THIRD
CONCEPT

English Monthly

Annual Subscription Rs. 200

❖ **India-China Relations**

❖ **US-China relations**

❖ **Indo-US Civil Nuclear Deal**

❖ **On Swami Vivekanand**

❖ **One Nation-One Election**

❖ **Jhum Cultivation in Manipur**

Third Concept aims at providing a platform where a meaningful exchange of ideas can take place among the people of the Third World. The attempt will be to communicate, debate and disseminate information, ideas and alternatives for the resolution of the common problems facing humankind. We welcome contributions from academics, journalists and even from those who may never have published anything before. The only requirement is a concern for and desire to understand and take the issue of our time. Contributions may be descriptive, analytical or theoretical. They may be in the form of original articles, reactions to previous contributions, or even a comment on a prevailing situation. All contributions, neatly typed in double space, may be addressed to:

While the Editor accepts responsibility for the selection of materials to be published, individual authors are responsible for the facts, figures, and views in their articles. However, the Editor reserves the right to edit the articles for reasons of space and clarity.

INSIDE

Wither Hanoi Summit!

Hanoi, the Vietnamese capital is witnessing a two-day summit on 27-28 February between US President Donald Trump North Korean leader Kim Jong Un. This is the second summit being held after a gap of eight months after the historic first summit held in Singapore where both the leaders had pledged to work toward the complete denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. On the eve of his departure for Hanoi, President Trump said that he believed he saw 'eye to eye' with North Korean leader and that they had developed very 'good relationship.' Describing outcome of the Singapore summit as a 'vaguely worded agreement' that has produced few results, some US Democratic senators and security officials have warned Trump against cutting a deal that would do little to curb North Korea's nuclear ambitions. In the post-Singapore summit period, the Trump administration has reportedly pressed the North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons programme, which combined with its missile capabilities, pose a threat to the United States, before it can expect any concessions. Concurrently, President Trump is also said to have signaled a possible softening, saying he would love to be able to remove sanctions if there is meaningful progress on denuclearization.

Undoubtedly, reports appearing in the media indicated North Korean leader having initially agreed to the 'denuclearization' of the Korean peninsula; nonetheless, it soon became clear that Washington and Pyongyang had very diverse interpretations of what had transpired at Singapore summit. The North Korean steps in carrying out demolition work at a nuclear test site and a missile test facility was not regarded as substantial steps towards disarmament by the US. Media reports make it discernible a softening of US stance on relaxing some sanctions even before Pyongyang dismantled its nuclear weapons programme to pave way for the success of the Hanoi summit. These public shifts in the US stance is attributed to the spadework undertaken by the diplomats of both countries with a view to facilitate progress towards an agreement in preliminary talks at the ensuing Hanoi summit. In a television interview on February 24, the US Secretary of State, while pointing out that sanctions against North Korea encompassed multiple activities, said: "Remember these sanctions cover a broad array of activities… The core economic sanctions, the sanctions that prevent countries from conducting trade, creating wealth for North Korea, those sanctions are definitely going to remain in place… There are other things we could do – exchanges of people, lots of other ways that North Korea is sanctioned today that if we get a substantial step and move forward, we could certainly provide an outlet which would demonstrate our commitment to the process as well."

Media reports emanating from diplomatic sources put North Korea in a strong bargaining position to start with in the wake of having suspended nuclear and missile tests, and partially dismantled two test sites and these put the onus on the US to make the first concession in Hanoi and relax sanctions. However, one expert has opined that since most US sanctions on North Korea are mandated by Congress, it could be hard for the Trump administration to lift and concurrently, it would also be hard to convince US allies on the Security Council that the goal of UN sanctions had been met. However, Washington could attempt to persuade the UN to make humanitarian exceptions to the sanctions, perhaps loosening constraints on economic cooperation between South and North Korea. Some experts opine that among the more modest steps North Korea could offer in Hanoi to admitting inspectors to North Korean nuclear sites, its readiness to begin dismantling main nuclear complex, at Yongbyon, possibly including its plutonium-producing reactor, and a uranium enrichment plant. This could prove instrumental in placing some sort of limits on the nuclear programmes of North Korea.

However, some critics have raised pertinent questions: Will the dismantling process be truly irreversible? How much and what exactly will North Korea demand in return? Will Washington make some big concessions on economic sanctions? Answers to these and other elated questions will be forthcoming in the aftermath of the Hanoi summit. One expert has opined that the North Korean game plan is to ensnare the US in a 'long-winded negotiations, while enforcement of sanctions becomes lax or non-existent because "for North Korea this is a matter of life or death. For the US, it is more like a hobby."

——BK

Geopolitics of India-China Relations

Dipen Saikia*

[As India and China are two prominent ancient civilisations of the world and they do possess considerable influence in Central Asia, Southeast Asia besides South Asia, and together, they account for 35 per cent of total world population and 15 per cent of total geographical area upon earth and are the emerging superpowers of the world, both of them can make 21st century as an Asian Century. But the ever rising imperialistic-military ambitions and consequent assertions of China-as a global player in international relations and its yet to be fulfilled dream of becoming a mighty global hegemon surpassing even the US, due to its rapidly modernising powerful army and fast expanding economy- ought to be contained by joint India-US-Australian exercise with a firm resolve to protect and preserve the peace, prosperity and security of not only South Asia or South East Asia but also the whole world, besides India.]

Perhaps, there is no other bilateral relation for India which is more complex and challenging than the one with the dragon – the largest neighbour China. There is no doubt that China today has emerged as a major contender for global influence because of having a deep-rooted passion for asserting as a responsible global actor to ensure peace and security in the world wherein it has mostly failed due to its own imperialist and interventionist foreign policy. Its deployment of forces in military operations other than war is to advance its interests abroad and enhance its image as a respectable member in the comity of nations as it is still suffering from the trauma and agony of *middle kingdom complex* and has yet not overcome from it despite amazing all-round progress in its economy, science and technology, modernization and development of the country and, particularly, in its military power.

Against this backdrop, how the Sino-Indian relationship develops ahead will depend much on the fact whether China still holds the Deng's vision that "An Asian Century is only possible when India and China come together." Because the new generation in China today does not totally subscribe to the view and they are quite optimistic to go through alone in the 21st century.

As per Chinese President Xi Jinping's recent notion of the "Chinese Dream" holds about a world wherein China would again become the "cynosure of all eyes", writes Sanjaya Baru. And this is the harsh fact with which India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi has to deal with.

This paper is about the increasing prominence of the India-China relationship, which has turned the tide decisively as an economic and political force almost after two hundred years leading to resurgence of Asia. Added to this is the fact of amazing all-round progress achieved by the countries of East Asia, Asia-Pacific region and Southeast Asia and also due to gradual decline of the US and the fall of Western Europe, a new world order appears to be emerging, in which rising imperialistic assertions accompanied by awesome military power of China is a cause of worry not only for India but to the whole world because it has emerged as the rising economic power, surpassing even Germany and Japan and stands next to the US in its economic stature.

It is also nourishing the dream of becoming a dominant super power by replacing the US in order to become the next hegemon in succession to the UK in the recent past. Hence, this paper concludes in favour of a strong India-US relations and meaningful strategic engagement & cooperation between them for ensuring peace,

* Associate Prof. Dept of Pol. Sc., Moridhal College, Moridhal, Assam.

prosperity and security of not only this region but that of the whole world for the sake of healthy and vibrant Sino-Indian ties, in the particular context of the war against terror and also to counterbalance the aggressive and expansionist policies being pursued by China.

Evolving China- India relations

As per history, China's relations with India began in 1950 after the successful Communist revolution led by its leader Mao Zedong who established People's Republic of China (PRC), replacing the government of Chiang- Kai-shek which took asylum at Formosa in Taiwan. India was among the first countries to recognise the so established People's Republic of China. In fact, it was the legendry, Late Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, who had introduced to the world, the great revolutionary Late Mao Zedong and, thus, China came on the centre-stage of the world.

Pt. Nehru based his vision of "resurgent Asia" on friendship between the two largest states of Asia; his ideal vision of an international foreign policy governed by the ethics of the Panchsheel, which he initially believed was shared by China, came to grief when it became clear that the two countries had a conflict of interests in Tibet, which had traditionally served as a geographical and political buffer zone, and where India believed it had inherited special privileges from the British Raj.

However, the initial focus of the leaders of both the nations was not the foreign policy, but the internal development of their respective states. But, afterwards, China inclined more towards the United States of America, perhaps, due to increasing friendship between India and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics- with which Chinese relations had deteriorated since the 1956 General Meeting of Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Although both China and India are separated by the formidable geographical obstacles of the Himalayan mountain chain, yet they share a common border along the Himalayas and Nepal and Bhutan- two states lying along the Himalaya range and also acting as buffer states. In addition, the Indian state of Jammu & Kashmir shares borders both with the PRC and Pakistan. Pakistan has tense relations with India, especially over Kashmir issue. A large tract of India's land, known as Aksai Chin has been occupied by China since the 1962 Sino-India War and Beijing has laid territorial claims on the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, which India strongly denies.

While Arunachal Pradesh is located near the far east corner of India, the Aksai Chin is located near the northwest corner of India, at the trijunction of India, Pakistan, and the PRC. Although, all sides in the dispute have agreed to respect the Line of Actual Control (LAC) but due to rising misperception, although intermittent, between India and China about each other and given the rigid and insistent Chinese attitude towards the persisting border dispute, it may become a major flashpoint between India and China as had already happened in 1962.

Today, China and India are the two world's most populous countries and also fastest growing major economies. Though their bilateral trade has continuously grown, but India faces massive trade imbalance heavily in favour of China. Recently, China has said that "Sino-Indian ties" would be the most "important bilateral partnership of the century". On June 21, 2012, the Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, and the Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh decided to increase their bilateral trade to a new height of US 100 billion dollars by 2015.

The resultant growth in China and India's global diplomatic and economic influence has also increased the significance of their bilateral relationship. In fact, China and India are two of the world's oldest civilisations and have coexisted in peace for millennia. The cultural and economic relations between them date back to ancient times. The Silk Route not only served as a major trade link between them, but is also credited for facilitating the spread of Buddhism from India to East Asia. During the 19th century, China's growing opium trade with

the British Raj had triggered the famous Opium Wars. During the Second World War, India and China played a crucial role in restraining the onward progress of the Imperial Japan which may be regarded as a prominent landmark in the glorious era of Sino-Indian cooperation.

Further, India and China also shared a longstanding rivalry tradition despite growing economic and strategic ties, because several issues continue to strain Sino-Indian relations, particularly the Chinese "liberation" of Tibet, and the contentious border dispute. In addition, the improved ties between China and Pakistan and the increased influence of the US between India and China also provided a bitter cause of discontent. However, China decided to liberate Tibet in 1950. This de-facto takeover has never been accepted by the Tibetans though China considered the annexation of Tibet as the final stage in its unification.

When Tibetans began demonstrating and demanding the end of Chinese rule, the Chinese troops were sent to crush the revolt, killing thousands of protesters. In 1959, fearing arrest by the Chinese authorities, the spiritual head Dalai Lama fled to India where he was offered asylum which still continues to be a major irritant between the two nations. In fact, the "liberation of Tibet" also worsened the border dispute, as the removal of Tibet as a   buffer zone made India and China as direct neighbours. The main disputed border areas were and remain the Aksai Chin plateau in the west and the so-called McMahon Line in the east, the line drawn by the British in 1914.

Also, added to their strained relations is the well-known fact that the two countries have failed to resolve their long-standing border dispute and Indian media outlets repeatedly report Chinese military incursions into Indian territory. Both nations have steadily built-up military infrastructure along border areas.

Additionally, India harbours suspicions about China's strong strategic-military relations with its arch-rival Pakistan while China has expressed concerns about Indian military and economic activities in disputed South China Sea. Coupled with these, the continued ascendance of China has increased manifold its dependence on markets and resource-supply bases abroad. Its presence in Indian Ocean and other far-flung areas may further increase its rising engagement for diplomatic ends and economic activities throughout the world.

A very important dimension of the evolving Sino-Indian relationship is based on the energy requirements of their industrial expansion and their readiness to proactively secure them by investing in the oilfields abroad - in Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia. On the one hand, these ventures entail competition (which has been evident in oil biddings for various international projects recently).

But on the other hand, a degree of cooperation too is visible, as they are increasingly confronting bigger players in the global oil market. This cooperation was sealed in Beijing on January 12, 2006 during the visit of Petroleum and Natural Gas Minister Mani Shanker Aiyar, who signed an agreement which envisaged ONGC Videsh Ltd (OVL) and the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) placing joint bids for promising projects elsewhere. This could have important consequences for their international relations.

Increasing defence budget of China

Against this backdrop, considering India as one of the nearest and major military threat perhaps, China has continuously raised its defence budget manifold in the recent past. As China's defence W*hite Paper,2010* outlines: its defence expenditure was 417.876 billion Yuan in 2008, a growth of 17.5 per cent and 495.11 billion Yuan in 2009, again growing by 18.5 per cent. The defence budget for 2010 was 532.115 billion Yuan (US $ 81.2 billion), 7.5 per cent up from 2009. The increased expenditures have been attributed to the social benefits for the armed forces and overhauling equipment.

Additional costs had attained due to investment in MOOTW and RMA capabilities. Though the share of China's annual defence expenditure in the state financial expenditure had declined from 8.66 per cent in 1998 to 6.49 per cent in 2009, defence spending had touched 601 billion Yuan (US $91.5 billion) in 2011, a hefty hike of 12.7 per cent.

As a result, China has developed massive military infrastructure and has established several military bases all around the world. Its relentless modernization and huge build-up of the state-of-art armaments of almost all kinds and their time to time display has led to cause to worry not only to its neighbours but also to the entire world, even the US too. But China has persistently reaffirmed its economic growth and military development, including its capabilities and weapons procurement brining into question the issue of military transparency, as peaceful rise to its neighbours and to the world at large.

Moreover, Chinese leadership also contend that limited transparency is essential to China's defence strategy- although it creates serious doubts about its intentions given its long history of aggression and interference into internal affairs of other countries- as its capabilities are still weak compared to military powers like the US.

This strategy of obscurity-particularly relating to its imperialist and expansionist designs as is being seen in Tibet, Taiwan or its invocation of "history" to claim sovereignty over the South China Sea in the just-concluded East Asia Summit in Bali on November 18 &19, 2011, and several such unwarranted attempts-often undermine China's projected efforts of transparency like the white papers, thus making it suspect in the eyes of the whole world. Also, a shift in its policy towards foreign military bases is out of question in near future because of the strategic-security requirements accompanied by economic constraints and population pressures and also due to its national image.

With the passage of the end of the last decade, to be more precise in 2008, China's global strategy ended with three clear and powerful accomplishments- leading to China's increasingly confident image about itself playing a greater role in the international system. The successful and grand celebrations of the Beijing Olympics in October that year being the first, followed by the 60th anniversary military parade in Tiananmen Square on October 1, 2009, displaying its indigenous, advanced weapons industry.

Lastly, this trend culminated in the Shanghai Expo in 2010, with 73 million attendance, the ever in the history of the world. All these demonstrated clearly and unambiguously, China's emergence as a world power, its military prowess and its technological achievements which, in fact, ensured the emergence of an assertive China, one that no longer harps only on the classical communist ideology as upheld by Late Deng Xiao- Ping but argues for its national as well global role forcefully.

Though, on the one hand, it evokes that 'China will never seek hegemony, no matter how the economy develops', on the other hand, there is a rapid and consistent rise in its power projection capabilities including diversified military tasks in different complex environment. These diversified military tasks are to include traditional and non-traditional aspects, whereby the leadership is attempting to find justification for its increasing military capabilities added with visible power projection capabilities and rising defence expenditures.

