⁱ

Article 370

When the British rulers were leaving the sub-continent in August 1947, a choice was offered to the Princely States either to merge with India or Pakistan or to remain independent. Maharaja Hari Singh decided to maintain equal distance with India and Pakistan. He signed a standstill treaty with Pakistan to uphold the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan violated the terms of this treaty when it tried to invade Jammu and Kashmir through a planned aggression, started on 24 October 1947. When Hari Singh sought help from India after Pakistani invasion, the Instrument of Accession was signed in October 1947 between Maharaja Hari Singh and the Government of India. It mentioned that Jammu & Kashmir would transfer three specific powers to the Government of India namely Foreign affairs, Defence and Communications. Rest of the powers were left with the Maharaja. It meant that the internal sovereignty of the State was maintained. The denial of property rights to outsiders in the region was also continued. All the conditions were agreed on the ground that final settlement will take place in future. Meanwhile an interim government was appointed in the state with Sheikh Abdullah as Prime Minister. Pt. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah both were in agreement regarding a special status for Jammu and Kashmir. In July 1949, Sheikh Abdullah and three other colleagues joined the Indian Constituent Assembly and negotiated for the special status of the state leading to the adoption of Article 370. It was introduced in the Constituent Assembly as draft article 306 by N. Gopaldaswami

Ayyangar ensuring a special status and internal autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir due to its special conditions. It was presented as a partially disputed territory, since the United Nations mandated for a fair and impartial plebiscite. After debates and amid apprehensions, Article 370 was inserted in the Part XXI of the Constitution of India as a temporary and special provision.

Salient Features of Article 370

Ultimately on 17 October 1949, Indian Constituent Assembly adopted Article 370 with the following features:

- It was added in Part XXI of the Constitution of India as Temporary, Transitional and Special Provisions.
- Article 238 (repealed) shall not apply in relation to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.
- The Parliament will have limited power to legislate for the state i.e. only on the subjects of union list and concurrent list and that too in consultation with the state government in line of the instrument of accession.
- The state was allowed to frame its own constitution through a constituent assembly meaning hereby that there was no complete applicability of the Constitution of India.
- The state was empowered to make its own laws in all matters except defence, foreign affairs, communications and finance.
- This article could be abrogated or amended only after the recommendations of the state assembly³.

Consequences of Article 370

The instrument of accession established a special relationship between the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the Union of India. Since its implementation till date, it has served as a mechanism for managing Centre-State relations with specific reference to Jammu & Kashmir. Later on, the Delhi Agreement and insertion of Article 35 A to the constitution of India were the direct outcomes of Article 370. The residents of the state have lived under different laws from the rest of the country especially in matters such as property ownership, citizenship, criminal procedure code etc. The elections for the constituent

assembly of Jammu and Kashmir were held in September-October 1951. The assembly completed the task of framing the constitution on 17 November 1956 and it was dissolved on 25 January 1957, one day before the constitution came into force. The constitution of the state became operational from 26 January 1957. According to Article 48 of the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, out of 87 seats, 24 seats were allocated for Pakistan administered Kashmir. Article 370 itself provides the method of its amendment or revocation in the constitution, that the Article will cease to be operative on the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved without recommending any amendment in Article 370 or its revocation from the constitution of India. This article acted as a shield for the politicians of the region on the one hand and to the residents also to some extent. The temporary provisions of this article became a permanent feature of the Indian Constitution.

The Delhi Agreement

In post independent India, the Kashmir Agreement was signed between Sheikh Abdullah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on 24 July 1952. The agreement is also called 'Delhi Agreement 1952'. This agreement was the need of the hour as Pt. Nehru felt that certain changes have to be brought in the administrative set up of the state. This agreement ensured a number of benefits for the people of the state, at the same time saving the state from direct control of the Government of India. Sheikh Abdullah tried to cover all the areas such as land reforms, termination of hereditary monarchy in the state and that the office of head of state shall be elective etc. According to this agreement, the state of Jammu & Kashmir remained sovereign in all matters except the four core areas mentioned in the instrument of accession. It is believed that article 35 A is the result of this agreement.

People from different sides had reached the understanding that the greater part of the sacred issues in the Constitution of India, concerning citizenship, fundamental rights, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the division of forces between the Union and the States, will be identified with. Likewise, understanding over abrogation of the Dogra rule, separate flag and authority language of the state was also drawn. It was also agreed that the State Government would put the terms of the agreement before the Constituent

The Kashmir Problem: Article 35 A & 370

Assembly. Thus, the special position of the state of Jammu & Kashmir was endorsed by Article 306-A (later to become Article 370) of the Indian Constitution, which also guaranteed its internal autonomy. However, it was made clear that the Article was a temporary arrangement, pending final settlement of the Kashmir dispute. That New Delhi's jurisdiction in Jammu and Kashmir would remain limited to the three categories of subjects specified in the Instruments of Accession was affirmed in the same. After India became a republic in January 1950, Article 306-A became the basis of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which asserts Jammu and Kashmir's autonomy within the Indian Union. The power of the Government of India is not at par with other states because in relation to the state of Jammu and Kashmir without prior approval of the state assembly, it cannot be enforced in the state.

Sheikh Abdullah reported the agreement in the Constituent Assembly of the state and the salient features of Delhi Agreement 1952 were as:

Sovereignty in all issues other than those predetermined in the Instrument of Accession continues to reside in the state.

The residents of the state would be the citizens of India. "It was further agreed that the state legislature shall have power to define and regulate the rights and privileges of the permanent residents of the state, more especially in regard to acquisition of immovable property, appointments to services and like matters" (Bakshi, 1997, p. 51).

The Fundamental Rights would apply to Jammu and Kashmir except those rights which (a) might come in the way of their land reforms legislation including the compulsory acquisition of property without compensation and the liquidation of the debts of the peasantry, and (b) which might hamper the state's extra precautions against infiltration, sabotage or espionage by the enemy from across the border.

Residuary powers would vest in the state in the case of Kashmir, although in regard to all other states it would vest in the Union.

The Supreme Court should have only appellate jurisdiction.

The state will have its own flag in addition to the Union flag. It was also recognized that the Union flag should have the same status and position

in Jammu and Kashmir as in the rest of India.

The power to grant reprieve and commute death sentences would belong to the President of the Union.

The Union Government will have limited emergency powers in the state and that too in the case of internal disturbances only. The Union's forces would stretch out to the state just with the concurrence of state government.

Hereditary rule of the Dogras would be abolished and the Head of the State, Sadar-I-Riyasat, would be recognized by the President of India on the recommendations of the State Legislature and hold office for a period of five years.

India agreed to give a special position and status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir in the constitution whereby complete internal autonomy was assured to the State. On the one hand this agreement spelt out the details of the independence of the State inside the Union of India and then again, it confirmed that Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India.

Sheikh Abdullah projected the incorporation of the Article 370 as an attempt to secure the maximum autonomy for the state in the given situation. His focus was on securing an independent state within the federal structure of India. The institution of the hereditary monarchy was also abolished through this agreement in November 1952, the Constitutional Act of 1939 was revised to incorporate the arrangements of the resolution passed by the State Assembly. As per the Amendment Act, the institution of the hereditary monarchy was nullified, and it was pronounced that the head of the State was assigned as the "Sadar-I-Riyasat". The state government was to be governed by the Sadar-e-Riyasat, who was chosen by the State Legislature and affirmed by the President of India.

Article 35 A

The genesis of this article is not in vacuum, but it is a derivative of Article 370. A presidential Order was issued on 14 May 1954 and in concurrence of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir to secure the status of permanent residency of the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir. Such a mandate was already

given under the instrument of accession. It can be seen as a continuation of the policy of closed space of the region for the outsiders, something regulated during the days of Maharaja in the year 1927 and 1932. This presidential order came even when the new constitution was being drafted. The Jammu and Kashmir legislative assembly got the legal authority to frame laws and decide regulations regarding the three core domestic areas as:

- Who is a permanent resident
- Who is eligible to vote and work
- Who can own land and get admission in colleges

It was also provided that no alteration or increase or decrease in the area of the state or altering the name or boundary of the state shall be introduced in Parliament without the consent of the Legislative Assembly of the state. Although it was against the spirit of fundamental rights granted by the constitution of India, but it allowed that a person, who migrated to Pakistan Occupied Kashmir at the time of partition and returned on valid documents, was eligible to buy property in the State while the Indian citizen could not.

Article 35 A disregards the very idea of equality enshrined in the Constitution of India. The dual citizenship was protective for the citizens of the state but discriminatory for the citizens of India. The provisions of Article 35 A also violated the principles of gender equality. Section 6 of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, which derives its power from Article 35 A, discriminates against women residents of the state who marry a person from another state. The children from such unions are not entitled to the Permanent Resident Certificate (PRC) or the benefits consequent thereupon, such as the right to acquire immovable property and a government job. However in 2002, court authorized the PRC for native women but still discrimination continued because her children could not get PRC. It meant that they were not entitled for any job or the property of their mother.

Consequences of Article 35 A

Article 35 A has widened the gap further between the Union of India and its legal entity, the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The region was enjoying the benefits of being with India as well as the exclusive privileges within the state. The only Muslim dominated state got an opportunity to pursue the policy of

selective discrimination and gradually, with the support of our neighbour, religious extremism started emerging. The minority Hindu population, including the Sikhs, was forced to feel the alienation. However, it was not so from the beginning but at a later stage, it turned to extremism.

The state continued with a separate constitution, separate flag and exclusive power to decide citizenship rights. The acquisition and termination of citizenship was not in accordance with the constitution of India. The rules framed by Indian legislature, could not be implemented in the state. No act of the State legislature could be challenged for violating the Constitution or any other law of the land. It was seen against the gender equality and individual liberty granted by fundamental rights. Women could not exercise their choice of marrying someone from the rest of India or any other part of the world except Pakistan. Doing so, they were to lose their property rights along with the loss of citizenship of the state. Article 35 A virtually closed the doors of the state for the Indian citizens and the scope of complete integration with India also.

Preamble of the Constitution of J & K and India

We, the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, having solemnly resolved, in pursuance of accession of this State to India which took place on the twenty-sixth day of October, 1947, to further define the existing relationship of the State with the Union of India as an integral part thereof, and to secure to ourselves.

*JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;*

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among us all;

FRATERNITY, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY This seventeenth day of November, 1956 do Hereby Adopt Enact and Give to ourselves this constitution.

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN 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 the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, DO HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION."

Source-https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_of_india/preamble

The Constitutional Implications of Article 370 and 35 A:

An NGO, We the Citizens, challenged Article 35 A in the Supreme Court of India in 2014 on grounds that it was not added to the Constitution through change under Article 368.

It was never presented in the Parliament for debate or discussion, and against the parliamentary practices. The power to legislate was bypassed and enforced through presidential orders.

Article 370 was just a 'temporary provision'. The intention was to normalise the situation in the state and not to continue it forever.

Article 35 A is against the preamble of the constitution of India since it creates layers within layer, class within class.

These rules restricted the right of having business or purchase of property or entrepreneurs to start innovations.

Maharaja Hari Singh tried to protect his subjects along with himself when he asked for help from the then Government of India. The British accorded it an independent status with the Treaty of Amritsar that happened in the year 1846 (Singh, 2011, p. 7). The Maharaja acceded his state to India, he was forced to appoint Sheikh Abdullah as the Prime Minister and finally he left for Bombay where he lived in exile. The Abdullah family had developed a strong control of the politics of the state since the days of Maharaja and of course with the support of Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India. The state was being exploited and the protected status provided suitable grounds for it and the two articles, namely 370 and 35 A, were a facilitator in this process. The state was a Muslim majority state but not a Muslim state. The close door policies being pursued under these two articles was acting as a hindrance in the assimilation of this region with the rest of India. The democratic process was also under doubts. The decades of 1990s started witnessing the rise of fundamentalism and terrorism with cross-border support. Once called a heaven on earth, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was no more an attractive tourist destination. As long as the two constitutional provisions namely Article 370 and 35 A remain in operation, the politics of the state will continue to be controlled by family rule, religious fanaticism and sectoral interests. The democratic process of the

country is so strong that it will solve the issues in due course with the removal of these two protracted provisions.

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Endnotes

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ⁱⁱ <https://jkdat.nic.in/pdf/Rules-Costitution-of-J&K.pdf>

ⁱⁱⁱ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Article_35A_of_Constitution_of_India

The Migrant in Salman Rushdie's Fiction *Midnight's Children, Shame* and *The Satanic Verses*

Shilpa Gupta

Abstract

Salman Rushdie has always been concerned with giving a voice to the voiceless, by giving the power of description to the disenfranchised, the migrant, i.e. a personage who is often central in his narratives. This paper looks at three of Rushdie's most important works, *Midnight's Children*, *Shame* and *The Satanic Verses*, (which draw heavily on the theme of migration) not only by examining his life, but also through a critical analysis of his deliberate attempt to write in a particular yet distinct kind of manner and language; the themes of "double identity", "divided selves" and the "shadow figures" in the three novels by him.