It is in this context, the white paper details about 'informalisation', which stands for the way the Chinese military is to modernise itself, also as the driving force of modernisation, which, certainly aims at giving the all- powerful ideological–conceptual thrust to ensure the Chinese excellence and its, consequent, deterrence. It includes electronic countermeasures, computer network operations, building information systems for reconnaissance, intelligence, command and control, battlefield awareness, space and cyberspace achieving initial interoperability in command and control. This strategy comes under the broader direction

of revolution in military affairs with Chinese characteristics, with the idea that China can leap frog modernisation.

A realisation that innovation in information and communications is becoming the linchpin in addressing technological advances in military has prompted the leadership to guide the modernisation under such processes. This rationale also comes into view of Chinese perception of how the United States' adoption of sophisticated military technologies and advances in science and technology has helped transform US military forces to conduct high–tech warfare with the assistance of space –based assets.

Thus, the 2008 white paper mentions that China hopes to win war under conditions of informalisation only reaffirms the view that modern warfare has undergone profound changes and there is an urgent need for Chinese military to adapt to face an adversary who relies on high-tech weapons and system, the 2010 white paper perceives speeding up of 'high-tech weaponization and informalisation' of its armed forces as a crucial part of its modernisation. Such changes are necessary to conduct 'historic-missions' in Taiwan and safeguard maritime interests in South China Sea and beyond because it is here the Chinese interests cause worry most to both India and the US.

Post- Cold War Multi-polarity

This paper further stresses that China now sees the post-Cold War multi-polarity as given, calling these developments along with economic liberalisation and globalisation as 'irreversible'. What is very surprising and also perplexing here is the fact that China has declared itself to be essential to the peace, security, stability, and prosperity of the international system. This promulgation by China, though ostensibly for good, is particularly challenging and also threatening to the sole hyper power in the world as if the future course of the world will be markedly influenced by it, if not to be decided.

With the suspicion and counter moves against China increasing, security challenges are seen as challenging with the major powers increasing their strategic investment and also the US reinforcing its military alliances in Asia-Pacific and realignment of major powers and their strategies. This realisation has prompted the Chinese leadership to accelerate its economic, political and security cooperation with developing countries.

Apart from security threats, surge in sophisticated military technology among major powers is driving China's own desire to revolutionise its military. The Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) was explored in 2000 and 2002 white papers, where it showcased it as a security reality. From 2004 onwards, it draws on China's own foray in to RMA and acquisition of high-tech weaponry and systems. Hence, China regularly highlights the new security concept in managing relations among states.

As regards its security strategy in Asia–Pacific, China considers Shanghai Cooperation Council (SCO) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) as offering regional stability, as China expands its role in such organisations. While being positive in portraying economic realities, it still views security in Asia-Pacific as becoming more intricate and volatile. As a result, a perception has recently arisen, more imaginary than factual perhaps, of a likely fall of the US sphere of influence particularly in South Asia and also in the World which, again resonates due to a very recent comment of the US President Obama in Canberra (Australia), that the US is not afraid of China, while announcing a new security arrangement with Australia that is widely believed as a response to Beijing's rising aggressive posture.

The agreement would expand the US military presence in Australia, positioning more US personnel and equipment there, and also increasing the US access to bases. Besides these, the US would keep sending a clear message that China needs to accept responsibilities that come with being a world power.

The above-mentioned facts would seem to suggest that the US and China are now on way to inevitable course of confrontation. But this is not true. In fact, both the countries are closely linked in a number of interdependencies which demand their mutual adherence to the common interests. First is trade and commerce, where the US dependence on Chinese manufactured goods ensure that the US middle class can continue to enjoy a higher standard of living than would otherwise have been possible.

Second, China's enormous holding of US government bonds make their economies so interdependent that any sudden attempt to alter this arrangement will be disastrous to both of them. Third, there are few critical global issues, whether arresting the adverse impact of climate change, enhancing global trade or addressing world energy issues or regional conflicts; all these cannot be satisfactorily addressed without their close cooperation.

Besides these, the current steady decline of Japan and the rise of a truncated Republic of Korea and closely behind is India having its high economic growth that has taken place in environment of democracy, freedom, peaceful co-existence and transparency which has allowed it to build benign partnerships around the world, etc, are the significant developments that have led to cause major changes in Asia as well as in the world.

As a consequence, the emerging power disequilibrium is also beginning to cause pressures and strains as regards China's relations with India and other neighbours as well as with the lone hyper power. Because they are the eventual results of China's relentless endeavour to establish itself as an unquestioned hegemon in South Asia and also a global counter-weight to the US.

Exclusive interest

Thus, China's growing assertiveness in the seas on its eastern and southern coasts, a territory in the high seas, vaguely defined, has been declared by Beijing as an area of its "exclusive-interest",

which is at par with Tibet and Taiwan and also the South China Sea row together, has made China a kind of threat which the ASEAN countries very much experience and so does countries in South Asia. A withdrawal from this position would be a serious loss of face and yet, the alternate may lead to a confrontation, where US has again reaffirmed its support to ASEAN in the Bali Summit.

Also, the PLA's presence in the Indian Ocean and China's domination of the littoral areas is another issue of controversy. While India has been talking and conferencing with littoral navies, China has acted and secured its interests. The second phase of this contest is to begin with the PLA Navy's aircraft carriers sailing and basing themselves in the region which may arise probably in five or ten years or so.

Further, the more important issue is the comparative economic strength of the US and China. A renowned economic historian has predicted in an article published in *Foreign Affairs* that China might come at par with the US as early as in a decade. As he argued, that Empires will no longer collapse over a hundred or more years, but may do so today in a decade. Would China then be the leading economic power globally by 2020. Of course, many assumptions would be in order and no prediction should be attempted on such an imponderable topic.

However, there is no need not to be alarmed as a sensible strategy and a comprehensive policy comprising economic liberalisation which may lead to political opening up and resolving maritime boundaries of China in the same pragmatic way that allowed it to settle some of its land borders should again be applied at sea.

These besides, maritime security and safety of sea-lines-of-communication from the Persian Gulf to Japan and Korea ought to be ensured with the cooperative and collective approach by all concerned stakeholders is essential for this end. It is in India's interest, which was regarded by the US as the chief counterpoise to the authoritarian-communist China during the Cold

War years, although an unfulfilled promise, to actively involve itself by using all available options to materialise this goal, by no means an easy job.

Under this scenario, though contradictory pulls and pressures have been reflected in the China – India relations, particularly during the past decade, but there were new milestones created, too, with the establishment of the strategic and cooperative partnerships between them and agreement on the political parameters guiding the process of settlement of the boundary question during the Premier Wen Jiabao's visit to India in 2005. The trade volume has risen consistently to catch a new level of $ 74 billion in 2011, and exchanges in all spheres expanded vastly, along with exchange visits by the top Chinese leaders.

At the same time, the issue of India seems to have receded in China's strategic priorities in recent years with usual recurring browbeats by China on the one pretext or the other. It is mostly seen more in the context of the Chinese response to the new strategic line of the US in forging its "Asian pivot" rather than a partner in its own rights.

Conclusion

Thus, both India and China. the world's two oldest civilisations, are back as claimants to pre-eminence in Asia and the world and are heavily engaged in the global economy and possess nuclear powers with expanding military capabilities to match their growing ambitions. It is only in the recent past that both these neighbours have begun to shed their fearful distrust and wariness towards each other by initiating measures to stabilize their relationships, including regular high-level visits. The evolving rapprochement is based on a mutual need to focus on social and political stability, and strong economic growth and a sense of security, so each can avoid the perils of stagnation or economic recession.

The incipient entente between the two neighbours has, in fact, already aroused high expectations among scholars of the likely possibility of restructuring the security environment of the South Asia, in particular, and the East Asia in general, paving way for the geopolitics towards East away from the hitherto Anglo-American hub of the West. However, the long-time observers of India- China relations maintain the realist argument in this context that the relations between the two neighbours remain fragile and as vulnerable as ever and always susceptible to sudden deterioration as a result of misperceptions, unrealistic expectations, accidents, and eruption of unresolved issues. Also, the internal issues of stability and the external overlapping spheres of influence forestall the prospects for a genuine Sino-Indian rapprochement.

In fact, the issues that bind the two countries are also the issues that divide them and fuel their rivalry. With their ever-expanding economies and widening geopolitical horizons, the bilateral relationship between the two rising Asian giants may be characterized more by competition than by cooperation. As India and China proceed simultaneously on their relative power trajectories, the emerging geopolitical equations and power relations in Asia are bound to undergo significant realignment. Considering the fact of emerging multi-polarity in the world, if China abandons an imperialist view of history and contributes towards practicing a more accommodative diplomacy with all powers in the world, it can harmoniously cooperate with India as well.

References

1. Acharya, Alka.2008*; China and India: Politics of Incremental Engagement*, New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.

2. Baru, Sanjaya. 2006. S*trategic consequences of India's economic performance*. New Delhi: Academic foundation.

3. ——2015; "India and China in a multipolar world", *The Hindu*, Allahabad, Monday, May 11, P 6.

4. Blank, Stephen. 2003. India's rising profile in Central Asia. *Comparative Strategy,* 22 (2), 139-57.

5. Engelmeier, Tobias F. 2009; *Nation-building and Foreign Policy in India: An Identity-Strategy Conflict*, Foundation Books.

6. Eva Paus, P. B. Prime and Jon Western (eds.) 2009; *Global Giant: Is China Changing the Rules of the Game?* Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

7. Ganguly, Sumit, 2003; India's foreign policy grows up, *World Policy Journal,*20(4),41-47

8. ——2010;'The genesis of non-alignment', in Sumit Ganguly (ed.), *India's foreign policy: Retrospect and prospect (*pp.1-10), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

9. Ganguly, Sumit and Pardesi, Manjeet S. 2009; Explaining sixty years of India's foreign policy. *India Review,*8(1),4-19.

10. Gould, Harold A. 2010; *The South Asian Story: The First Sixty Years of U.S. Relations with India and Pakistan,* Sage Publications, New Delhi.

11. Holsti, K.J. (ed.).1982; *Why nations realign: Foreign policy restructuring in a post-war world,* London: Allen &Unwin.

12. Kale, Sunila, 2009; Inside out: India's global reorientation, *India Review,* 8(1), 43-62.

13. Kumaraswamy, P.R. 2008; Realism replacing rhetoric: Factors shaping India's Middle East policy, *The Round Table,* 97(397), 575-87.

14. Lowell Dittmer & George T. Yu (eds), 2010; *China, the Developing World and the New Global Dynamics,* Lynne Rienner Publishers, London.

15. Merchant Minhaz, 2011; A New World Order, *The Times of India,* Allahabad, Dec.10, p.14.

16. Pokharana, Bhawana, 2009; *India-China Relations: Dimensions and Perspectives,* New Delhi Publications, New Delhi.

17. Markey, Danniel 2009; Developing India's foreign policy, *Asia Policy,* July,8, pp.73-96.

18. Mehta, Pratap B. 2009; Still under Nehru's shadow? The absence of foreign policy frameworks in India, *India Review, 8(3),* 209-33.

19. Ministry of External Affairs, India, 2010, Annual report 2009-10, Retrieved from http://www.meaindia.nic.in(accessed on 15 July 2010).

20. Mohan, C. Raja.2004; *Crossing the Rubicon: The shaping of India's new foreign policy,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

21. ——do——2006; India and the balance of power, *Foreign Affairs,*85(4),17-32.

22. ——do——2009; *The making of India foreign policy: The role of scholarship and public opinion,* Working Paper No.73, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore.

23. Neack, Laura. 2008*; The new foreign policy: Power seeking in a globalized era.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

24. Norman, Dorothy (ed.) 1965; Nehru, *The first sixty years,* Vol.2. London: Bodley Head.

25. Panda, Jagannath P. 2010; *China's Path to Power: Party, Military and the Politics of State Transition,* (New Delhi: Pentagon Security International, An Imprint of Pentagon Press).

26. Pardesi, Manjeet S. and Ganguly, Sumit.2009; India and energy security: A foreign policy priority', in Harsh Pant (ed.), *Indian foreign policy in a unipolar world* (pp.99-127). New Delhi: Routledge.

27. Rubinoff, Arthur.1991; The multilateral imperative in India's foreign policy, *Round Table,* 80(319), 313-34.

28. Russet, Bruce. 1993; *Grasping the democratic peace: Principles for a post-Cold War world.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

29. Sameer K. Das, 2010; India's Look East Policy: Imagining a New Geography of India's Northeast, *India Quarterly*, I. C. W. R. New Delhi, Vol.66, No.4, pp.343-357.

30. SakujaVijaya, 2009; China's Diplomatic and Strategic Balancing Acts in Southern Asia, *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, Vol.4, No.3, July-September, PP. 49-50.

31. Sikri, Rajiv.2009a; India's 'Look East' policy, *Asia-Pacific Review,* 16(1), 131-45.

32. ——2009b; *Challenge and strategy: Rethinking India's foreign policy,* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

33. Thakur, Ramesh. 1992; India after nonalignment, *Foreign Affairs,* 71(2), 165-82.

34. Thornton, Thomas P. 1992; India adrift: The search for moorings in a new world order, *Asian Survey,* 32(12), 1063-77.

35. Tripathi, Sudhanshu 2004; India's Foreign Policy: Transformation and Challenges, *World Focus*, New Delhi, Oct-Nov-Dec, Vol. 25, No. 298-300, pp. 7-9.

36. —————, 2011; Geo-Politics Pivots to East, *Journal of Foreign Relations (on line),* USA, Nov.21, www.jofr.org

37. ——————, 2011; China's Perceived Military Threat, *Journal of Foreign Relations (on line),* USA, Nov.27, www.jofr.org

38. ———-, 2011; Military Threat from China: Is the World Fearful*, The Election Review (on line)* Australia, Nov.29, www.theelectionreview.com

39. Yardley, Jim. 2010; beneath the pomp, India and China are drifting apart, *International Herald Tribune,* December 30. ◆◆

US-China: Towards Turbulent Relationship

Varun Roby*

["*China is a sleeping giant. Let her sleep, for when she wakes, she will move the world.*"- *Napoleon Bonaparte.*

China is one of the central focal point of the global nations as it is the second largest economy in the world after the United States. China aspires to be the global leader surpassing United States within a decade in all arenas. The recent trade war with US costs the Chinese companies and the consumers in such a way that several business deals with US were lost while China remaining devastated during the time of trade tensions.]

The greatest disruption to the business environment between Washington and Beijing at current juncture is not from the dynamic tactics of business nature and technological revolution, but from the trade war. The escalating confusions on trade would foist undue pressures on global value chain. The accelerating trade war tensions among US and China has mounted ramifications on the development of the global economy and value chain system. US President's proclamation of "America First" targeted at bringing back the jobs to US and to impose tariffs on exports of other nations as per the investigation reports submitted by USTR (Section 301 of Trade Act, 1974).

China, on the other hand, shows its willingness to negotiate with the US demands, following a visit made by Liu He, economic adviser to President Xi Jinping, wherein both sides agreed to halt the trade war. Trump is not willing to make compromise with China unless the latter bows to the demands of the US. He keeps an eye on the principle of "exceptionalism" where America tends to be the exceptional and supreme power in the world. This principle urges him to withdraw from various treaties and to constitute a unipolar world.

This article makes a key focus on: how China could gain an upper hand in the trade war with the United States and to find out the alternative opportunities available to China to make investments, to enhance its global growth and diplomatic ties with its allies. This article further discusses about China's economic growth prospects and Chinese government's intervention in coming years.

China's upper hand in Trade war

The US-China economic confrontation began a decade ago. China strictly opposes the Western cultural system and Western domination in various institutions. The Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) status was given to China by the US during 2001, at the time of its ingress in World Trade Organization (WTO). The principal motive behind this included the expansion of Chinese economy to the globalized world, establishment of their markets and making use of the large market size with the reduction in the costs. It was mutually beneficial to both the countries where US could be able to import the electronic and consumer goods at lower costs than what they produce at home.