Keywords: *Migrants, Identity, Displacement, Hybridity, Language*

Salman Rushdie has always been concerned with giving a voice to the voiceless, with giving the power of description to the disenfranchised, the migrant, i.e. a personage who is often central in his narratives. This paper looks at three of Rushdie's most important works, *Midnight's Children*, *Shame* and *The Satanic Verses*, (which draw heavily on the theme of migration) not only by examining his life, but also through a critical analysis of his deliberate attempt to write in a particular yet distinct kind of manner and language; the themes of "double identity", "divided selves" and the "shadow figures" in the three novels penned by him. Shailja Sharma in her essay 'Salman Rushdie: The Ambivalence of Migrancy' asserts that, "Migration refers not only to the displacements of people in history but to a state of displacement that befalls humankind in general" (p. 597). Rushdie also proclaims, "We all cross frontiers; in that sense, we are all migrant peoples" (1992, p. 279). While that may be true on some

abstract level, as Sharma argues, still we all cross them differently, and thus we are not all migrants in the same way (p. 597). She emphasizes the need to understand these shifting patterns of migrancy's relation to history as they appear in Rushdie's work. She further states,

Rushdie situates himself in a position of perpetual in-betweenness, a migrant caught between three countries, unable to exist comfortably in any one. The trajectory of his work (including his essays and journalism) shows an increasing concern with metafictional issues of representing peripheral histories and experience through a combination of modernist metropolitan and Third World narrative styles adequate to the postcolonial experience. More problematically, his work is often concerned with locating himself in relation to the diaspora culture in Britain, which is reflected most clearly in his essays but also in the pattern of his novels that mirror his own migration and settlement-India, Pakistan, and Britain. (p. 599)

We may see *Midnight's Children*, *Shame* and *The Satanic Verses* as together comprising a trilogy, moving steadily westward, especially in its political concerns, notwithstanding the happy ending of Chamcha and Zeenie Vakil in Bombay at the end of the third novel (2001, 599). In *The Satanic Verses*, the narrative voice poses the question, "how does newness come into the world" (1988, p. 8)? The answer is an affirmation of the process by which Rushdie's art and indeed his identity as a writer has been produced. Newness is a "melange, hotchpotch, a bit of this and a bit of that" (1992, p. 394). Any attempt to explain the features and preoccupations of Rushdie's fiction must take account of the diverse cultural elements that combine to give his work its characteristic style. It becomes important to know about Rushdie's life for a better and judicious understanding of his works, because many of his experiences from his personal life tend to seep into his writing. Rushdie was born in India, schooled in England, forced by his parents to move to Pakistan, and finally exiled back to Britain (1995, p. 95). Rushdie has never been truly accepted in any of his 'homes'. Though, his family spoke Urdu, Rushdie learnt English from the age of five in English-medium schools and was encouraged by his parents to use English at home as the language of everyday discourse. The dual consciousness,

created as a result of this linguistic division, is the source of much of the versatility and play in Rushdie's use of English in his fiction (1996, p. 1). While referring to his light-coloured skin, Cundi says, "It is as if Rushdie embodies in his own person the hybridity which for the cultural theorist Homi K. Bhabha 'terrorizes authority with the ruse of recognition, its mimicry, and its mockery'" (p. 2). For example, in *The Satanic Verses*, Rushdie weaves his own feelings of alienation through one of his schoolboy experiences, wherein he recounts how on the first day of school he was given a kipper for breakfast and not told how to eat it. While in Rushdie's writing, the voice and presence of both writer and creation appear almost parodic of the persona of the 'English gentleman', exhibiting what Bhabha has called "the indeterminacy of diasporic identity" and "the irresolvable, borderline culture of hybridity" (1994, p. 225). Yet Rushdie, like Bhabha and other theorists of cultural identity, abjures the apparent confusion and 'homelessness' implicit in such a characterisation in favour of the idea of hybridity as a positive category. In place of the negative connotations of displacement and dislocation which would seem to be the inevitable result of his removal from Bombay and his family, Rushdie asks his readers, in both his fictional and his non-fictional writings to accept that he has gained as well as lost something 'in translation' (1996, p. 2). He argues that there are distinct advantages to being a migrant for both the writer and the person as a whole. In an interview, Rushdie says,

To migrate is to experience deep changes and wrenches in the soul, but the migrant is not simply transformed by his act, he also transforms the new world. Migrants might well become mutants, but it is out of such hybridization that newness can emerge. (1985, p. 125)

He further explains in "Imaginary Homelands" that migrant writers have a "double perspective" (p. 19) for they are both insiders and outsiders in the worlds they describe. He believes that redescribing the world is a necessary first step to changing it (1992, p. 14). In all three of his novels, (that this paper attempts to examine), this redescription is the prerogative of the migrant narrator, since migration is a painful but emancipating process: "To be reborn, first you have to die" (1988, p. 6). Finally, Rushdie explains that the literary migrant is able to "choose his parents." Rushdie's own include Cervantes,

Kafka, and Melville along with reams of Muslim and Hindu poets and Eastern oral myths (1992, p. 21).

In *Midnight's Children*, Saleem Sinai claims that "There is no escape from form" (p. 226). Therefore, in order to admit eastern themes, the western novel form must mutate and develop to become something else, i.e. the hybrid post-colonial text (1996, p. 26). In fact, Cundi suggests to apply the understanding of the techniques of an oral storyteller to analyze the form of *Midnight's Children* and proposes to use Walter J. Ong's study of the relation between oral and print cultures, *Orality and Literacy*². Hence, what we come across in *Midnight's Children* are thirty chapters or jars of pickled history, both personal and national, travelling through a twisty and digressive path of time and space to illustrate a link between Rushdie's chosen style of communication in the text and the forms of oral narrative that he seeks to reproduce (1996, p. 28). This rather complex and pickled form of narration facilitates remembering and retelling of his autobiography to Saleem Sinai, considering that he "is literally 'handcuffed to history'" (1980, p. 9). His narrative is simultaneously the story of his own life and a mirror of the life of India. It is significant to note that Saleem consciously avoids a purely linear and chronological mode of narration in favour of one which swings between past, present and future, foretelling the events and characters which will later be revealed along with his own annihilation (Interview with C.P., 1983, p. 20). Saleem relates a substantial part of his personal and family history before he finally gets round to describing his own birth. He leads us backwards and forwards in time between his present standpoint of 1978, back to the events of his grandfather Aadam's childhood, down through the intervening years to the simultaneous birth of himself and of free India (1996, p. 28). The model for this pendulum movement in the narrative is what Saleem calls "the metronome music of Mountbatten's count-down calendar to independence" (1980, p. 106). The complexity of oral narrative, with its swoops, spirals, digression and reiteration, can therefore be seen as the perfect correlative of Rushdie's technique in *Midnight's Children* (1996, p. 28).

Time also exerts its authority over Saleem both within and outside his narrative. Just as the seconds tick down to midnight for India, so Saleem, pursued and compelled by the demands of his critic Padma (within the text itself) and the

cracks that threaten his disintegration, is forced like Scheherazade to preserve his very existence through the continuation of his narrative (1996, p. 29). In many ways, Padma's role in *Midnight's Children* is representative of the separate technical and even cultural demands that writing the novel made on Rushdie. On one hand, she can be seen as an exemplification of Roland Barthes's arguments on the role of the reader subsequent to the 'death' of the author, that someone who holds together in a single field all the traces by which the written text is constituted apparently affirming the text's status as postmodern production (1977, p. 148). On the other hand, she provides a link back to the culture which Rushdie insists informs his work most strongly. Padma, taken on these terms, becomes a vocal and individualised member of the multitude which sits at the feet of the storyteller, hanging on his every word (1996, p. 30). Nancy E. Batty argues that 'Padma's role as Saleem's "necessary ear" should not obscure her status as co-creator of his narrative'¹³ (p. 54). While interrogating the issues of orality and Padma's role in the text, in relation to the extent to which the individual listening to the discourse of a storyteller coincides with the position occupied by the reader of a text, Walter Ong argues that there is a crucial difference between the position of 'listener' and that of 'reader' (p. 101). One of the formal strengths of *Midnight's Children* is the way in which through its disrupted narrative, Rushdie makes the reader acutely aware of the important part played by his or her own memory in 'reconstructing' the text as meaningful narrative. Memory as the key to constructing narrative is fragile and unwilling to obey external demands made upon it. The demands Saleem makes on his memory are enormous - the process of remembering must be made to speed up, so as not to be overtaken by his own physical disintegration. This fore fronting of memory dictates the form of the narrative. Thus, Rushdie's essay on the errata in the text of *Midnight's Children*, can be read as an illustration of the 'erratic' processes by which the migrant's sense of history reconstitutes itself *through* memory, rather than a description of a postmodern artist's exploration of unreliable narration (1996, p. 32).

It is worth noting, how *Midnight's Children* serves as a testament to the importance of memory in the recreation of history and the constitution of the individual's identity. As Saleem puts it, "morality, judgment, character... it all starts with memory" (1980, p. 381). It is Parvati's memory of Saleem which

gives him back his name, and the memory of his former life symbolised by the spittoon that keeps him in touch with that newly rediscovered identity (p. 32-3). Rushdie describes a similar process where he himself experienced a restoration of the past to him through memory. The sight of an old black and white photograph of his childhood home in Bombay created in him the desire to re-imagine that past and restore it to himself:

But the photograph tells me to invert this idea; it reminds me that its my present that is foreign, and that the past is home albeit a lost home in a lost city in the mists of lost time... It is probably not too romantic to say that was when my novel *Midnight's Children* was really born; when I realized how much I wanted to restore the past to myself, not in the faded greys of old family-album snapshots, but whole, in Cinema Scope and glorious Technicolor. (1992, p. 10)

Rushdie admits that the act of reclaiming the past is subject to the vagaries of the memory on which its reconstruction relies. His essay on unreliable narration in *Midnight's Children* is a study of the tricks which memory plays on the writer attempting to recall the past, and also of the tricks the writer can play on the reader in the name of unreliability (1992, pp. 22-5). Moreover, the flying spittoon which brains Saleem at the end of Book Two and 'liberates' him from his past by inducing a state of amnesia, occasions a loss which is more than a loss of memory. For Saleem to lose his memory is to lose his identity; his link with the past which places him in the social and historical context that outlines his individuality, since memory is the chain which connects the post-colonial subject to his or her disrupted history (1996, p. 35). Further, in *Midnight's Children*, Rushdie uses the metaphor of a movie screen to explain the perception of a migrant: "Suppose yourself in a large cinema, and gradually moving up, ...until your nose is almost pressed against the screen. Gradually the stars' faces dissolve into dancing grain; tiny details assume grotesque proportions; ...it becomes clear that the illusion itself is reality" (1980, p. 394). Although migrants may not be able to determine the precise historical truth of their past, they are able to ferret out what is important in the shaping of their lives through the selective filtration of their memories. Therefore, Saleem as post-colonial artist becomes the spectator on the periphery of society, able to view the actions of others, in his washing-chest or concealed in the clock tower,

because he is literally or socially invisible. This tension between observation and voyeurism becomes even more explicit in Rushdie's next work, *Shame* (1996, p. 41). In *Midnight's Children*, the identity of the post-colonial subject is inseparably linked to that of the nation itself while in his next work, *Shame*, the nation takes precedence over the centrality of any one individual (1996, p. 42).

The formation of positively fluid and hybrid identities continues to be of paramount importance in all Rushdie's subsequent fiction, perhaps nowhere more so than in *The Satanic Verses*. In terms of his own life, Rushdie can be seen to be following a clear if not entirely consciously envisaged journey through elements of his own multifaceted identity with the chronology of his novels - from East to West, from Bombay to Ellowen Deeowen. *Midnight's Children* returned his Indian past to him while *Shame* leads on to the Rushdie family's own destination, Pakistan. In *Shame*, Rushdie desires to tell a cautionary tale about the Pakistani elite "a tale that demonstrates the numerous ills bred by oppression and in which violence and corruption gain their just rewards" (1996, p. 44). The blend of fairy-tale and hard-hitting social realism which characterises both *Midnight's Children* and *The Satanic Verses* is handled less deftly in *Shame* (1996, p. 45). The shift in perspective from the panoramic sweep of *Midnight's Children* to the channeled focus of *Shame's* gaze is reflected in the reader's relationship to the text's central figure (1996, p. 46). Where Saleem Sinai called upon us to see him as occupying a central position in the history of post-independence India - if not, in some instances, as the very motor of its progress - the narrator of *Shame* asks us to view Omar Khayyam Shakil, the text's putative hero, as "a creature of the edge: a peripheral man" (1984, p. 24). Born in his grandfather's death-bed to an apparent triumvirate of mothers, Omar is assailed from the outset by contradictions and inversions; birth and death, the real and the fantastic. The 'world turned upside-down' (1984, p. 21) which he appears to inhabit threatens to plunge him into a void, a nightmarish existence where such a birth and such a childhood presage annihilation of identity (1996, p. 47). In an attempt to lift the threat of this disintegration, Omar assumes an illusory or dream persona, one which the narrative voice refuses to pin down as either good or evil; either "caped crusader or cloaked blood-sucker" (1984, p. 22). Once again, as in *Midnight's Children* and his lecture 'Is Nothing Sacred?', Rushdie plays with the idea of the secret

identity behind which both writers and ordinary mortals hide, reinforcing the sense of their exceptionality (1992, p. 424). For Saleem, the washing basket of invisibility was an ideal place for the observer/voyeur because it was on the periphery of society. Omar occupies just such a space without the necessity for concealment: “From his position at the edge of the school's life, he took vicarious pleasure in the activities of those around him...” (1984, p. 45). Like Aadam Aziz in *Midnight's Children*, sanctioned in his negotiation of the perforated sheet separating him from Naseem, Omar is permitted to probe the secrets of the human body; a figure simultaneously central and peripheral to the mechanics of existence (1996, p. 47).