But this trend did not last for long. China used its monopoly power to dominate and to protect the domestic market from further Western nations' attacks. The government decided to intervene in

* Masters in Commerce, Madras Christian College, Tambaram, Chennai.

the market and SOEs were established by the government and preferences were given to those domestic industries to boost up the production and exports, which in turn alleviated the growth prospects for the foreign firms, especially US companies. China also depended on the foreign technologies to develop their own home industry to make them competitive in the market.

Many powerful leaders of the Western nations failed to take actions against China even though they came to know about the misbehaving of China in international organizations, for instance the violation of the cyber security laws and stealing of the trade secrets of the companies and piracy of IP rights, except for in the case of Donald Trump. The prominent and powerful weapon used by Trump to make attack on China is imposition of heavy tariffs on Chinese exports and thereby triggering a trade war.

The Trump's tariff on China is finally borne by the American consumers and companies, even in the case of tariff hike in steel and aluminum. Many US multinationals started reporting the loss for the coming quarters due to the effect of tariffs which further tumbled the US stock market. Much of them lost their business and major share in China due to 'tit for tat' tariffs and Chinese retaliation.

Apple Inc. reported the loss for coming quarters whose share value has come to a new low, as they lost a major share in Chinese markets due to the emergence of Huawei and ZTE technologies and recently they had curtailed the production by 10% of total production in Foxconn. The tariff finally propels to shift some of US companies and their production to other nations as the Harley Davidson shifts their production policies to Europe.[1]

One of the powerful tools that can be used against the US attacks is the pumping of treasury bonds into the market. China is the major buyer of US treasuries and it has about $1.2 trillion in US bonds.[2] The recent hikes in the bond interest rates would elevate the demand for US bonds, but if China decides to sell off the bonds, then the amount is pumped into the market which would certainly affect the US treasury bonds. As the supply increases, the demand and the price for the bonds starts diminishing.

The US government has decided to ban the acquisition of US firms by the Chinese industries, especially the acquisition of semiconductor business.[3] The govt. had recently prohibited the acquisition of Lattice semiconductor by the Canyon Bridge Capital Partners, an investment-backed fund of China. The semiconductors are the important element in 'Made-In-China 2025' plan. In addition, China focuses on acquiring another European firm, Graphcore, which pursues Artificial Intelligence (AI) algorithms where China focuses on making a huge investment through public offering.

Slowly, but steadily the deals with the US companies would clamp down. The China would emerge as an omnipotent force in the technology sector within a decade so far. China is also looking forward to a period of transformation in the technology era and it would definitely surpass the United States. The halt in the semiconductor business by the US would force Chinese companies to keep contracts with the European firms, where the Canyon Bridge Capital Partners entered into acquisition contract with the European semiconductor firm Imagination Technologies. China has also entered into various connections with Russia, Japan, Turkey, Israel, France, Italy and Hong Kong on several deals.

Investments

China is a leading investor of tech businesses in the United States and a major trading partner. Due to the increase in trade war tensions, China lost many business relations and investment opportunities in the US. The latest investments made by the Chinese companies in US, whether it is reported or not, is strictly scrutinised by CFIUS (Committee on Foreign Investment in United States) on the recommendation of the Federal government as a part of national security

issues. They would further permit the acquisition or divestment of the business. As a result, Chinese investment fell by 70% in the previous year. Trump has insisted for a hostile approach towards Chinese acquisitions where many deals were abandoned, such as the plan for HNA to buy $200 million shares in Sky Bridge Capital and also blocked the acquisition of Money gram International by China's Ant Financial in the early January 2018.[4]

Many investors focus on organic investments and investment in other countries rather than investment in the US companies. This measure taken by the Chinese investors would certainly affect the US tech start-ups where the major fund for investment is offered from China's market in return for the market access and major acquisition were also blocked by the trade policies.

China's current intention is to acquire the electronic and tech sector businesses of various countries and to invest in these sectors to be a domain in global market. Along with that, they have made a huge undisclosed amount of investment in these important sectors to involve in the government's decision processes to transmit their culture of intervening in the legal issues to gain the political advantage. It is the part of their motive to build a network of connections among countries to acquire the major businesses and infrastructure investments not only to be a global leader, but to impart the Chinese policies, intentions and ideologies to mix with the culture of other nations.

The private businesses were facing severe crunch and were squeezed through manifold ways in 2018. The private firms contribute a lot to the GDP growth of the country and the SOEs focused to acquire and merge with a higher share in those enterprises. The lack of funding and instability in private sectors has jeopardized the growth of the economy and beleaguered the stock market in the previous year. Along with that, China had also transferred assets to subsidiaries in Hong Kong saddling its mainland entities with liabilities. For instance, Alibaba Group had

decided to sell healthcare assets to HK subsidiaries for $1.35billion.[5] This would result in a capital outflow, which would jeopardize the business and economy of the country.

For providing the initiatives for the businesses, the government has given the directions to the banks to increase the lending capacity, especially to SMEs. It's a part of that plan that the central bank has announced its decision to fund 150 billion yuan for their operations.[6] The central bank should go for Quantitative Easing (QE) where central bank creates money to buy the government securities thereby reducing the interest rates which further leads to increase in the money supply in the economy. The austere investment policies and foreign investment regulations has restrained China from making investments in US industries which enabled China to explore into US allies, that is, Europe, Japan and Israel market for making investments and acquisitions. Furthermore, China focuses to ease its monetary policy and regulations on investments to attract investments from other nations.

US to face recession in 2020

Another major blow is predicted to be happening by the end of 2019. Almost, 40% of the economists are of the view that US could face recession by 2020. The recent hike in the Fed interest rates and trade war with China has cost US billions of dollars in addition to the loss of share in major businesses with China, companies reporting losses and declining operations with the chance of lay-offs. Donald Trump is pursuing an old-fashioned model of hierarchical relationship which keeps America isolated from the outside relations by using the principle of 'exceptionalism'.

The US govt. also banned investments from other countries on the grounds of national security interests under the scrutiny of CFIUS. The trade war with China has affected American businesses and the market to a down trend. Instead of opening the market operations, they are using strict investment restrictions and foreign ownership

rules which could not attract new ventures into America leading to the loss of jobs and lay-offs. Tight monetary policies of rise in US fed interest rates could increase the cost of borrowing for the businesses and hamper their operations.

The ex-Governor of People's Bank of China (PBC), Zhou Xiachuam has said about the creation of international reserve currency which is disconnected from individual nations and isolated from the risks of credit-based sovereign currency issues.[7] He had also insisted in giving a special consideration to upgrade the Chinese currency as the international reserve currency since it reduces the fluctuations in the prices of assets and also frees the risk of sovereign debt issues.

This could be a major stage of transformation for China to internationalize 'renminbi' and to be upgraded from SDR (Special Drawing Rights) status given by IMF. Petro-yuan currencies are going global now. It is given an equal stake and with its price being comparable to Brent Oil and West Texas Intermediate Oil prices.[8] The rising interest rates and uncertainties in the exchange rates would tend other countries to make investments in alternative ones, especially for oil contracts. Such decisions from the Asian nations could threaten the dollar colonisation in the oil future contracts.

China's growing ties with Europe, Japan and Israel

Chinese firms show their interest in the Israeli robotics and ag-tech industries. China and Israel jointly established the Sino-Israeli Robotic Institute (SIRI) in Guangzhou.[9] China has also increased their market access to Israel which can be evinced from the tunnels, roads, railways and sea ports that they built in various cities of Israel. China's vital interests in Artificial Intelligence (AI) industries would gear up the robotic industries in Israel and research institutes. They have also shown their interests in the areas of robotics, agriculture, security and service industries. China in ties with Israel has

developed Beijing-based Tsinghua University to build a joint research center at Tel Aviv University.

China in 2019 will focus to keep its ties with Japan to re-establish the connections that was halted in 2018 due to the interventions of US. Chinese investors had shown their interests in investing in Japanese ski resorts. They also seek to acquire the business of Japan in electronic sectors as Lenovo acquired NEC and Fujitsu's PC businesses.[10]

The real opportunities for China exist in its relations with Europe. Europe is the other major partner of China in 2019 relations. The ties would serve not only for the business purposes, but also for the educational research schemes and furthermore for the expansion of maritime projects of China. China with its ties with Europe, has jointly established Oxford Suzhou Centre for Advanced Research with a focus on medical research field.[11] Both the sides were severely hit by the trade policies of Donald Trump. China would focus to make green field FDI in Europe. This would also provide more opportunities for China to acquire the businesses of Europe in future, especially in the AI field and would help in bringing back the eroded growth in the previous year.

This in turn will lead to increase in job creation, knowledge and technical know-how. This would also enhance the Chinese access to European markets and vice versa. Across Eurasia, there still exist sceptics about the Belt and Road Initiative projects as they have a negative reaction on the acquisition of Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka. So, that will be less triumphalism in 2019. This would be seen as an alternative for China to expand its operations across Europe and to also create a diplomatic relationship towards its dream project accomplishment.

Western worries over Chinese tech 'puissance'

Western countries are still skeptical about the Chinese expansion and global development,

especially in 'tech sector'. China proposes the agenda of becoming a global tech leader by 2020. The nation's slowing economy could wreak havoc on employment sectors. If China witnesses an uneven growth and quick resilience from their economic downturn, it fosters the domination in tech and AI world that could inflict global pressure. Recently, Chinese internet tech firms witnessed a scaling back or layoffs, due to economic uncertainties and slowing growth.[12] Many of the tech startups and unicorns started lay-offs of employees by the end of 2018. It is being done to reduce the reliance on human labels and assistance and to open a way to AI world.

The wiping out of Western dominance is not on the ground, but on the widespread "immigration" of China. Chinese companies have entered into several acquisition contracts with the AI and tech companies. The emergence of AI in the businesses and agriculture could sweep away the low-skilled workforce and mundane works of the people. There will be a new wave of emigration to the Western countries and developed countries in Asia in search of employment and livelihood. It is not only China's establishment of hegemon in the technological world but instinctively would cast a reflection on the economy of the world.

China's economy and government intervention in 2019

The economy of China is still a questionable argument for the developed countries. The Chinese economy is "drunken by debt" and the debt had risen to about 300% of GDP of China in 2017.[13] It is still skeptical for the European and Asian countries regarding the implementation of China's ambitious project of $1trillion- "Belt Road Initiative". The alleviation in the borrowing of debt would cost the severe economic downturn. So, they won't focus much on deleveraging processes. Yet other initiatives were taken by China include packaging of dubious loans to consumers and restricting the sale of apartments to avoid the cascading effect.[14] This might lead to the increase in the value of

the assets and government has not intervened to prevent such incremental values of assets without parallel increase in demand, which might turn to asset bubbling, as what happened in US.

The PBC Governor Zhou Xiachoum in 2017 had also mentioned about the capital outflow from the country because of the weakness in the nation's economy. In 2019, the stipulated measures will be taken by the government to prevent the outgoing of the assets abroad and *to* prevent the value of yuan from further decline. The lack of deposits in bank would lead to the financial crisis and insolvency.

China is passing through stiff times where its economy is being crunched by the escalating 'tit for tat' tariffs and antagonist policies of Donald Trump. The GDP rate was down by 1.5% in the previous year. The prolonged trade war would impact the job creation, consumer confidence and even the spending in China. The skyrocketing tariffs on goods has, especially, thwacked on crust of the essential elements and core interests of 'Made In China 2025.'

One must remember that the spending could have an impact on the GDP growth rate of the economy. As far as China is concerned, it is looking forward to globalize the economy once again to attract the foreign firms to do businesses with China. China had changed its monetary and foreign policies to attract FDIs and investment from other regions.

In order to have a resilience from economic slowdown, the Chinese government had decided to cut off the tax rates charged on the public to elevate the spending and liberalization of the Chinese economy which would also increase the demand for domestic goods. China should also focus on expanding the diplomatic ties with its allies across Asia. They have to invite the investments from European countries, especially in weaker sections like service industry, by fostering unhampered relationship that could rhapsodize the Chinese economy to recover from the slowing growth.

China could form diplomatic ties with European nations by providing financial assistance to weaker European Union nations like Greece, where the diplomatic relations of US stands declining with the other nations. At the same time, the Chinese government has taken necessary steps in 2019 to build the relations that have been uprooted by the intervention of US, specifically by focusing on a grass-root reconnection with Japan and South Korea. China's rising alliance with Asian tigers is reportedly designed to vigil them on the domination of Asia and its culture by Western power. China could form alliance strategies with these Asian allies to build a "border" in Asia to attenuate the threats of Western hegemonic power. The goal of re - vitalized strategy of realistic engagement with the allies helps to sweep away the threats of US containment and opportunity for China to allay the fears of its allies on the expansion of China.

The recent trade war initiated by US has not only targeted China; but also targeted the other nations. Even the imports from European Union (EU) nations were also on the watch list and charged. As a part of "America First" agenda proposed by Donald Trump, he promised to take remedies against the excess imports from other countries wherein the trade balances are lopsided. The old-fashioned unpredictable character of the antagonistic figure has been withdrawn from various treaties, trade agreements and incentives that allowed earlier.

This would create confusions and deep crisis-ridden issues for emerging countries having ties with US; for instance, India faced a harsh time when H1B visa to US was banned. Even they have banned Chinese students to conduct research in US international research institutes or else were given the option to complete the research within a stipulated irreversible time period. Fewer megadonors were given funds to set up world class research facilities in US and create turmoil and adopting a non-egalitarian approach towards other countries as they are on the stance of the leader nation.[15]

China could also form the grouping strategy among the Asian nations to shield against the national security threats posed by US and against US military intervention in South China Sea. China should also focus not to bully its neighbours in maritime and territorial peripheries of the sea, but to form an economic and diplomatic alliance to move against the unilateral system and practices of US in South China Sea. China sees the military intervention as the US policy to contain China and block its emerging ties in Asian continent.

The US vision was to integrate China with the rules-based international law, thereby changing the status towards the Western values and cultures and adhering to the Western rules. US focuses to create tensions in South China Sea and criticised the operations in Vietnam and Philippines and military extensions to Taiwan. They have initiated a 'verge scrutiny' of the historic "Nine Dash Line" of China to contain other nations.

China should remove the tensions among the neighbours to align a thread against the US domination of the Asia-Pacific region and South China Sea. The US is following a principle of "irredentism" where they have initiated maritime ties with Australia, Japan and India to form "Quad" to galvanize the China's military occupancies near island regions. They are focusing on towards Vietnam to be in a part of the alliance.

The US government has its own foreign policies to support and encourage liberalism, human rights, maintain peace and harmony throughout and other democratic values and even supports the economic development of the countries. However, they won't allow other countries to be in an equilibrium position in stance of political or economic arena. This was the case of the Cold War with Russia and now the trade war with China. Above all, China should focus to make harmonious and healthy environment with US, which still possesses the weapon to attack China. China should also keep in mind the impacts of what happened during the Cold War and Russia's

economy confronting downturn after the end of the Cold War era. China is a country which enjoys a wide trade surplus with US.

The United States pushes for the regular reviews in the trade reforms in China's trade practices.[16] The reforms include the changes in the Chinese policies towards Intellectual Property Rights, non-tariff barriers, forced technology transfers, cyber intrusions and theft of trade secrets in several other sectors. The US has also criticized the WTO settlement mechanism for not making China accountable for violating the IP rights and for not keeping the promises on market reforms.

One of the best ways to deal with IP rights issues is through the contractual agreement with international arbitration institutions located at Singapore or at Switzerland. Alternatively, commercial arbitration bodies can be set up at China with the participation of the foreign panel of members on the board.[17] The new potential solution to end the trade war has led to the rise in the investor's confidence in the stock market where Dow Jones Industrial Average rose about 300 points after China making the deal to reduce the bilateral trade deficit by 2024.[18] The emerging trade tensions would impact much the countries having surpluses and it will be Beijing that will be suffering if they retaliate.