The setting for the opening chapters of *Shame* is the border town of Q - a more generalised and anonymous location than the Ellowen Deeowen of *The Satanic Verses*, but which can be identified with Quetta in Pakistan. Geography and topography are as central to the construction and argument of *Shame* as they are to Rushdie's other texts (1996, p. 47). The narrative voice informs the reader that the text's treatment of Pakistan is a matter of 'off-centering': “The country in this story is not Pakistan, or not quite. There are two countries, real and fictional, occupying the same space. My story, my fictional country exist, like myself, at a slight angle to reality” (1984, p. 29). The division of India after independence to allow for the formation of Pakistan, and the subsequent secession of Bangladesh, has confronted writers in the subcontinent with the image of a land mass separated by divisions which seem more imagined than concrete. This idea of 'imagined' divisions, is taken up by the writer Amitav Ghosh in his novel *The Shadow Lines* where Calcutta and Dhaka seem split only by the ethereal divisions of the title, and in which the narrator states that “a place does not merely exist, ... it has to be invented in imagination” (p. 27). These shadow lines, the frontiers that cross the thematic, textual and geographical terrain of *Shame*, are everywhere apparent. There is the boundary line on the frontier patrolled by Farah Zoroaster and her father; the hinterland of 'respectable' society where those who have transgressed against its rules must live out their days (1996, p. 48). For Omar Khayyam Shakil there is however, the fearful border between sleep and waking which is patrolled with a watchful eye on the approach of nightmares and the void beyond, while Hyder makes a dual journey across the frontiers of sanity and madness, life and death.

Omar's own circular trip back to his home, Nishapur, is linked to his terror of the frontier (1996, p. 49). Though a peripheral man, the world still has an edge to it, a limit over which it is still possible for him to slip into oblivion:

“he ought to know that the border is the edge of his world, the rim of things, and that the real dreams are these farfetched notions of getting across that supernatural frontier into some wild hallucination of a promised land” (1984, p. 268).

Just how much control this schema exerts over the narrative is illustrated by Rushdie's own remarks on the subject of textual frontiers:

You know how *Shame* uses ideas of the frontier a lot, the frontier is like a trap, people faint when they get near it and beyond the frontier is the void, and so on? Well, having set up that idea it seemed that the characters had accepted it more than I had, so whenever I got them anywhere near the frontier, they would refuse to cross it. (1985, p. 110)

Within the general framework of the narrative in *Shame*, the stories of the individual protagonists assert their right to be told and to leave their imprint on the shape of the collective narrative. *Shame* reinforces Saleem Sinai's declaration in *Midnight's Children* that an individual's sense of personal history is the “glue of personality” (1996, p. 51). Alongside these stories are the gaps or holes which help to delineate the pattern of the textual fabric. For every story recounted there are countless untold alternatives (1996, p. 52). “All stories”, the text informs us, “are haunted by the ghosts of the stories they might have been” (1984, p. 116).

It almost reads like the argument of a deconstructionist; that what is missing from the text, its absences, articulate as much if not more than what is present...An alternative angle on the presence/absence dualism is that offered by the 'feminisation' of the 'masculine' plot. (1996, p. 52)

The stories of the women's lives which provide the framework for the exploits of the heroes, are seen as the natural obverse of the intended male-centered universe, “the “male” plot refracted, so to speak, through the prisms of its reverse and “female” side” (1984, p. 173). The fascination/obsession with the domestic and sexual power of women which is always present in Rushdie's work, is more evident in *Shame* than anywhere else. The text's declared project

to voice the silenced stories of Pakistan's oppressed women is often admired by critics without consideration of the way it is undercut by the representation of the women themselves. Anuradha Dingwaney Needham, for example, celebrates “the complex ways in which *women* and their *histories* are recovered and inserted into the 'alternate' history of Pakistan” (1996, p. 52).

But Omar's resentment of his peripheral position in relation to his mothers serves as yet another instance of the blend of confusion, frustration and even outright hostility towards the relative autonomy of women which surfaces in Rushdie's fiction. Rape often bursts through as the ultimate signification of this resentment - Flapping Eagle's rape of the goddess Axona and Omar's assault on the hypnotised Farah Zoroaster. Sexuality is explored and exploited by rendering the woman in the equation effectively powerless. (1996, p. 53)

However, even if Rushdie fails in successfully articulating a female narrative of Pakistan's history, it is nevertheless true that it is in *Shame* that a coherent and positive image of the migrant post-colonial subject is projected. Both the real and fictional Pakistans were born out of the experience of migration - the mass migrations, particularly in Punjab, following the partition of India in 1947, which led to the splitting of Rushdie's own family. Thus, the concept of migration for Rushdie builds in layers upon that initial movement of peoples, i.e. the historic migration of the prophet Mohammed's followers - the *Mohajirs* - out of Mecca and into Medina during their early persecution. Migration, flight and dislocation are perpetual themes in Rushdie's writing and the means by which he seeks to express the peculiar sensibility of the migrant writer as it searches for new forms, new techniques, new worlds in which it can define itself (1996, p. 57). Rushdie writes of the migrant as one who is rooted in ideas and memories rather than places and material objects and who has a profound mistrust of what constitutes 'reality' (1992, p. 125). The narrator of *Shame* provides a long digression on the relationship between migration, flight and gravity, “I have a theory that the resentments we *mohajirs* engender have something to do with our conquest of the force of gravity. We have performed the act of which all men anciently dream, the thing for which they envy the birds; that is to say, we have flown” (1984, p. 85). Gravity, for Rushdie, is the physical force that corresponds to the more abstract notion of 'belonging'. To

oppose gravity is to be like the migrant, to engage in 'flight'. *Mohajir* or migrant is a title and identity that Rushdie continues to employ for all the uprooted and displaced characters who people his texts (1996, p. 57). Cundi suggests, a large part of *Shame's* concern with migration and belonging, centers on the loneliness of internal exile for those out of political favour, for example, the exile of Farah Zoroaster and Eduardo Rodrigues to atone for her sexual 'indiscretion' and the act of destruction which forces Bilquis out of her old world and into a new one. Though Bilquis adjusts admirably to the role of Mrs. Raza Hyder at first, her own increasing sense of dislocation, brought about in part by her failure to 'locate' herself firmly in the role of good Muslim wife by producing sons, is figured in her paranoid fear of the Loo wind. Although she ceases to have any contact with it, she still clings desperately to her furniture and possessions, longing for fixity in a world that threatens her with dispersal and disarray.

One thing the migrant can try to use to locate him or herself after migration are possessions. To lose them, leave them behind or abjure their influence is to threaten oneself with dislocation, loss of 'belonging' (1996, p. 58). Omar Khayyam Shakil's way of destroying the tyranny of Nishapur and its suffocating history is to literally destroy the artifacts which represent it. The tears he sheds at this act of wanton vandalism, register his own implicit understanding of the loss at the very moment that he wills it. Unlike Saleem Sinai's globe and Saladin Chamcha's lamp, the broken artifacts do not register a cherished connection with the past but are merely "the corpses of (Omar's) useless massacred history" (1984, p. 32).

Saladin Chamcha and Gibreel Farishta, the free-falling protagonists of *The Satanic Verses*, provide the most direct image in Rushdie's fiction of the post-colonial subject in collision with his world (1996, p. 67). Their descent on England, the "fabled country of Vilayet" (1988, p. 35) from the wreckage of a hijacked aircraft, is replete with the tensions of their condition - on one hand, defying the laws of gravity, on the other, "just two brown men, falling hard, nothing so new about that you may think" (1988, p. 5). This fall encapsulates the process of transmutation, or translation as described in *Shame*, whereby the migrant's identity is transformed through the very act of migration. Gibreel, famed for his halitosis, is granted full movie-star perfection, while Saladin receives the gift of foul breath along with that of sprouting horns as he begins to

assume demonic characteristics. Here the flight, the journey downwards to earth, illustrates the active processes of change that take place in the migrant as he moves between cultures (1996, p. 68). Saladin, as he sits on the aeroplane prior to the explosion, seeks a typically English form of cultural identity which slips from him like a mask. Hybridity is the end of his journey, while mutation, physical and metaphorical, is the tumultuous process he must pass through *en route* (1996, p. 68). The zone in which the changes to the two men occur is “illusory, discontinuous, meta-morphic” (1988, p. 5). It is an arena of transformation and translation but one which, through the idea of discontinuity, introduces a jarring note into this process of change. The struggle with discontinuity of identity takes place within a twilight zone for both men. Their identities, their selves, are at this point porous and vulnerable, open to both positive and negative possibilities of transformation – “there was a fluidity, an indistinctness, at the edges of them” (1988, p. 8). In order to ascertain the extent to which Rushdie has achieved a positive reassertion of the migrant's identity in *The Satanic Verses*, Cundi indulges in a detailed comparison of the text with V. S. Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival* published the previous year.

Both *The Satanic Verses* and *The Enigma of Arrival* illustrate the migrant's problems of self-contextualisation - of being both located and dislocated, having to orient himself to his new surroundings and of feeling alienated from them, as well as from aspects of his own history and identity. (p. 69)

The specific topography of *The Satanic Verses* also suggests a greater commitment on Rushdie's part to his arguments about migration. The Vilayet of *The Satanic Verses* moves away from the curious paralleling of *Shame*. With its capital, the mysterious Ellowen Deeowen, it is both imaginative territory and geographical reality - both the arena onto which the fantasies of the migrant are projected and the harsh reality which confronts them when they literally come down to earth (1996, p. 69). Cundi suggests that the imaginary, fantasised nature of Vilayet, the migrant's preconceptions about his new home and the identity he invents to coincide with those preconceptions, are concerns of both *The Satanic Verses* and Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival*. For Naipaul, this reinvention of identity leads to the process of mimicry that he describes in *An*

Area of Darkness. He states that it “is a mimicry not of England, a real country, but of the fairy-tale land of Anglo-India” (p. 57). For Rushdie however, the two are not so easily separated; the real and the imagined, England and Vilayet, fade in and out of each other. Saladin and Gibreel are both actors, both adept at mimicry of one kind or another; cultural chameleons (1996, p. 69). Saladin's personality is “a half-reconstructed affair of mimicry and voices” (1988, p. 9). With his female counterpart Mimi Mamoulian, he monopolises the market for advertising voice-overs, creating multiple unrealities of identity for commercial exploitation. To his Indian lover, Zeeny Vakil, his personality is like a palimpsest; a slate wiped clean of its Indianness and reinscribed by Anglophilia. Gibreel's identity as star of the Bombay talkies seems equally an affair of temporary and transient construction, as figured in the decaying images of him on street hoardings. His speedy disintegration after disappearing from the set of his latest film is likened to the death of God - the failure of an image to continue to inspire belief in its existence. Like the text itself, Gibreel's identity within and outside his films, breaches the interfaces between fantasy and reality, mortal and deity, sacred and profane (1996, p. 69).

Further, the label of *mohajir* or migrant, rehearsed in *Shame*, cannot be applied to Gibreel in the same way as it can to Saladin. Saladin has fulfilled his desire to leave India, to make the journey from Indianness to Englishness, while Gibreel is making the trip in order to pursue the mountain climber Allie Cone with whom he is infatuated. But Gibreel's acting career in the the ologicals, personifying the various avatars of the Hindu pantheon, has seen him employed to perform constant reinventions of identity. His very name, like Saladin's, is reinvented (1996, p. 70). Cundi states,

Name-changing and its consequences is a fundamental trope of post-colonial writing...The relinquishing and reacceptance of names as the index to identity is as crucial to such texts as it is to all of Rushdie's fictions. Saladin, who was Salahuddin and will be once again, is able to consolidate the diffuse elements of his identity by the end of the text. Gibreel, who was Ismail but who is forever alienated and disconnected from that former self, remains incapable of drawing together his shattered, schizophrenic personality. His adopted persona has been that of the fulfiller of dreams, first the dream of his mother that he

should be an angel - a *farishta* - then the dreams of thousands of cinema-goers. (p. 70)

While death for Naipaul, highlights processes of change and decay; for Rushdie in *The Satanic Verses*, it seems more positive, providing closure for the unfinalised Saladin, a sense of realness (1996, p. 72). The death of his father Changez draws together past and present for Saladin, reaffirming the validity of Saleem Sinai's declaration in *Midnight's Children* that "what you were is forever who you are" (1980, p. 368). Saladin's first trip to England with his father is crucial for establishing the alienation between them, rather between him and his native country India. Once again, memory plays a crucial part in Rushdie's writing as the force which shapes the migrant's sense of history. History is a crucial aspect of Rushdie's texts and memory is for him the key to the reconstruction of the migrant's distorted history, In *Shame* he writes:

all migrants leave their pasts behind, although some try to pack it into bundles and boxes - but on the journey something seeps out of the treasured mementoes...until even their owners fail to recognise them, because it is the fate of migrants to be stripped of history. (1984, p. 63)

For Gayatri Spivak, the disrupted narratives and dream sequences in *The Satanic Verses* are indicative of the disruptions caused to identity by imperialism. In reading *The Satanic Verses*, she states,

the confident breaching of the boundaries between dream and waking in the text - not merely in the characters can earn for *The Satanic Verses* a critic's subtitle: 'Imperialism and Schizophrenia'. Not because empire, like capital, is abstract, but because empire messes with identity. (p. 49)

However, as Cundi suggests, the theme is given a twist in *The Satanic Verses* by its association with forms of alienation specific to the post-colonial subject.