References

1. https://in.reuters.com/article/harley-davidson-tariffs/trump-blasts-harley-plan-to-shift-u-s-production-to-avoid-eu-tariffs-idINKBN1JL1BP

2. https://www.cnbc.com/2018/04/05/chinas-1-point-2-trillion-weapon-that-could-be-used-in-a-us-trade-war.html

3. https://www.theinformation.com/articles/chinese-chip-deals-shift-to-europe-as-u-s-clamps-down

4. https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/28/chinese-acquisitions-of-us-assets-drop-deals-with-europe-increase.html

5. https://yourstory.com/2018/05/alibaba-group-tmall-pharmacy-sale-alibaba-health/

6. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-10-24/china-s-squeezed-private-companies-face-more-funding-pain

7. https://www.bis.org/review/r090402c.pdf

8. https://www.scmp.com/comment/article/2176256/chinas-petroyuan-going-global-and-gunning-us-dollar

9. https://www.roboticsbusinessreview.com/infrastructure/chinese_firms_invest_20m_in_israeli_robotics_rd/

10. https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Lenovo-extends-lead-in-Japan-s-PC-market-with-Fujitsu-deal

11. https://gbtimes.com/oxford-university-launches-first-overseas-centre-in-china

12. https://www.zdnet.com/article/china-denies-massive-layoffs-among-internet-firms/

13. https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/gordon-chang-chinas-rise-and-americas-fall-just-wont-happen-heres-why-33251

14. Ibid

15. https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/china-2019-impact-us-china-economic-confrontation-gordon-orr/

16. https://www.thehindu.com/business/Industry/us-wants-regular-china-trade-reform-review/article26037903.ece

17. https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/united-states-china-relations-in-2019-by-kevin-rudd-2018-12

18. https://www.cnbc.com/2019/01/18/stocks-us-china-trade-talks-take-center-stage-shutdown-earnings.html

◆◆

Reappraising Indo-US Civil Nuclear Deal

Dr. Md. Khaliqur Rahman*

[*Civil nuclear deal signed between India and the United States, though constitutes the corner stone of the entire gamut of bilateral relationship between New Delhi and Washington, yet it still remains a chimera in the wake of various odds being confronted in its ripening into fruition and these odds and the long road traversed by this deal have been aptly summed up critically by the author of this article along with other geopolitical aspects having bearing on bilateral relations. Ed.]*

The massive structural shift that resulted from the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War foreclosed India's old Soviet-centric strategic policies and drove it to consider an approach more amenable to cooperation with the U.S. As is well known, despite its "non-aligned" character India had maintained a cordial relationship with the Soviets. However, the collapse of the Soviet Union forced India' policy makers to reconfigure their strategic options. No longer could they rely on their superpower ally's military and diplomatic protection. Nor, the Russians made clear, would the Indians be able to continue purchasing arms under exceptionally favourable Cold War terms.

As a result, New Delhi largely abandoned its reflexive opposition to American strategic, economic, and diplomatic policies evincing a new openness to the pursuit of mutually beneficial endeavours.[1] The Indian foreign policy makers realized that a closer relationship with the U.S. could help them fill the vacuum left by the Soviet Union's fall and also balance against rising Chinese power.[2]

It is significant that for most of the past six decades, relations between the U.S. and India were frosty. Why then has their relationship changed so radically in recent years. Has this new face of India-U.S. engagement been persistently deepening and fostering? Is it correct to say that it is owing to India's rise as a vital component of Asian security and stability? What have been the structural, domestic and individual bating factors. In this article an attempt has been made to address these questions.

Backdrop

It must be pointed out that it was only after the end of the Cold War and the coming to power of the Narasimha Rao government in India in 1991 that the trajectory of Indo-US relations began to change. The new Indian government, recognizing that the economy was in a crisis, sought to carry out a series of structural and market reforms that relaxed pervious obstacles to foreign investment in the country and allowed the economy to be rejuvenated. Indian and American groups began to meet to discuss defense cooperation, especially the transfer of technologies to assist in the development of India's conventional weapons production programs.[3]

The Clinton administration sought to improve relations further, but the May 1998 nuclear tests by India led to another series of sanctions being imposed on New Delhi. While subsequent congressional amendments were to pull back most of the economic sanctions, key ones remained, particularly in the area of military technology transfers. India's Light Combat Aircraft program was delayed because of its inability to obtain General Electric F-404 power plants to power the prototypes.[4]

In the backdrop of the nuclear tests conducted by both India and Pakistan respectively in 1998, the

---

* Ph.D. (Political Science), B.R.A. Bihar University, Muzaffarpur.

US. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott conducted nine rounds of meetings with India's then foreign minister Jaswant Singh in an effort to reduce the dangers emanating from both countries' going overtly nuclear. The discussions led to a shift in U.S. policy on nuclear issues in the region.

The earlier position of the Clinton administration was to "cap, reduce, and rollback" the nuclear programs of both countries. This position changed, at least in the short term, to one of urging India and Pakistan to keep their nuclear forces non-deployed and at the lowest possible levels.[5] The Clinton administration also made a significant differentiation between India, which it treated as a nuclear democracy, and other proliferating states whom it first labeled rogue states and later states of concern. By treating India and Pakistan differently, it was able to continue developing relations with the two countries-although far more warmly with India than Pakistan-while seeking to limit the damage caused by regional proliferation.

It is relevant here to mention that during the Kargil crisis of 1999 the United States was instrumental in getting Pakistan to withdraw its troops from the Kargil and Drass sectors of India Kashmir and in staving off a potential full-scale nuclear conflict between the two countries.[6] The United States, however, did proceed to develop bilateral linkages with India on issues of mutual interest-one such forum being the Joint Commission of Counterterrorism.

Changing Trajectory of Relationship

It must be pointed out that it was with the advent of the second Bush administration that the India-US relationship took a turn for the better, saw India as playing an important role in future U.S. foreign policy towards Asia. By mid-2001 it seemed that India and the United States were building a new relationship that was based on military ties and an increasingly similar world view. Thus, the Indian government was one of the first to endorse the Bush administration's National Missile Defence proposal, especially welcoming the fact that missile defence would

go hand in-hand with deep cuts in U.S. nuclear arsenals.

Indian concerns about the U.S. stand on the Kyoto treaty were conveyed privately to the Bush administration. The administration, similarly, muted its criticism of India's test of a 700-kilometer medium range Agni-I missile in early 2002. In addition, the two governments decided not to criticize each other in public-moving away from a policy that the Indian had followed in the Cold War days.[7]

It needs to be noted that September 11, 2001 gave more twist to America's Pakistan policy and brought India and the United States at the same wavelength. Afterwards, Pakistan willfully and unconditionally came on U.S. side to join the military campaign against terrorism, and became a frontline state, the U.S. Government removed economic sanctions imposed on Pakistan since nuclear tests and took further initiatives to support Pakistan's derailing economy.

However, despite all collaborations with Pakistan in war against terror, the Americans kept up calling Pakistan as a source of unleashing state-sponsored terrorism. Washington supposed New Delhi's policy of portraying the insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir as purely a matter of cross-border terrorism from Pakistani side. Washington constantly exerted pressure on Islamabad to reduce its policy of supporting and backing infiltration in to the Indian side of Kashmir.[8] The terrorist attacks on the Srinagar Assembly on October 1, 2001, and on the Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001 brought further the Indians and Americans on same page because those attacks were masterminded and operated by Pakistan-based militant groups fighting in Kashmir.[9]

Nuclear Deal with America

A broader strategic alliance with India could not take a compact shape unless India's nuclear option was not protected. As a part of the U.S. grand strategy to contain the rising power of China, the Americans had depicted India's nuclear capability as a counter balance to China's nuclearization. As the U.S. strategy for re-

engagement in the Asia-Pacific region had focused on improving bilateral relations with India, the Americans embarked on the policy of developing India as a strategic and nuclear partner. The Americans viewed that the nuclear India could be better option to be an equilibrium *vis-à-vis* China's nuclear dominance.

The 'strategic dialogue' conducted by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and Foreign Minister of India Jaswant Singh in 1998-99 led to elaborate and clarify the security perceptions of both states in future. Both sides were determined to develop broad-based bilateral security relations in the 21st century. The Clinton administration started to treat India as a nuclear democracy. While on the other hand, Pakistan was considered as a dangerous proliferating state.[10]

The Bush administration (2001-2009) further accelerated the transformation process of India-United States strategic relationship and enlarged the prospect of nuclear engagement with India. The enlarging framework of India- U.S. strategic engagement especially focused on civil nuclear cooperation, beside civilian space programs, and high-technology trade. 'Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) Initiative' programme initiated in January 2004 was a major development in the U.S. strategic orientation towards India that led to a full civil nuclear cooperation.

The first phase of the NSSP included the implementation of measures to address proliferation concerns and ensure compliance with the U.S. export controls. These efforts enabled the United States to make modifications in U.S. export licensing policies that would foster cooperation in commercial space programs and permit certain exports to power plants at safeguarded nuclear facilities.[11] Further negotiations resulted in removal and revision of some US export license requirements for certain dual-use and civil nuclear items.

The visit of Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to the United States in July 2005 coincided with the completion of NSSP. Both leaders declared their resolve to transform this strategic relationship to a global partnership. In the Joint Statement, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Bush underlined the new significance of India-U.S. partnership and vowed to work together to promote the shared security vision in the world. Both the leaders expressed satisfaction for the successful completion of the NSSP that provided "base for expanding bilateral activities and commerce in space, civil nuclear energy and dual-use technology."[12]

President Bush declared India as "responsible state with advanced nuclear technology," and said that "India should acquire the same benefits and advantages as other such states." He announced the U.S. commitment to go forward to "achieve full civil nuclear energy cooperation with India as it realizes its goals of promoting nuclear power and achieving energy security." The President assured to "seek an agreement from the Congress to adjust US laws and policies, and that the United States will work with friends and allies to adjust international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India."

The Indian Prime Minister on his part declared

India would reciprocally agree that it would be ready to assume the same responsibilities and practices and acquire the same benefits and advantages as other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States. These responsibilities and practices consist of identifying and separating civilian and military nuclear facilities and programs in a phased manner and filing a declaration regarding its civilians facilities with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); taking a decision to place voluntarily its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards; signing and adhering to an Additional Protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities; continuing India's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing; working with the United States for the conclusion of a multilateral Fissile Material Cut Off Treaty; refraining from transfer of enrichment and reprocessing technologies to states that do not have them and

supporting international efforts to limit their spread; and ensuring that the necessary steps have been taken to secure nuclear materials and technology through comprehensive export control legislation and through harmonization and adherence to Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) guidelines.[13]

President Bush and Prime Minister Singh for the first time announced their intention to enter into a nuclear agreement in Washington. The decision of the two countries to move to obtain full civil nuclear energy cooperation was a huge step to broadening the scope of strategic partnership.

The agenda for nuclear cooperation envisaged in the joint statement of July 18, 2005 was further carried out during the first visit of President Bush to India in March, 2006. President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh reached mutual understanding with regard to implementation of process that was outlined in the July 18, 2005 joint statement. The important development that took place during President Bush's visit to India was the preparation and acceptance of a separation plan that separated the civilian nuclear programme from the military programme.[14]

The joint statement of March 2, 2006 by President Bush and Prime Minister Singh also hailed the successful preparation and acceptance of Separation Plan and determined to move on for the "full implementation of the commitments in the July 18, 2005 Joint Statement on nuclear cooperation." The Joint Statement also stated: "This historic accomplishment will permit our countries to move forward towards our common objective of full civil nuclear energy cooperation between India and the United States and between India and the international community as a whole."[15]

President Bush described understanding on civilian nuclear cooperation as a "necessary" agreement. He commented: "This agreement is in our [American] interest. I am confident I can sell this to our Congress."[16]

After acceptance of a civil-military Separation Plan of India, Washington sought change in U.S.

law through the adoption of 'Henry J. Hyde United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act of 2006'that modified the section 123 of the U.S. Atomic Power Act for permission for nuclear cooperation with India. President Bush signed the bill on December 18, 2006. Signing the bill, President Bush said: "This is an important achievement for the whole world. After 30 years outside the system, India will now operate its civilian nuclear energy program under internationally accepted guidelines and the world is going to be safer as a result."[17] On August 1, 2008, IAEA Board of Governors approved a nuclear Safeguard Agreement with India, calling for application of IAEA safeguards to Indian civilian nuclear facilities.

After getting the approval from IAEA, the U.S. government approached the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) for granting a waiver to India to commence civilian nuclear trade. Consequently, on September 6, 2008, NSG granted a special waiver to India which ended India's nuclear isolation and granted a unique opportunity to access nuclear technology and much-needed nuclear fuel from other countries. India is the only country that is not party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), but NSG waiver enables it to have nuclear trade with other countries.[18]

Going through complex stages, the U.S. - India nuclear deal got final approval from the U.S. House of Representatives on September 28, 2008 and Senate on October 1, 2008. The legislation on the India-U.S. nuclear deal, approved by the U.S. Congress, was finally turned into a law with the signing of the President Bush on October 8, 2008. The new law was called 'United States-India Nuclear Cooperation Approval and Non-proliferation Enhancement Act.' After a three years span since July 18, 2005 when President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh unveiled the agenda for India-U.S. nuclear cooperation agreement, the nuclear deal reached its final point on October 10,2008 by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Indian Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee when they formally signed the nuclear accord in Washington.[19]

This agreement known as 123 Agreement between India and United States operationalized the deal between the two countries. After signing the agreement, Pranab Mukherjee said: "India attaches great importance to this agreement and to civil nuclear commerce with the international community. The increased share of nuclear energy in our energy mix will make a major positive contribution to our sustainable development and to meeting our objective of eradication of poverty. We, therefore, see this as a critical development for civil – for our economic growth and development. The agreement is also important for global economy and energy security as well as a contribution to global efforts to meet the challenge of climate change."[20]

Condoleezza Rice recognized that the civil nuclear agreement "unlocks a new and far broader world of potential for our strategic partnership in the 21st century, not just on nuclear cooperation but on every area of national endeavor."[21]

The Obama administration fully endorsed the U.S.-India nuclear deal. President Barak Obama himself recognized India as an important strategic partner and described India-U.S. civil nuclear agreement as a landmark achievement.[22] Obama's three- day visit to India on November 7-9, 2010 added tremendous real content to the US-India partnership. This visit was called "significantly successful." This visit was to reassure India that the Obama administration valued the partnership and intended to build a genuine strategic alliance on the progress made during the Bush years. He called the U.S.-India alliance as one of the "defining and dispensable partnerships of the 21st century."[23] He welcomed India's emergence as a "major regional and world power" and said that "the United States will work with it to promote peace and stability and to set the rules of interaction with other nations."[24]

The contributions of Obama's tour to U.S.-India strategic partnership, included the U.S. assurances for U.S. support to India's bid for a permanent seat in U.N. Security Council, announcement for relaxation of controls on export

of high technology items to India, pledge for expanding and upgrading the U.S. –India civil nuclear deal, cooperation in the space, and defense sectors.[25] President Obama fully backed India's fuss about terrorism, stemming from Pakistani side in particular. He said: "We will continue to insist on Pakistan's leaders that terrorist safe-havens within their borders are unacceptable."[26]

The strategic dialogue enhanced the operation of partnership. The two agreements with regard to counterterrorism cooperation and nuclear civil cooperation signed in July 2010 further expanded the scope of cooperation in sectors of counterterrorism and civil nuclear cooperation. The agreement about the nuclear civil cooperation was signed on July 30, 2010 by the U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Bill Burns and Indian Ambassador to the United States Meera Shankar, in Washington. The document was extension of the agreement between India and U.S. on nuclear cooperation, and formally known as the 'Arrangements and Procedures Pursuant to Article 6 (iii) of the Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy.'