Saladin's identity has been disrupted from the outset. His voice-overs and his role in The Aliens Show are externalised forms of his reinvention. Underlying them is his desire for cultural assimilation and his obsessive pursuit of Englishness which alienates him from his father and from Zeeny. (1996, p. 76)

England and the British Empire may have defined themselves but Indianness, like the post-colonial subject, is defined by others, usually in negative terms.

Saladin becomes subject to this process after his demonic transformation i.e. the dehumanisation of the alien or other taken to its extreme. In the detention centre with the other designated aliens, he experiences a nightmarish encounter with the manticore i.e. a bizarre amalgam of different creatures, demonstrating the dehumanisation of the migrant's identity by the coloniser (1996, p. 77). “They have the power of description, and we succumb to the pictures they construct” (1988, p. 168). Gibreel in his schizophrenic state sees “fictions masquerading as real human beings' on the streets of London” (1988, p. 192). In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon defined it in the terms of the clinical psychologist as “a regular and important mental pathology which is the direct product of oppression” (p. 201). Ashis Nandy in *The Intimate Enemy* sees the roots of this pathology embedded deep within the minds of both ruler and ruled. For Nandy, colonialism results in a division of the mind into the “self and the not self”, mirrored, in both the characterisations and the structural divisions between dream and waking (p. 107). Gibreel's inability to distinguish between dream and reality leads to his treatment for paranoid schizophrenia, while Saladin's demonic persona is seen by his friend Jumpy Joshi as psychological breakdown, loss of sense of self (1988, p. 253). Both Nandy as theoretician and Rushdie as writer see this division as a defence mechanism on the part of the post-colonial subject. For Nandy, the subject becomes 'other' or alien to himself in order to, as he puts it, “disaffiliate the violence and the humiliation he suffers from the essential constituent of his self, making his world 'partly dream-like or unreal” (p. 109). *The Satanic Verses* virtually paraphrases this: “A being going through life can become so other to himself as to be another, discrete, severed from history” (1988, p. 288), while Gibreel's mental confusion illustrates the defensive impulse of the schizophrenic; “his splitting of his sense of himself into two entities, one of which... by characterizing it as other than himself, (he) preserved, nourished, and secretly made strong” (1988, p. 340).

The concept of multiple narrative voices is an important theme in Rushdie's works. In his Lecture, 'Is Nothing Sacred?', he writes: “Literature, is the one place in any society where, within the secrecy of our own heads, we can hear voices talking about everything in every possible way” (1992, p. 429). Beyond the wider arguments of those voices is the disruption and subversion of

language itself. For example, in *The Satanic Verses*, Jumpy Joshi, socialist and amateur poet, is infuriated with the lawyer Hanif Johnson whom he feels is unwilling to grasp the importance of this issue of language for the migrant:

Hanif was in perfect control of the languages that mattered: sociological, socialistic, black-radical, anti-anti-anti-racist, demagogic, oratorical, and sermonic: the vocabularies of power. (But you bastard you rummage in my drawers and laugh at my stupid poems. The real language problem: how to bend it shape it, how to let it be our freedom, how to repossess its poisoned wells, how to master the river of words of time of blood: about all that you haven't got a clue). (1988, p. 281)

What is worth noting here is that, even within the course of such a diatribe, he is playing with words, the structure of sentences, and attempting to reclaim some of the coloniser's preconceptions about migrants (1996, p. 82). The text's own movement through the reinvention of identity, to rebirth, is linked to Jumpy's desire to rework Powell's metaphor. Ultimately, it is the deployment of polyphony that provides the opportunity for effecting a positive reconstruction of the divided migrant identity. The use of a novelistic form which can contain a multiplicity of voices, allows for the establishment of an identity that is inclusive rather than exclusive; capable of embracing past and present, memory and history, rather than, having to renounce or dissociate oneself from one's origins (1996, p. 82). For Rushdie, the implications of this strategy extend beyond the discussion of migrant identity to define our expectations of literature itself. As he puts it in 'Is Nothing Sacred?', "the only privilege literature deserves - and this privilege it requires in order to exist - is the privilege of being the arena of discourse, the place where the struggle of languages can be acted out" (1992, p. 427).

Rushdie's fiction consistently embraces contradictions, thereby, privileging the plural over the singular and the polyphonic over the monologic, specially through the careful construction of dual oppositions, like the snakes and ladders of Sinai's children's game, only to deconstruct those oppositions by demonstrating that the apparent polar opposites are in fact interchangeable and mutually interdependent (1990, p. 978). One of the most important way in which Rushdie launches his attack on dual thinking is through the use of paired

characters, wherein the characters in Rushdie's texts, tend to be shadowed by doubles, for example, Saleem Sinai and his alter ego, Shiva (1990, p. 978). There are a number of important pairings in *Shame*, including Iskander Harappa and Raza Hyder, Harappa and Maulana Dawood, and Rani Harappa and Bilquis Hyder. Similarly, in *The Satanic Verses*, Rushdie puts forth an extremely complex and sophisticated pairing of Gibreel Farishta and Saladin Chamcha. Further, the central plot line of *Shame* involves the literal transformation of Naveed's beautiful sister Sufiya Zenobia Hyder into a beast who hypnotizes and seduces young men, then rips off their heads with superhuman strength (1990, p. 979). In *Midnight's Children*, Saleem Sinai is at one point used as a "mang-dog," employed by the Pakistani "Canine Unit for Tracking and Intelligence" to sniff out enemies with his redoubtable nose (1990, p. 979). *The Satanic Verses* actually features a number of such human-beast hybrids, the most striking of which is the mysterious metamorphosis of Chamcha into a devilish goat like beast (1990, p. 980). M. Keith Booker remarks: "Bizarre as they may seem, these kinds of transformations are quite central to the Menippean tradition to which Rushdie is such a clear heir" (1990, p. 980). And Mikhail Bakhtin notes, "the folktale image of man throughout the extraordinary variety of folkloric narratives-always orders itself around the motifs of transformation and identity" (1981, p. 112). Bakhtin notes that such transformations allow the representation in a short-hand form of the development and change of the individual as he goes through life: "Metamorphosis serves as the basis for a method of portraying the whole of an individual's life in its more important moments of crisis: for showing how an individual becomes other than what he was" (1981, p. 115). Booker states:

Thus, such metamorphoses powerfully question the view of the self as a stable, self-contained entity by showing the drastic changes that the self can undergo in the course of life. The ability of the self to be transformed into something that was formerly alien to itself interrogates the boundary between self and other, challenging the validity of even that fundamental duality. (1990, p. 980)

In Rushdie, the boundary between self and other is always problematic. His characters tend to be complex, multiple, and highly variable. Thus, Saleem

Sinai explains the difficulty of relating his life in any simple way by the fact that he, like Whitman, contains multitudes, "I have been a swallower of lives; and to know me, just the one of me, you'll have to swallow the whole lot as well. Consumed multitudes are jostling and shoving inside me" (1980, p. 4). In *The Satanic Verses* Rushdie again employs this image of jostling multiple selves:

O, the conflicting selves jostling and joggling within these bags of skin. No wonder we are unable to remain focused on anything for very long; no wonder we invent remote-control channel-hopping devices. If we turned these instruments upon ourselves, we'd discover more channels than a cable or satellite mogul ever dreamed of. (1988, p. 519)

Such a mixing of identities occurs in a particularly explicit way in *Shame* during the gestation of Omar Khayyam Shakil. One of three sisters is bearing him (we never learn the identity of the father), but the other sisters are so close that they share the experience with her, helping her to bear the stigma of unwed pregnancy (1990, p. 981). No one can tell the real pregnancy from the phantom ones, and neither the reader nor Omar Khayyam ever learns which of the three sisters is his true biological mother. And years later, when the sisters begin to argue over Omar Khayyam's fateful birthday wish to be allowed to leave their barricaded home and enter the outside world for the first time, they discover that such arguments are made difficult because even they have reached the point where they themselves cannot tell apart (1990, p. 981). Booker argues that, in *The Satanic Verses*, all identities are radically unstable, with most of the characters being shown to bear artificially- created identities that they themselves have largely made up (1990, p. 981). "Fictions were walking around wherever he went, Gibreel reflected, fictions masquerading as real human beings" (1988, 192). This artificiality of identity is particularly strong in the case of Chamcha, who has made up his name, changed his voice, even changed his face in order to try to fit in better in Britain (1990, p. 981). As a result, his identity is hopelessly multiple, as emphasized by his professional role as the "Man of a Thousand Voices and a Voice", "Once, in a radio play for thirty-seven voices, he interpreted every single part under a variety of pseudonyms and nobody ever worked it out" (1988, p. 60).

By successfully blending English and Indian voices, Rushdie manages to

empower the migrant. In *Imaginary Homelands*, Rushdie writes, "We can't simply use the language the way the British did; it needs remaking for our own purposes...to conquer English may be to complete the process of making ourselves free" (p. 17). With his brilliant word plays and supreme command of the language he fuses his Indian childhood with his Cambridge education. Rushdie recreates the English language by combining it with Indian colloquialisms and Urdu and Hindi words. One of his techniques is to "(insert) Indian vernacular habits into flawless English intoned sentences..." (1985, p. 191). By combining the oral and literary traditions of East and West, Rushdie legitimates the migrant experience and allows the migrant the opportunity to "describe himself back out of the corner" (1992, p. 16). In *Shame* the narrative voice declares, "I... am a translated man. I have been borne across. It is generally believed that something is always lost in translation. I cling to the notion ... that something can also be gained" (1984, p. 29). The idea of translation as a metaphor for the migrant's condition was expanded in a conversation between Rushdie and the German writer Ginter Grass in the British Channel Four television series *Voices*. Rushdie says:

I discovered that if you look etymologically at the meaning of the word metaphor and the word translation... it turned out they meant the same thing. See, translation from the Latin means to carry across. Metaphor from the Greek means to carry across... this comes back to my pre-occupation with the idea of migration. People are also carried across. (1987, p. 6)

What is important for Rushdie's growing embrace of hybridity and the positive aspects of being borne across frontiers is that, as Anuradha Dingwaney Needham puts it, for Rushdie, as for the narrator of *Shame*, habitation on borders... is "not infertile" (p. 617). Further, Shailja Sharma states: "Insisting on the literary fecundity of his multiple belongings, Rushdie uses the postlapsarian world of the immigrant to politicize his novel of memory, which encompasses both East and West" (p. 603). Thus, I would like to conclude with one more quotation from Shailja Sharma, wherein she says: "Rushdie, whose entire career is based on the questioning of historical givens and beliefs, invokes the metafictional trope of migrancy to invoke an absolute of rootlessness and hybridity" (p. 605).

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Endnotes

¹ In England he was considered very foreign and 'exotic' at Rugby public school and subsequently at Cambridge; back in India he was ridiculed by his peers for his perfect British accent and

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considered brainwashed and corrupted by the materialistic West; in Pakistan he is still considered an infidel and a blasphemer (1995, p. 96).

² Ong explains how oral narratives such as the Ancient Greek form of epic, the products of a primary oral culture, never proceeded to develop linear plots, and that Horace's injunction to begin in *medias res* (literally 'in the middle of things') had more to do with necessity than a deliberate diversification from an established norm. According to Ong, the good epic poet displays the tacit acceptance of the fact that episodic structure was the only way and the totally natural way of imagining and handling lengthy narrative and possession of supreme skill in managing flashbacks and other episodic techniques (1996, p. 27).

³ Nancy E. Batty provides an illuminating discussion of the art of suspense as practiced in *Midnight's Children*, and Rushdie's deliberate invocation of Scheherazade's plight at the hands of King Shahryar in *The Thousand and One Nights*, whom she must keep continuously entertained by her stories if she is to save her own life. Batty sees the relating of Saleem's tale to Padma as a form of seduction where consummation is deferred for as long as possible. 'Saleem tailors his narrative for Padma: like a lover engaged in making a sexual conquest, Saleem adjusts his strategies of seduction according to the response which those strategies elicit.' (1996, 29-30)

⁴ The classic work of Menippean human-animal metamorphosis is Apuleius's *The Golden Ass*, and the transformation of Chamcha into a goat like beast parallels the transformation of Apuleius's Lucius into an ass in a number of important ways. Like Chamcha, Lucius undergoes considerable hardship and severe mistreatment while in this animal state, but later regains his humanity. (1990, p. 980)