This agreement facilitated India to "reprocess U.S. obligated nuclear material at its civilian reprocessing facilities." It was argued that this agreement would ease the participation of the U.S. firms in India's growing civil nuclear energy sector. It reflected the strong commitment of the U.S. Administration to "building successfully on the landmark U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative and is a prerequisite for U.S. nuclear fuel suppliers to conduct business with India."[27]

Augmented by President Obama's visit to India, the U.S.- India strategic alliance had been more potential. The second meeting of strategic dialogue held in New Delhi in July 2011, very important in its character, committed to further broaden and deepen the U.S.-India global strategic partnership. Talking about civil nuclear cooperation, the officials of both sides reaffirmed

their commitment to erect tangible U.S.-India civil nuclear energy cooperation through "the participation of U.S. nuclear energy firms in India on the basis of mutually acceptable technical and commercial terms and conditions that enable a viable tariff regime for electricity generated." They stressed the need to resolve remaining issues over civil nuclear cooperation.[28]

Under the NDA-led government headed by Prime Minister Modi, the relationship between both the countries took a new turn towards a better and a more robust relationship. Prime Minister Modi in his address to the US Congress in 2017, highlighted the beginning of a new chapter in the India-US strategic relations. He expressed that a strong relationship could anchor peace, prosperity and stability from Asia to Africa and from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. This growing strategic cooperation is not just geopolitical in nature but both the countries also share numerous areas of interests. These areas include, defence, the space programme, technology, civil nuclear cooperation etc. India's pivotal interest in developing its strategic relations with the US is to ultimately see itself elevated to a great power status in the region. The US also wishes to see the rise of India as a counterweight to China.

Washington has also expressed its support for India to join the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), which will enable India to benefit from global nuclear trade.[29] This will boost India's nuclear power status and access to modern technology.

The United States under the Trump Administration continues to back India's bid for membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group in keeping with the bipartisan support that ties between the two countries enjoyed irrespective of the party in power. It could not be said with certainty if the Trump Administration would do more than the Obama administration, whose support seemed to lack the aggression of the Bush administration's backing for the NSG waiver for the India-US nuclear deal in 2008. But Washington's support has been viewed, at least in New Delhi, as less enthusiastic than before, falling short of the nuclear deal negotiations that have come to be seen as the gold-standard for measuring the depth and intensity of ties.

Conclusion

Over the last decade, India-US bilateral relations have developed into a "global strategic partnership" based on shared democratic values and increasing convergence of interests on bilateral, regional and global issues. Starting with Bill Clinton's visit to India in March, 2000, the state of partnership today is the highest ever between the two countries. If Prime Minister Vajpayee had characterised the two countries as ''natural allies'' and Prime Minister Modi termed the connect as an ''indispensable partnership,'' Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had staked the survival of his government on the India-US civil nuclear deal and termed this as the biggest achievement of his 10-year rule. President Obama termed India-US ties as the ''defining partnership of the 21st century.''

In the past one and half years the relationship has moved even closer under the leadership of President Trump and Prime Minister Modi, promoting a clear practice of cooperation. The successes of the Indo-US relation under the Obama administration had set a positive precedent for the Trump administration and hence, expansion in the US-India strategic partnership. The constant collaboration between New Delhi and Washington at different levels- military or trade – has built a compelling case for India in the US.

However, the landmark India-U.S. civil nuclear deal lies dormant, due to a dispute over India's Nuclear Liability Act and the United States backsliding on key elements of the nuclear agreement. Prime Minister Modi has expressed a desire to implement outstanding bilateral nuclear agreements, and American officials have registered hopes that progress will be possible. Still, if large gaps remain, then it might be more sensible to put off trying to find solutions at a later date.

References

1. Jasjit Singh (ed.) Indo-US Relations in a Changing World, New Delhi: Lancer Publications, 1992, pp.4-10.

2. Selig S. Harrison and Geoffrey Kemp, India and American after the Cold War, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1993, pp.19-20.

3. Chintamani Mahapatra, India-US Relations into the 21st Century, Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, New Delhi, 1998

4. P.M. Kamath, "Indo-US Relations during the Clinton Administration: Upward Trends and Uphill Tasks Ahead," Strategic Analysis, New Delhi: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, February 1998, Vol. XXI, No. 11, p 17

5. C. Raja Mohan, Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp.49-50.

6. Ibid

7. P.P. Shukla, India-US Partnership: Asian Challenges and Beyond, Wisdom Tree, New Delhi, 2014, p.69.

8. "Musharraf has promised to dismantle terrorist camps," The Hindu, June 12, 2002;

9. The News, December 17, 2002;

10. Strobe Talbott, Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy and the Bombs, Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2004, pp.183-189

11. "United States- India Joint Statement on Next Steps in Strategic Partnership," September 17, 2004, U.S. Department of State, http://www.state.gov/ r/pa/ prs/ps/ 2004/362 90.htm

12. 'Joint Statement between President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh,' July 18, 2005, The White House, Pakistan Vision, vol. 13, No.1 http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/07/20050718-6.html

13. Harsh Pant, The US-India Nuclear Pact, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011, pp. 103-107

14. For detail see 'India's Separation Plan', http:// / Indian embassy.org/newsite/press_release/ 2006/Mar/sepplan. Pdf

15. For detail see 'India-U.S. Joint Statement,' March 2, 2006, http://indianembassy.org/ newsite/press_release/2006/Mar /4.asp

16. "India, U.S. clinch deal on nuclear separation," The Hindu, March 3,2006

17. The New York Times, December 18, 2006.

18. Ejaz Ahmad, "United States- India Relations: An expanding strategic partnership", Pakistan Vision, vol. 13, No.1

19. See for detail, '123 Agreement between India and United States,' The Hindu, October 11,2008.

20. Press Conference by External Affairs Minister Mr. Pranab Mukherjee in Washington, DC; October 10, 2008; http://www.indianembassy.org/ newsite/ press_release / 2008 /Oct/7.asp

21. Zhou Jun "Nuclear deal helps strengthen India-U.S. relations," December 13,2008, available at: http:// news. xinhuanet.com/ english/2008- 12/13/content_ 10499242. Htm

22. "Obama wants to build on close strategic partnership with India," http:// www.inditop.com/ world

23. C.A. Josukutty, India-US Relations and Asian Rebalancing, New Century Publication, New Delhi, 2015, p.51

24. "India now a world power: Obama" The Hindu, November 9, 2010.

25. "Obama backs India on terror, U.N. reform," The Hindu, November 9, 2010

26. The Daily Times, November 9, 2010.

27. Harsh Pant, op.cit, pp. 89-92

28. P.P. Shukla, op.cit.

29. The Indian Express, New Delhi, 23 February, 2018

◆◆

Pros and Cons of 'One Nation, One Election'

Alok Kumar Gupta*

[Elections are the means to consolidate and entrench representative democracy. Periodical elections ensure that the voters are allowed to change their rulers according to their assessment of the performance of their law-makers. The performance of the policies and laws made by representatives are assessed on the basis of development of the country in all walks of its life and in accordance with the expectations of the voters. It also judges how different policies and laws have contributed towards peace, prosperity and liberty of citizens for which they entered into state and continue to be there in the state. However, the very instrument which is the backbone of democracy could turn out to be nuisance and detrimental to the development of the country if used indiscriminately and without much rhyme and reason. Frequent elections could lead to undermining of the very democracy for which it has been brought into existence. It is in this context that simultaneous elections for State Assemblies and Parliament are being debated nation-wide.]

Simultaneous elections do have several political, legal and social dimensions involved into it. Firstly, it may impinge on the political autonomy of the States. This is because in separate elections system State governments do have autonomy to choose to dissolve its Assembly and call for fresh elections in accordance with law and political will. In case of simultaneous elections, States will have to give up this power and wait for a national election schedule. The States in such a system will be beholden to the Union Government for elections to its Assembly, which goes against the very grain of political autonomy under Indian federal structure.[1]

Secondly, Indian government and for that matter all governments in a democracy are such that they are run by politicians, and elections are contested by politicians to win their seats of authority in Parliament as well as in Assemblies. Under such a system, frequent elections drain out their energy which gets divided under the rubric of separate elections of Parliament and State Assemblies. Ever since elections to Parliament and State Assemblies stands desynchronized, almost every year there are elections to some State Assemblies in the country and Central Leadership remains busy throughout the year alongside the local leadership of the State.

Thus, most often the subjects of the Union List of the Constitution on which Central Government needs to remain pro-active, formulate, implement and monitor the policies remain busy most of the time with elections in one or the other States. This severely compromises upon the efficiency of the State and government.

Thirdly, in an era of interdependent world and globalization, India needs to craft its foreign relations in manner and might that it could lead to maximization of national interests. The worst is the case of foreign policy where government needs to be more responsive given its dynamism; but on account of frequent elections most of government's energy gets channelized towards elections with consequent negative impact upon foreign policy. There are several other pitfalls of decoupling national and sub-national elections. Therefore, it makes it imperative to examine thoroughly the likely impact of the adoption of

* Associate Professor, Center for Political Studies, Central University of South Bihar, Gaya.

non-concurrent national and sub-national electoral cycles and it impact on Indian democracy and citizenry.

Initiative at Leadership Level

Prime Minister Narendra Modi beguiled to the nation in his address on National Law Day 2017 for simultaneous elections to Parliament and all State Assemblies, under the banner of 'One Nation One Election' (ONOE). He gave four reasons for the same: massive expenditure; diversion of security and civil staff from primary duties; impact on governance due to the model code of conduct; and disruption to normal public life. Most analysts sounded in media that the case of Mr. Modi is weak and the reasons are a mere alibi.[2]

Nevertheless, it led to a nation-wide debate and arguments were raised both in favour and against it. This is a part of electoral reforms to strengthen the democracy and democratic governance in the country. There are several other electoral reforms which are pending since long, some of which are proposed by the Election Commission of India itself whereas others have been debated in media by scholars, journalists, political scientists, and policy analysts. It thus requires to be put in proper perspective the pros and cons of the scheme of ONOE. This paper endeavours to put together all the arguments on both sides of the spectrum to develop proper perspective about the scheme, whether it is in the interests of democracy and the people or not.

The Concept

This concept or idea is not new in India. After independence and enforcement of the Constitution, the first election which was conducted in 1952 was conducted simultaneously. It was in practice from 1952 to 1970 i.e. 1952, 1957, 1962, and 1967. This concept came to an end when fourth Lok Sabha was dissolved before it could complete its due term.[3] Initially the Prime Minister had mentioned

that there should be simultaneous elections at all three levels. Somewhere down the line, the third tier has disappeared from the debate. Therefore, the electoral reform already stands compromised on one-third of reforms that was initially proposed.

Of the remaining two-thirds, half has been sacrificed by the suggestion of the Parliamentary Standing Committee and Niti Aayog that if it is not feasible to hold elections once in five years, let there be two in five years.[4] Therefore, the concept of synchronized elections to national and sub-national elections for all the tiers of the government are not an innovative idea, rather it was being practiced in India earlier and now also it is being practiced in many countries of the world. The most recent example is India's neighbour Nepal where elections to national and provincial legislatures were conducted simultaneously in November-December 2017 under the newly promulgated constitution of September 2015. Many other countries of the world also follow the similar kind of practices.

Political Ramifications of ONOE

The idea of simultaneous elections was a part of the BJP's election manifesto in 2014. Accordingly, when Prime Minister was being interviewed by Arnab Goswami on *Times Now*, News Channel, he brought-up the idea once again and there ensued a nation-wide debate. This happened in 2016, with an eye on 2019 Lok Sabha elections, even though there was considerable gap, Prime Minister threw it as a political gambit before the nation, so that they may not do it but they may use it to convince the voters that it is in the larger interest of the country and opposition is not in favour of it and they are criticizing the same. The debate has started gathering momentum in media and public, with BJP supporters and workers getting increasingly busy generating public opinion in favour of the concept. Therefore, once ONOE is adopted the

scheme certainly will have several political ramifications.

Arguments related to 'One Nation, One Election'

1. Constitutional Challenges: Constitution of India is the fundamental law of the land and all other laws are to be in consonance with the provisions of the Constitution. No law could be made in contravention to any of the provisions of the constitution. Article 83(2) of the Constitution deals with the tenure of Lok Sabha that the tenure will be for five years unless dissolved earlier and the same provision is repeated for the State Assemblies under Article 172. Parliamentary Standing Committee in its 79th Report on December 17, 2015 had suggested that if ONOE is to be adopted then numbers of institutional changes are to be initiated with foremost being the Amendment of Articles 83, 172, 85, 174 of the Constitution.

    State governments are also empowered to dissolve the assemblies before the tenure ends but the problem is that if it is dissolved for the simultaneous elections, it will amount to violation of both the Articles of the constitution cited above. Article 356 empowers the President of India to dissolve on the aid and advice of Council of Ministers in case of emergency. It means the President is also bound by the Constitution. Therefore, it may not be possible without amending the Constitution to make way for the same. A political consensus among all the political parties is thus of utmost importance to switch over to ONOE, only then it could be made possible to amend the Constitution.

2. Similar Political Parties may be facilitated both at Centre as well as State: Many experts are of the opinion that once the scheme is adopted and executed it may enhance the possibility of similar party forming government at the State and Centre level

because at one point of time in the country it has been felt that owing to anti-incumbency factor the mood of the nation happens to be in favour of a particular party. Therefore, in case of simultaneous elections the party will sweep the election at both levels.

Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely; in case of such development the party that comes to power may assume dictatorial power undermining the democracy and other institutions of the state. It will also create a problem for voters who want to elect a candidate in the state belonging to a political party which does not have any say and presence at the Centre. Therefore, voter will automatically get biased towards the party whose possibility is more of coming to power at the Centre. Accordingly, the apprehensions are that there would not be fair voting and it will harm the democracy and the situation will be just like one party rule in the whole of nation and there will be no opposition to any action.

This argument may have some sense in it yet there are umpteen numbers of examples where once a political party assumes power at the Centre, then it practices all the means to form government in subsequent elections to State Assemblies by fair or foul means and gains success in capturing the seat of authority.

3. Regional Parties May Not Consent: Another biggest hurdle could be to generate a consensus among regional parties in favour of simultaneous elections. Main reason is that there is always a tendency for voters to vote the same party in State and at the Centre in case the Lok Sabha polls and the State Elections are held together and without the coordination of state political parties' simultaneous election are not possible. One must not forget that India is a federal country. Regional parties have an increasingly important role to play. If they feel threatened

by the proposal, they are bound to oppose it, making consensus impossible.[5]

Undoubtedly, this is going to be a big hurdle and how the ruling party is going to overcome this will be interesting to watch. This argument may sound valid as simultaneous elections are contrary to the interests of regional parties. However, if it is in the interests of the country and democracy, they may be made to sacrifice their interests for the sake of the country and its people.

4. Lack of Paramilitary Force: It is often said that elections in India could not have been made possible but for Home-Guard Police, teachers and above all Paramilitary Forces. Generally, State police is avoided for use in State election owing to possibility of biasness. It therefore, may not be possible to employ force in every state for the election because there are only 700 to 800 companies of paramilitary force available as of now. The total requirement in case of simultaneous elections could be to the tune of 3500 companies. However, this argument does not carry much of weight as elections are organised in different phases. Therefore, the paramilitary forces could be made to move from one place of election to other place of election. Which otherwise also is made to move when only Lok Sabha elections are organised in different phases. The same kind of practice may be continued.

5. National and Local Issues don't get Mixed-Up: There is the fear that simultaneous elections would lead to mix-up of national and sub-national issues. The sub-national issues would get unaddressed by the national parties on a continuous basis is another major apprehension. It is on this issue that the regional and state political parties are opposing the ONOE. Their fear is that they might disappear from the voters' memory if national and state elections were held together. It is only when national parties fail to address regional issues that state parties spring up. Till the time national parties fail to address regional issues, state parties need not worry.

Therefore, it will also create pressure upon the national parties to be balanced while distributing policy benefits to different states and would not be in a position to ignore any of the states. Therefore, even if same party government comes to power at both the Centre and the State level there must not be any problem. Which party rules hardly matters what matters is the good governance and development of the state.

6. State Governments may have to pay the Premium for Centre's Politics: There could also be a scenario where 29 State governments have come to power with absolute majority. If at the Centre the government falls, why should the States suffer? There is Anti-defection law to discourage this to a considerable extent. But in an era of coalition governments, there is always the possibility of governments falling, when a partner chooses to leave.[6] Moreover, the 'No-confidence Motion' could be made more constructive to address the pre-mature dissolution of legislative Assemblies or Parliament.

One could be a German Model where a no-confidence motion could be constructed in a manner that those who are opposed to the government in seat of authority should seek a 'Vote of Confidence' on the floor of the House. If the motion of 'Vote of Confidence' is accepted by the House, then automatically the existing government falls as it amounts to automatic 'Vote of No-confidence' in the erstwhile government.

7. Code of Conduct: There is a Model Code of Conduct (MCC) for elections and agreed to by all political parties in 1979. The Code

prohibits the ruling political party from incurring capital expenditure for certain projects after elections are announced. This has been adopted so that the Central Government should not be allowed to resort to such means of influencing voters in a particular state. India is a federal state, where time and again our political leaders have reiterated that Indian federalism has been moving on a path of 'cooperative federalism'. Therefore, it would be against the spirit of federalism that elections should become hindrance to governance in the rest of the states just because there is an election in one or two states.

Simultaneous elections will mitigate all such problems. Still, there could be an argument that it may be resolved through reforming the Code rather than the electoral cycle. However, reforming the Code would dilute the sanctity of the Code itself and may create loopholes left to be exploited by the governing political parties for their vested interests to this effect. Therefore, ONOE is a better solution to mitigate any such discrepancies that hampers the interests of states one way or the other. According to NITI Aayog estimates with various elections, the model code of conduct would be in place for almost four months every year till 2021. The report concludes that it means, going forward, development projects and programmes of state governments going to polls and of Union government in those states may potentially get hit every year and that too for about one-third of the entire time available for implementing such projects and programmes.

Such a situation is completely undesirable and needs serious deliberations and appropriate corrective measures.[7] It makes it quite obvious that given the loss of total time for developmental work, simultaneous elections will help towards reducing the engagement of ruling parties in electoral politics and would increasingly involve them in developmental politics.

8. Frequent Elections kills Efficiency: Governance stands paralysed whether elections are for the Lok Sabha or for some or any of the state Assemblies. Fact remains that throughout the year country is witness to elections in one or more of Indian states. Both the national parties in Indian context are excessively and sometimes exclusively dependent upon their national leaders for campaigning in the State elections. This certainly drains the Prime Minister's and Council of Minister's time and energy which distracts them from governance. Therefore, depending upon their national leaders are the problem and prerogative of the national parties.

This certainly affects the governance and developmental works of the government of the day with consequent impact on citizens. ONOE would provide ample time to governing elites of the country to concentrate more on their work, rather than remain busy with the elections.

9. Slackness of Administration: Frequent elections also divert the civil staff and their orientation with consequence of disruption of public life. There is no doubt that voter in ONOE will get to vote only once otherwise they get to vote twice if elections are held separately. Separate elections will disturb the administration twice in five years with consequences of paralysis of the entire state administration. During elections even those who could attend the works of common men alongside contributing their bit in electoral preparation are not motivated at all to help and make some extra efforts to address the work and problems of common people. Whether the voters are made to exercise their right to vote once or twice hardly matters.

What matters most is that their problems are addressed and they are able to enjoy free, fair, prosperous and peaceful life. Availability of basic necessities of life is more important than the number of times that they can exercise their right to vote.

10. Patterns of Voter's Behaviour: It is often claimed that Indian voters tend to choose the same party when elections are held simultaneously to both Centre and State, with the relationship diminishing as elections are held farther away. There is empirical evidence to this effect as according to one study, when simultaneous elections to some State Assemblies and Parliament were held during 1999 to 2014; 77% of the voters in these constituencies chose the same political party for both State and the Centre. When elections were held six months apart, only 61% chose the same political party.[8] This may have some sense, but it cannot be of universal application. There are enough examples in Indian context that voters have chosen same parties at both the levels even when elections have been held wide apart in terms of years.

Therefore, this is not a valid argument as it is evident from the present scenario, where the political party ruling at the Centre has been on the winning spree in most subsequent elections to State Assemblies in the aftermath of the Lok Sabha elections.

11. Elections will be Cost-effective: Elections involve cost in several ways: first the Election Commission spend on organizing the elections; second the Political Parties spend to contest elections mainly in their campaigning. Simultaneous elections will involve less expenditure for both the Election Commission and the Political Parties. Political parties' expenditure will get reduced as they will spend less on campaigning as they will have to do it only once in five years throughout the country. Election Commission on the other hand will have to incur the entire cost of organizing elections only once. Even the movement of paramilitary forces and Home-Guard police from one area to another involves tremendous cost which shall be minimised as it will be done only once in five years.

According to some estimates, Election Commission incurs a total cost of roughly Rs. 8000 crore to conduct all state and Federal elections in a span of five years, or roughly Rs. 1,500 crore every year. Nearly Rs. 600 million is spent on India's elections, which means, it costs Rs. 27 per voter per year to keep India an electoral democracy. This is not a massive expenditure, yet it could be lessened on account of simultaneous elections. All the states and the Centre combined incurred an expenditure of nearly Rs 30 lakh crore in FY 2014. Surely, 0.05% of India's total annual expenditure is not a large price to pay for the pride of being world's largest and most vibrant electoral democracy.[9] The Election Commission of India, while making its submissions before the Parliamentary Standing Committee, examining the issue of simultaneous elections said that it would cost Rs.45 billion (Rs. 4500 crores) to hold a single cycle of elections to the Lok Sabha and all State Assemblies in India. The 2014 Lok Sabha elections alone cost Rs. 39 billion (Rs. 3900 crores).

Reports suggest that the recently held Gujarat elections cost Rs.3 billion.[10] These statistical figures could be suggestive only to help understand that simultaneous elections would reduce the cost of conducting elections by almost half. This precious money could be channelized towards developmental works as well as poverty eradication.

12 Problems of Funding by Business and Consequent Corruption: Election funding has always been a black spot on electoral

democracies of not only India but even in other parts of the world as well. Money in elections is the fountainhead of all corruption. The more the country is in election mode, the more the corruption in the country. Different political parties draw or receive funds in millions from different companies and businesses. Transparency in election funding of parties and in donations made by companies has always been an issue during and after the elections, when it is debated most.

This year i.e. in 2018 Budget speech, Finance Minister said without transparency in political funding, free and fair election are not possible. So far, all donations above Rs. 20,000/- were disclosed to the Election Commission. It is, of course, a different matter that political parties accept donations in crores and convert them into cheques of Rs.20,000/-. This is more than 75% of all collection of political parties where sources are unknown. The government has decided to give precedence to the donors' wish to be anonymous.

There was a CII (Confederation of Indian Industry) report of 2015 which said that donors want anonymity for two reasons: one, other political parties would make a beeline for their donations, and two, fear of political reprisal from those not getting the donation. The real reason probably was that they don't want the quid pro quo to get known. Finally, the donors' desire for transparency has got preference over citizens' desire for transparency and the people's right to know, which is more important in a democracy and critical for the fairness of elections.[11] Simultaneous elections would also reduce the burden on industry and businesses as well as it would make it easier to improve transparency in funding in elections.

13. Communalism and Casteism would also be contained: Communalism and casteism are at its peak during the elections. Hateful and divisive politics is the consequence of frequent elections. Therefore, simultaneous elections would minimise such opportunities for the party to polarise the society on the pretext of caste, religion, region, and many other primordial loyalties with vested interests to garner their votes. Vote-bank politics will be grossly discouraged under ONOE.

14. It brings seasonal employment to many: Staggered elections are often praised as it was once done by a Biju Janata Dal MP that people love elections as the vote is the only power they have. Secondly, election time provides work opportunities to lakhs of youth. Thus, frequent elections are good for the economy as the money goes from the rich to the poor. Wasting huge amount for providing seasonal employment is not good for a democracy in the long run. Moreover, the money which they receive is mainly corruption money. Therefore, it is always advisable that the same money could be used for development work and the party workers get proper employment rather than they make a beeline before the party office for petty gains doing the work of the party at the time of elections.

15. Education System is the Worst Casualty on account of Frequent Elections: Education system of the country at all levels plays a vital role in the conduct of elections. Teachers are the ones who are used for electoral roll preparation, including as Trainers, Presiding Officers, Patrolling Agents, Zonal Officers, for most purposes during the time of elections. School and college buildings are the places which are used as: electoral booths; counting centres, as lodging for paramilitary forces, as place for stay of the polling party and a host of other activities related to elections.

Elementary and middle level schools are disturbed for almost one and half month as teachers are engaged in elections so teaching is not done. Teachers in higher education are used in polling party therefore the teaching of higher education suffers at least for half a month. Accordingly, the education system of the country is almost paralysed on account of elections with no sensitivity of administration towards them.

16. Contain Donkey Voting: Simultaneous elections may help towards containing the problem of voter's fatigue. It has been observed number of times that in all those elections where the National and State elections were held simultaneously the voter percentage was more. One need to appreciate that to strengthen democracy what is needed is to increase the voter's turnout in elections. According to one study while the number of registered voters has increased four times since 1967, the Election Commission of India has managed to enhance voter turnouts by around 5 percent only. This means that of almost 600 million additional voters added over the years, just about 30 million have turned up to cast their vote, which is abysmal by standards of certain democracies like the UK and Canada.[12]

Moreover, even when they are made to cast votes quite frequently, they may resort to donkey voting. Therefore, simultaneous elections may lead to containment to donkey voting which would further add value to Indian democracy.

Conclusion

No policy or rule could be without pitfalls. If it is beneficial in some way it may also be harmful in some other way. What needs to be taken into account is the profit and loss of the scheme in the final balance sheet. ONOE's balance sheet has number of benefits in its keg, which by all means would be healthy for Indian democracy.

According to many the constant elections were deepening the divide in the country. ONOE was also suggested by Law Commission in its 107th report (Electoral Law, 1999), which they must have found in the interest of Indian democracy.

India will have to amend its Constitution to adopt ONOE. This certainly will not be an easy task. It would require a special majority of two-thirds of the house, along with the support of half of the state legislatures. Present political dispensation at the Centre is having government in 21 out of 29 States of India and substantial majority in the Parliament requires only political will to amend the Constitution and move ahead. This will have tremendous potentials to take Indian federalism on the path of cooperative federalism. This is an opportune moment for country's present leadership as it has majority both in Lok Sabha as well as in requisite number of State Assemblies. Moreover, this is a promise made by the ruling party to the nation in its election manifesto, which requires to be fulfilled.

A political party which comes to power at the Centre wishes to have full majority of its own in both the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha so that it can rule the country by its own whims and fancies as it empowers such governments to pass all the Bills in both the Houses. However, it generally becomes an Achilles heel if it does not have majority in the Rajya Sabha as it depends upon the number of States in which it is in power as Members of the Rajya Sabha are elected by the State Assemblies. A ruling party which lacks majority on the floor of the Rajya Sabha faces major problem as it cannot get all its Bills through the Rajya Sabha. It is a situation which is win-win situation for both the ruling and the opposition parties.

Such a situation at times turns out to be check on the ruling party and thus provides a balance in terms of limited government; otherwise the government may end-up exercise dictatorial powers. This kind of situation could exist even

when elections are held simultaneously as members of the Rajya Sabha are elected differently with one-third of its members retiring every second year. Therefore, there is hardly any guarantee that the ruling party will also have complete control over Rajya Sabha. A responsible opposition and a reliable judiciary will always be a check on dictatorial powers of the government.

It will help political parties in so many ways. Many regions see some work happening few months before the elections so there will be decrease in region/religion/caste-based work. Most politicians are prevented from implementing policies that require immediate attention and prevent taking some strict actions because they are afraid of losing voters. Therefore, this would encourage them to make policies, which are neutral and free from any attempt at appeasement on account of caste, religion, gender, creed and regional considerations. Simultaneous elections thus have more advantages than disadvantages and are in the larger and long-term interests of Indian democracy and its citizenry.

(Footnotes)

1. Praveen Chakravarty, "The one-election idea is a farce", *The Hindu*, December 05, 2017, www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed

2. Ibid., no.1.

3. "One Nation, One Election—The Interesting Concept For Our Country", *Team Legistify*, www.legistify.com/blogs/view/_detail/351-one-nation-one-election-the-interesting-concept-for-our-country Accessed on March 14, 2018.

4. Anuradha Raman, "It is time to have a debate on proportional representation, says, ex-CEC S.Y. Quraishi", *The Hindu*, March 07, 2018.]

5. Ibid., no.4.

6. Ibid., no.4.

7. Csaba Nikolenyi, "Increase in average voter turnout: Concurrent vs non-current elections from 1971 to 2004", a paper published in *Political Studies*, and referred by Sai Manish, "One nation, one election: Why Modi govt. wants to go for simultaneous polls", January 25, 2018, available at www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/one-nation-one-election-why-modi-govt-wants-to-go-for-simultaneous-polls-118012500184 1.html

8. Ibid., no.1.

9. Ibid., no.1.

10. Ibid., no.7.

11. Ibid., no.4.

12. Ibid., no.7.

◆◆

THIRD CONCEPT *welcomes your valuable comments on articles published in each issue. Suggestion to further improve quality and get-up of your favourite magazine, which has a record of uninterrupted publication since 1987, are also solicited.*

Empowering Youth towards Health Issues

Deepan Das*

[The youth are the most important, dynamic and powerful segment of population in India. Mechanism to define the youth potential perhaps changes with circumstances, demographic, financial, economic and socio-cultural settings. India has the world's largest youth population, surpassing even China. The proportion of youth population increased steadily from 16.5 per cent in 1971 to 19.2 per cent in 2011. The developing countries with large youth populations could see their economies soar, provided they invested heavily in young people's education and health and protected their rights. Young people are the innovators, creators, builders and leaders of the future. But they can transform the future only if they have skills, health, decision-making, and real choices in life.]

Youth empowerment is a process where children and young people are encouraged to take charge of their lives. They do this by addressing their situation and then take action in order to improve their access to resources and transform their consciousness through their beliefs, values, and attitudes. Nearly 10-30 per cent of young people suffer from health impacting behaviours and conditions that need urgent attention of policy makers and public health professionals. Nutritional disorders, both malnutrition and over-nutrition, tobacco use, harmful alcohol use, high risk sexual behaviours, stress, common mental disorders, and injuries (road traffic injuries, suicides, violence of different types) specifically affect this segment of population and have long lasting impact.

Youth empowerment aims to improve quality of life. Many health policies and programmes have focused on prioritized individual health problems and integrated (both vertical and horizontal) coordinated approaches are found lacking. Healthy life-style and health promotion policies and programmes are central to the health of youth6. Youth empowerment is focused on creating greater community change and relies on the development of individual capacity. Youth empowerment programs are aimed at creating healthier and higher qualities of life for the youth. In this context, this paper intends to highlight the health issues and overcome the barriers to the empowerment of youth in India.

Young people are precious human resources in every country. The youth are the most important, dynamic and powerful segment of population in our country. Our nation is witnessing a historic demographic shift and India's ability to find its rightful place in the community of nations depends upon how well we as a nation, can harness the latent power of the young people of our country. 'Youth' is often indicated as a person between the age where they leave compulsory education, and the age at which they find their first employment.

Often, Youth age-group is defined differently by different countries and agencies in different contexts. However, there is considerable ambiguity in the definition of young people and terms like young, adolescents, adults, young adults are often used interchangeably. World Health Organization (WHO) defines 'Adolescence' as age spanning 10 to 19 years, "Youth" as those in 15-24 years age group and these two overlapping age groups as "young

* Asst Prof. in Pol. Sc., R.G. Baruah College, Guwahati, Assam.

people" covering the age group of 10-24 years. Adults include a broader age range and all those in 20 to 64 years. Adolescence is further divided into early adolescence (11-14 years), middle adolescence (15-17 years), and late adolescence (18-21 years). Individuals in the age group of 20 - 24 years are also referred to as young adults[1].

In India, the National Youth Policy-2003, has defined 'youth' a person of age between 15-35 years, but in the National Youth Policy-2014, the youth age-group is defined as 15-29 years with a view to have a more focused approach, as far as various policy interventions are concerned. However, it needs to be recognised that all young persons within this age-group are unlikely to be a homogeneous group. Different segments of the Youth would have different needs and concerns, which need to be addressed.

Youth in the age group of 15-29 years comprise 27.5% of the population. At present, about 34% of India's Gross National Income (GNI) is contributed by the youth, aged 15-29 years. The Government of India invests more than Rs 90,000 crores per annum on youth development programmes or approximately Rs 2,710 per young individual per year, through youth-targeted programmes such as higher education, skill development, healthcare etc. and non-targeted programmes like food subsidies, employment etc.[2]

In addition, the State Governments and a number of other stakeholders are also working to support youth development and to enable productive youth participation. Many developing countries, with large youth populations, could see their economies soar, provided they invested heavily in young people's education and health and protected their rights. Young people are the innovators, creators, builders and leaders of the future. But they can transform the future only if they have skills, good health, decision-making capacity, and real choices in life.

Youth Empowerment through NYP-2014

Youth empowerment is a process where children and young people are encouraged to take charge of their lives. They do this by addressing their situation and then take action in order to improve their access to resources and transform their consciousness through their beliefs, values, and attitudes. Youth empowerment aims to improve quality of life. Youth empowerment is focused on creating greater community change by relying on the development of individual capacity. Youth empowerment programs are aimed at creating healthier and higher qualities of life for the youth. In this connection,

The National Youth Policy, 2014 (NYP-2014) seeks to define the vision of the Government of India for the Youth of the country and identify the key areas in which action is required, to enable youth development and to provide a framework for action for all stakeholders. It is intended to serve as a guiding document, and should be reviewed in 5 years, so that the Government of India may focus its priorities for youth development. NYP-2014 provides a holistic vision for the youth of India which is "to empower the youth of the country to achieve their full potential, and through them enable India to find its rightful place in the community of nations". In order to achieve this vision, all stakeholders must work towards meeting 5 key objective[5].

1. Create a productive workforce that can make a sustainable contribution to India's economic development.

2. Develop a strong and healthy generation equipped to take on future challenges.

3. Instill social values and promote community service to build national ownership.

4. Facilitate participation and civic engagement at all levels of governance

5. Support youth at risk and create equitable opportunity for all disadvantaged & marginalised youth

The above-mentioned objectives require specific action on priority areas, which has been

identified as important for youth development. The following priority areas are listed below to achieve these objectives; education, employment and skill development, entrepreneurship, health and healthy sifestyle, sports, promotion of social values, community engagement, participation in politics and governance, youth engagement, inclusion and social justice.

Health Issues of Youth

Young people are the future of the country and they have the power to create significant impact on the society through their skills and entrepreneurship for which they have to be empowered to enable them to become as leaders for their communities and their country. The young people in the age group of 10-24 years in India constitute as one of the precious resources characterized by growth and development and it is also a phase of vulnerability often influenced by several intrinsic and extrinsic factors that affect their health and safety.

Nearly 10-30 per cent of young people suffer from health impacting behaviours and conditions that need urgent attention of policy makers and public health professionals. Nutritional disorders, both malnutrition and over-nutrition, tobacco use, harmful alcohol use, other substance use, high risk sexual behaviours, stress, common mental disorders, and injuries (road traffic injuries, suicides, violence of different types) specifically affect this segment of the population and have long lasting impact.

Multiple behaviours and conditions often coexist in the same individual adding a cumulative risk for their poor health. Many of these being precursors and determinants of non-communicable diseases (NCDs), including mental and neurological disorders and injuries, place a heavy burden on Indian society in terms of mortality, morbidity, disability and socio-economic losses. Many health policies and programmes have focused on prioritized individual health problems and integrated (both vertical and horizontal) and coordinated approaches are often found lacking. Healthy life-style and health promotion policies and programmes are central for health of youth[6].

Undernutrition and Micronutrient Deficiencies

A survey of National Institute of Nutrition, during 2001 and 2006, showed a high prevalence of undernutrition and stunting in the age group of 10-30 year that has an adverse bearing on their health. More than half of the population aged 10-18 year was undernourished[7]. This observation is also supported by other studies with sample size varying from 500 to 1000 with the prevalence of undernutrition in 10 to 24 year ranging from 56.4 to 68.5 per cent[8].

Overweight and Obesity

Overweight and Obesity - another form of malnutrition with serious health consequences – is increasing among other young people in India. A few select studies during 2001 to 2012 showed a prevalence of overweight among children aged 10-19 year to be 9.9 to 19.9 per cent; high in both boys (3 to 15.1%) and girls (5.3 to 13.3%) indicating early onset of obesity[9]. affecting more urban school adolescents (3.4 to 6.5%) as compared to 0.6 per cent among the rural adolescents with significant gender variations[10].

Common Mental Disorders

Community-based studies on common mental disorders in India depict a high prevalence among the young people, but comparisons and extrapolations need to be cautiously made due to variations across studies. The prevalence of overall psychiatry morbidity (depression, conduct disorder, social anxiety, and panic disorder) among adolescents has varied from 12 to 16.5 per cent[11].

Stress

Stress is a consequence of or a general response to an action or situation arising from an interaction of the person with his environment and places special physical or psychological demands, or both, on a person. A survey using life stress scale found that among adolescent girls studying in 12th standard from Hisar and Hyderabad, 47.5 and 72.5 per cent, were in the moderate category of family stress; financial stress was reported by 60 and 50 per cent, 90 and 85 per cent had moderate level of social stress, respectively. Among adolescents aged between 16-19 year, the stress level found was 90.6 per cent and some adolescents had academic stress[12].

Suicide

According to the World Health Organization (WHO) estimates, about one million people commit suicide each year[13]. In India, nearly 136,000 persons voluntarily ended their lives in a suicidal act as per official reports in 2011[14]. The official report indicates that age-specific suicide rate among 15-29 age-group is on the rise, increasing from 3.73 to 3.96 per 1,00,000 population per year from 2002 to 2011. About 40 per cent of suicides in India are committed by persons below the age of 30 year[15].

Another study from Bangalore showed that of the 5115 attempted suicide covering all age groups, 2.1, 8.4 and 28.6 per cent individuals were in the age group 10-15, 16-20 and 21-25 year respectively; and among 912 cases of suicides, 2.2, 16.2 and 21.6 per cent were in the age group 10-15, 16-20 and 21-25 years respectively[16]. The suicide rates among young females were high (152 per 1,00,000) compared to suicide rates among young men being 69 per cent 1,00,000, as reported[17].

Alcohol Usage

Harmful drinking among young people is an increasing concern in many countries and is linked to nearly 60 health conditions. It increases risky behaviours and is linked to injuries and violence

resulting in premature deaths[18]. A national review on harmful effects of alcohol reported greater social acceptability of drinking, increasing consumption in rural and transitional areas, younger age of initiating drinking, and phenomenal socio-economic and health impact, more so among young people[19].

Data from the National Household Survey (NHS) by United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2002 covering urban and rural areas of 24 states of India, revealed a prevalence of 21.4 per cent of alcohol use among men aged 12 to 18 yr[20]. The World Health Survey - India reported that among individuals aged 18 to 24 year, 3.9 per cent were infrequent heavy drinkers and 0.6 per cent was frequent heavy drinkers[21]. The NFHS-3 survey showed that 1 per cent women and 11 per cent men aged 15-19 year and 1.4 per cent women and 28.8 per cent men aged 20-24-year consumed alcohol[22]. Other population-based studies have shown the prevalence of alcohol consumption varying from 1.3 to 15.6 per cent across studies[23] with a high consumption among males (12.6 to 20.7%)[24] and more in urban (5.2%) as compared to rural (7.3%) areas[25].

Violence

The WHO defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, deprivation etc"[26]. Interpersonal violence among youth ranging from minor acts of bullying to severe forms of homicide contribute greatly to the burden of premature death, injury and disability; harming not just the affected but also their families, friends and communities. NFHS-3 from India revealed that 27 per cent married young females experienced physical, sexual, or emotional violence by their spouse and 7 per cent of all females and 11 per cent of married females experienced sexual violence. A study from India reported that 19 to 42.8 per cent of adolescent

females had experienced domestic violence[27] and 25.3 and 32.2 per cent of young married women experienced physical and sexual violence within marriage, respectively[28].

Conclusion

Thousands of young people are already playing active roles in solving some of our nation's most pressing issues, as researchers, organizers, activists, trainers, educators, bureaucrats etc. They serve as leaders in their communities and work alongside adults to create healthier places to live, learn, work, and play. It's a right time to learning about living healthier lifestyles such as eating nutritious foods and getting exercise is essential. Some of the major health impacting behaviours and problems among the young people include undernutrition and overnutrition, common mental disorders including stress and anxiety, suicidal tendencies and increased suicidal death rates, increased consumption of tobacco, alcohol and other substance use and violence.

There is a strong need for public health community to identify, prepare, integrate and implement activities that help to promote health and healthy lifestyles of young people and establish mechanisms for delivery of population-based interventions along with measuring its impact. There is a need to generate good quality and robust population data that can drive policies and programmes. Strategic investments in health, nutrition, education, employment and welfare are critical for healthy growth of young people and these programmes need to be monitored and evaluated for their efficacy and effectiveness using public health approaches. The end result is empowered young people who are also living in healthier world.

References

1. Stang J, Story M, Adolescent growth and development: School of Public Health, University of Minnesota; 2005. Accessed on June 20, 2012.

2. National Youth Policy (2014). Accessed on 25 November, 2015.

3. ibid., p.4.

4. Singh Sunitha & Gopalkrishna Gururaj, Health behaviours & problems among young people in India: Cause for concern & call for action, National Institute of Mental Health & Neuro Sciences, Bangalore, India.

5. ibid.

6. National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau. Diet & nutritional status of rural population, Hyderabad: National Institute of Nutrition; 2002. p. 158.

7. ibid., p.166.

8. JP Goyal, N Kumar, I Parmar, VB Shah Patel B. 'Determinants of overweight and obesity in affluent adolescent in Surat city', South Gujarat region, India. 2011, pp. 296-300.

9. ibid. p.17.

10. Srinath S, Girimaji SC, Gururaj G, Seshadri S, Subbakrishna. DK, Bhola P, *et al*, Epidemiological study of child & adolescent psychiatric disorders in urban & rural areas of Bangalore, India. 2005 P.67-79.

11. Sharma J, Sidhu R. 'Sources of stress among students preparing in coaching institutes for admission to professional courses', Accessed on 25 November,2015.

12. Suicide prevention (SUPRE). World Health Organization. Available from: *http://www.who.int/mental_health/prevention/suicide/suicideprevent/en/*, accessed on January 15, 2013.

13. Accidental deaths & suicides in India 2011. New Delhi: 63. National Crime Records Bureau, accessed on November 15, 2012.

14. Vijayakumar L. Suicide & mental disorders - a maze? *Indian J Med Res* 2006; *124:* 371 4.

15. National Institute of Mental Health & Neuro Sciences, Bengaluru: 2008. Available from: *http://www.nimhans.kar.nic.in/ epidemiology/bisp/sr1.pdf*, accessed on January 16, 2013.

16. Prasad J, Abraham VJ, Minz S, Abraham S, Joseph A, 68. Muliyil JP, *et al*. Rates and factors associated with suicide in Kaniyambadi Block, Tamil Nadu, South India, 2000-2002. P. 65-71.

17. World Health Organization. 10 facts on adolescent health, Available from: *http:// www.who.int/features/factfiles/ adolescent_health/facts/en/index4.html*, accessed on January 14, 2013.

18. Gururaj G, Murthy P, Rao GN, Benegal V. Alcohol related harm: Implications for public health and policy in India. Publication No.: 73. Bangalore: National Institute of Mental Health & Neuro Sciences; 2011. p. 160.

19. National Survey. UNODC, Regional Office for South Asia; 2002. Available from: *http:/ /www.unodc.org/pdf/india/publications/ national_Survey/10_results.pdf*, accessed on January 15, 2013.

20. World Health Organization (WHO), Geneva and WHO - India-WR Office, New Delhi; 2006. Available from: *http://www.who.int/ healthinfo/survey/whs_hspa_book.pdf*, accessed on January 14, 2013.

21. National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3), India, 2005-06. Mumbai: International Institute for Population Sciences; 2009.

22. Girish N, Kavita R, Gururaj G, Benegal V. Alcohol use and implications for public health: patterns of use in four communities. *Indian J Community Med* 2010.

23. Pagare D, Meena GS, Singh MM, Saha R. Risk factors of substance use among street children from Delhi. *Indian Pediatr* 2004; *41:* 221-5.

24. Tsering D, Pal R, Dasgupta A. Licit and illicit substance use by adolescent students in eastern India: prevalence and associated risk factors. 2010, p.76-81.

25. Violence. World Health Organization. Available from: 113. *http://www.who.int/ topics/violence/en/*, accessed on January 15, 2013.

26. Sarkar M. A study on domestic violence against adult and adolescent females in a rural area of West Bengal, 2010, pp. 311-315.

27. Acharya R, Ram *et al*. Physical and sexual violence within marriage among youth in India: findings from the youth in India, situation and needs study 2009. Available from: *http://iussp2009.princeton.edu/ papers/93402*, accessed on August 21, 2012.

❖❖

Swami Vivekanand's Global Vision

Mauchumi Hazarika*

[*Swami Vivekanand's birth was an exceptional phenomenon and India, was certainly graced by his birth and eventful life-journey which, on the one hand, accomplished the spiritual perfection and culmination of his pure self and also led to the similar attainments towards his social obligations pertaining to the service of the hapless humanity all over the world under the unique blessings of his unparalleled Guru Swami Ram Krishna Paramhans.]*

In fact, India has produced a galaxy of prophets, saints and seers, mystics, philosophers, poets, revolutionaries and patriots who, by their rare intellect, unblemished character, spirit of selfless service and compassion for humanity, dedication and devotion for their motherland and with so many unique and unparalleled qualities have not only made India proud but also a land of wonders inspiring a renowned Western historian and philosopher A. L. Basham to define India as *The Wonder that was India.*

Early Life

Swami Vivekananda, known in his pre-monastic life as Narendra Nath Datta, was born in an affluent and aristocratic but traditional Bengali Kayasth family in Kolkata on 12th January 1863 during Makarsankaranti festivals. A precocious boy, Narendra excelled in music, gymnastics and studies. By the time he graduated from Calcutta University, he had acquired a vast knowledge of different subjects, especially Western philosophy and history. He refuted the theories mentioned in the religious scriptures that man and the whole universe was the creation of God.

In fact, he wanted real progress, peace and spiritual development for welfare of millions of poverty-ridden, hungry, and ignored hapless common people characterised by him as *daridranarayan* - a term later used by Mahatma

---

* Asst Prof., Dept of Philosophy, DHSK College, Dibrugarh.

Gandhi – who were indeed made scapegoats for centuries by the so-called agents of God or religion in the name of such archaic religious customs and conventions or superstitions. This universal conception frees religion from the hold of superstitions, dogmatism, priest-craft and intolerance, and makes religion the highest and noblest pursuit – the pursuit of supreme Freedom, supreme Knowledge and supreme Happiness. Yet, born with a yogic temperament, he used to practise meditation even from his boyhood and was inclined towards spirituality and realisation of God.

He left this world on July 4, 1902, at the age of 39 years, five months and 24 days. In such a short span of life, he immensely contributed to arousing his countrymen not only against the foreign rule but also for making a better world wherein all could live happily and in harmony without any discrimination and exploitation. Since the prevalent morality, in both individual life and social life, is mostly based on fear – fear of the police, fear of public ridicule, fear of God's punishment, fear of Karma, and so on and the current theories of ethics also do not explain why a person should be moral and be good to others, he gave a new theory of ethics and new principle of morality based on the intrinsic purity and oneness of the Atman.

A Spiritual Crisis

At the threshold of his youth, Narendra had to pass through a period of spiritual crisis pertaining to the very existence of God. It was at that time

he first heard about Sri Ramakrishna from one of his English professors at college. One day in November 1881, Narendra went to meet Sri Ramakrishna who was staying at the Kali Temple in Dakshineshwar. He straightaway asked the Master a question which he had put to several others but had received no satisfactory answer: *"Sir, have you seen God?"* Without a moment's hesitation, Sri Ramakrishna replied: *"Yes, I have. I see Him as clearly as I see you, only in a much intense sense."* Apart from removing doubts from the mind of Narendra, Sri Ramakrishna won him over through his pure, unselfish love with serene blessings and mystical aura.

He taught him Advaita Vedanta (non-dualism); that all religions are true and that service to man was the most effective worship of God. Thus, began a guru-disciple relationship which is quite unique in the history of spiritual masters. After the death of his Guru, Vivekananda became a wandering monk, extensively touring the Indian Subcontinent and acquiring first-hand knowledge of conditions in India.

In India, Vivekananda is regarded as a patriotic saint of modern India and his birthday is celebrated as National Youth Day. In Swami Vivekananda's own words, he was "condensed India". William James, the Harvard philosopher, called Vivekananda the "paragon of Vedantists". Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore's suggestion to Nobel Laureate Romain Rolland was: "If you want to know India, study Vivekananda. In him everything is positive and nothing negative."

After establishing the new monastic order, Vivekananda heard the inner call for a greater mission in his life. While most of the followers of Sri Ramakrishna thought of him in relation to their own personal lives, Vivekananda thought of his Guru in relation to India and the rest of the world. As the prophet of the present age, what was Sri Ramakrishna's message to the modern world and to India in particular? During his travels all over India, Swami Vivekananda was deeply moved to see the appalling poverty and backwardness of the masses. He was the first religious leader in India to understand and openly declare that the real cause of India's downfall was the neglect of the masses. The immediate need was to provide food and other bare necessities of life to the hungry millions.

Visit to World Parliament of Religions (Chicago)

Meanwhile, Vivekanand heard about the World Parliament of Religions to be held in Chicago in 1893. His friends and admirers in India wanted him to attend the Parliament. He too felt that the Parliament would provide the right forum to present his Master's message to the world, and so he decided to go to America. Another reason which prompted him to go to America was to seek not only financial assistance for his project of uplifting the masses but also to popularise Indian knowledge and culture and its unique metaphysical richness all over the world so that real India may come out before them.

However, Swami wanted to have an inner certitude and divine call regarding his mission. Both of these he got while he sat in deep meditation on the rock-island at Kanyakumari. With the funds partly collected by his Chennai disciples and partly provided by the Raja of Khetri, Swami Vivekananda left for America from Mumbai on 31st May 1893. His speeches at the World Parliament of Religions held in September 1893 made him famous as an 'orator by divine right' and as a 'Messenger of Indian wisdom to the Western world'. After the Parliament, he spent nearly three and a half years spreading the message of Vedanta as lived and taught by Sri Ramakrishna, mostly in the eastern parts of USA and also in London.

He returned to India in January 1897. In response to the enthusiastic welcome that he received everywhere, he delivered a series of lectures in different parts of India, which created a great stir all over the country. Through these inspiring and profoundly significant lectures, Swamiji attempted to do the following: to arouse the religious consciousness of people and self-

respect and self-pride about their rich cultural heritage particularly the metaphysical advancement in India; to bring about unification of Hinduism by pointing out the common bases of its sects, particularly to remove their mutual differences for common benefit for entire humanity.

Engulfing Cultural Chasm

It may be mentioned here that in the West many people were influenced by Swami Vivekananda's life and message, particularly due to his relentless efforts to build a bridge between Indian culture and Western culture. He did it by interpreting Hindu scriptures and philosophy and the Hindu way of life and institutions to the Western people in an idiom which they could understand. He made the Western people realize that they had to learn much from Indian spirituality for their own well-being. He showed that, in spite of its poverty and backwardness, India had a great contribution to make to global culture.

In this way he was instrumental in ending India's cultural isolation from the rest of the world and was rightly accorded as India's first great cultural ambassador to the West. Some of the Western persons became his disciples or devoted friends. Among them the names of Margaret Noble (later known as Sister Nivedita), Captain and Mrs Sevier, Josephine McLeod and Sara Ole Bull, deserve special mention. Nivedita dedicated her life to educating girls in Kolkata. Swamiji had many Indian disciples also, some of whom joined Ramakrishna Math and became sannyasis.

In June 1899 he went to the West on a second visit. This time he spent most of his time in the West coast of USA. After delivering many lectures there, he returned to Belur Math in December 1900. The rest of his life was spent in India, inspiring and guiding people, both monastic and lay. Incessant work, especially giving lectures and inspiring people, told upon Swami's health. His health deteriorated and the end came quietly on the night of 4th July 1902. Before his Mahasamadhi, he had written to a Western follower: "It may be that I shall find it good to get outside my body, to cast it off like a worn-out garment. But I shall not cease to work. I shall inspire men everywhere until the whole world shall know that it is one with God."

Indeed, his chequered life events reflect his true global vision devoted to the overall service of humanity, thereby leading to his spiritual perfection as well as culmination as his Guru had destined it for him.

References

1. Adiswarananda, Swami, ed. (2006); Vivekananda, world teacher: his teachings on the spiritual unity of humankind, Woodstock, Vermont: Sky Light Paths Pub, http://books.google.co.in/books?id=UY5wPUBjGbAC&pg=PA179

2. Advaita Ashrama (1983), *Reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda* (3 ed.), Calcutta, India: Advaita Ashrama, p. 430, (Collected articles on Swami Vivekananda, reprinted in 1994)

3. Arora, V. K. (1968), "Communion with Brahmo Samaj", *The social and political philosophy of Swami Vivekananda*, Punthi Pustak

4. Badrinath, Chaturvedi (2006), *Swami Vivekananda The Living Vedanta*, New York: Penguin.

5. Banhatti, G.S. (1995), Life and Philosophy of Swami Vivekananda, Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, p. 276, http://books.google.com/?id=jK5862eV7_EC&printsec=frontcover, retrieved 6 April 2012.

6. Banhatti, G.S. (1963), *The Quintessence of Vivekananda*, Pune, India: Suvichar Prakashan Mandal, ASIN B0007JQX3M

7. Basu, Shamita (2002), *Religious Revivalism as Nationalist Discourse: Swami Vivekananda and new Hinduism in nineteenth century Bengal*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

8. Bhuyan, P. R. (2003), *Swami Vivekananda: Messiah of Resurgent India*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors.

9. Biswas, Arun Kumar (1987), *Buddha and Bodhisattva—A Hindu View*, New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, ASIN B0006EPMPI

10. Burke, Marie Lousie (1958), *Swami Vivekananda in America: New Discoveries*, Kolkata: Advaita Ashrama.

11. ———(1985), *Swami Vivekananda in the West: New Discoveries (in six volumes)* (3 ed.), Kolkata: Advaita Ashrama.

12. Chakrabarti, Tapan Kumar (2001), "Swami Vivekananda", in Arrington, Robert L., *A Companion to the Philosophers*, Blackwell Publishing.

13. DeLuca, Dave, ed. (2006), *Pathways to joy: the master Vivekananda on the four yoga paths to God*, Novato, California: New World Library.

14. Dhar, Shailendra Nath (1976), *A Comprehensive Biography of Swami Vivekananda* (2nd ed.), Madras, India: Vivekananda Prakashan Kendra, OCLC 708330405

15. Farquhar, J. N. (1915), *Modern Religious Movements in India*, London: Macmillan

16. Dutt, Harshavardhan (2005), *Immortal Speeches*, New Delhi: Unicorn Books, p. 121.

17. Greg, Feuerstien (2002), *The Yoga Tradition*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass

18. Gokhale, B. G. (January 1964), "Swami Vivekananda and Indian Nationalism", *Journal of Bible and Religion* (Oxford University Press) 32 (1): 35–42, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1460427.

19. Gupta, N.L. (2003), *Swami Vivekananda*, Delhi: Anmol Publications.

20. Houghton, Walter Raleigh, ed. (1893), *The parliament of religions and religious congresses at the World's Columbian exposition* (3 ed.), Frank Tennyson Neely, OL1430155M

21. Isherwood, Christopher (1976), *Meditation and Its Methods According to Swami Vivekananda*, Hollywood, California: Vedanta Press.

22. Jackson, Carl T (1994), "The Founders", *Vedanta for the West: the Ramakrishna movement in the United States*, Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

23. Jyotirmayananda, Swami (2000) [1986], *Vivekananda: His Gospel of Man-Making with a garland of tributes and a chronicle of his life and times, with pictures* (4th ed.), Chennai, India: Swami Jyotirmayananda, p. 960.

24. Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra (1963), *Swami Vivekananda Centenary Memorial Volume*, Kolkata: Swami Vivekananda Centenary, p. 577, ASIN B0007J2FTS

25. Mannumel, Thomas (1991), *The Advaita of Vivekananda: A Philosophical Appraisal*, Chennai: TR Publications.

26. Mumukshananda, Swami, ed. (1995), *Vivekananda: The Great Spiritual Teacher: A Compilation*, Calcutta, India: Advaita Ashrama.

27. Nivedita Sister (1910), The Master As I Saw Him, London: Longmans, Green & Co., OCLC 364867356, http://www.openlibrary.org/books/OL7181778M

28. ——— (1913), *Notes of Some Wanderings With the Swami Vivekananda*, Kolkata: Udbodhan Office, OCLC 318175662, http://www.archive.org/details/notesofsome00viveuoft

29. Paranjape, Makarand (2005), *Penguin Swami Vivekananda Reader*, Penguin India, ISBN 0-14-303254-2

30. Rambachan, Anantanand (1994), *The limits of scripture: Vivekananda's reinterpretation of the Vedas*, Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

31. Richards, Glyn (1996), "Vivekananda", *A Source-Book of Modern Hinduism*, Routledge, pp. 77–78.

32. Rolland, Romain (1929a), "Naren the Beloved Disciple", *The Life of Ramakrishna*, Hollywood, California: Vedanta Press, pp. 169–193.

33. Sen Amiya (2003), Narayani Gupta, ed.*, Swami Vivekananda*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

34. Virajananda, Swami, ed. (2006) [1910], *The Life of the swami Vivekananda by his eastern and western disciples... in two volumes* (Sixth ed.), Kolkata: Advaita Ashrama.

35. Vivekananda, Swami (2001) [1907], Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, 9 Volumes, Advaita Ashrama, ,http://www.ramakrishnavivekananda.info/vivekananda/complete_works.htm

◆◆

Tribal Land-Use System and Jhum cultivation in Manipur

Dr. BD. Thumdal Anal*

[The main conservator and promoter of natural resources is biotic and abiotic factors. The loss of forests is caused by various factors responsible for the loss of biodiversity or bio-resources. Now, the pertinent question is: how are forest lands lost in the hills of Manipur? It is found that tribal land-use system in the form of jhum cultivation contributes significantly to the process of mismanagement of natural resources.]

Jhum is the major cause of deforestation in the hill areas of Manipur. The problem of mismanagement of forest resources can be examined by focusing on how forest lands are lost under three headings-occupational, cultural and exploitative. Understanding the socio-cultural relevance of Jhum cultivation will go a long way in addressing the detrimental effects associated with Jhum cultivation. This study focuses on understanding Jhum cultivation, its socio-cultural relevance and its impact in the tribal areas of Manipur hills.

Jhum Cultivation

Jhumming is a dry-land cultivation practiced particularly among highlanders or hill tribes. Jhumming is defined as "A system in which relatively short periods of continuous cultivation are followed by relatively long periods of fallow". It seems that this definition cannot be applied to all forms of Jhum practices. Jhumming can be of different types having different facets such as i) Short cultivation and short fallow ii) short cultivation and long fallow iii) long cultivation and very long fallow.[1] Whether long fallow and short cultivation, or short fallow and long cultivation any facet of Jhumming tends to produce deforestation.

There are two theories namely ecological and archaeological relating to the origin of Jhumming cultivation in South-East Asia. Advocating ecological theory of jhum origin, Harris says that jhum agricultural practice was devised for use of man's ecosystem which involves the cultivation of trees, roots, seeds, hunting, fishing and gathering. Unless without the assumption of long period for evolution of jhum agriculture, the theory explains little about the evolutionary process which could lead to present form of jhum cultivation or rice cultivation in dry land. According to the archaeological theory, the tending of seed plants is thought to be the beginning of jhum cultivation. The evidence is said to have shown that the culture of tending seed plants has been in practice for 12000 years.

*Principal, United College, Lambung, Chandel, Manipur.

The theory accounts ground for the evolution of jhum cultivation to the present form.[2]

Jhumming is a major agricultural occupation of the tribals. It was so in the past and it is still comparatively the main occupation even today. There are cultural and physical reasons which compel the tribals to continue the occupation in spite of decrease in productivity. If jhumming is viewed culturally, it is more a way of life than an occupation for many tribes. This is so because, the entire process of jhumming is done with necessary rituals, customs and practices of the various tribes, and rice happens to be the staple food of the tribals.

Jhumming as Main Occupation

The reason behind the large-scale deforestation due to shifting cultivation in hill areas of Manipur is because jhumming is the main occupation among the tribals. Jhumming cultivation is found to be a socio-cultural occupational system persisting under physiographical compulsion and lack of alternatives. The reason for jhumming cultivation being the main occupation can be discussed in several ways. Firstly, jhumming is a primitive method of cultivation. Historically, many of the tribes are supposed to have come from South-East Asia which is understood to have been the origin of jhum culture.

Another reason is the presence of so many varieties of jhum rice which reveals the outcome of long cultivation of the rice which may have been brought from outside or some varieties evolved locally. The third reason is that jhum cultivation gives rise to the production of folk culture. Seeding, weeding, harvesting, post-harvest festivals are accompanied with songs sung seasonally. Evolution of folk culture thus shows the age-old practice of jhumming in the hills of Manipur.

Besides the various reasons mentioned earlier, there are various reasons for Jhum cultivation becoming the main occupation among the tribes of Manipur. The staple food of the tribals of Manipur, like other north-easterners, is rice. On account of the terrain, most of the tribals of Manipur remained isolated from other communities in the past in the absence of good communication. This has resulted into lack of cultural influence including food habit. As a result, old food habit remained unchanged meaning the tribals are still meat or rice-eaters.

Moreover, the hill areas have been suffering from bad road communications which provided no food supply from outside in the past. Little change has been experienced after 1947. The situation helped sustain the old agricultural practice as absence of food supply from outside the tribal areas or State compelled them to continue jhum cultivation.[3] The physiographical aspect of the hill areas does not offer good scope for permanent or wet-rice fields. However, there is an immense scope for dry land-rice cultivation. Moreover, wet-rice cultivation was of recent introduction.

The available land is not feasible for terrace cultivation as well and even the potential land is yet to be brought under cultivation. As a result, lesser jhum lands were used with long periods of fallow which allowed the land to be fertile. The same cannot be said in the present yet the tribals still continue jhum cultivation in the absence of alternatives to shifting cultivation.[4]

Jhumming as a Cultural System

We have seen that under tribal land systems, jhumming is the main occupation of the tribals in Manipur. As a result, deforestation is a major effect of jhum cultivation practiced in the hill areas of the State. However, jhumming still forms an integral part of the cultural activities among the tribes of Manipur. The cultural activities are two-fold —economic and social. This cultural compulsion has resulted in the purposive allotment of jhum lands into division of lands, such as community, clan, individual lands.

Social Obligations of Land Owners

We have seen that there are at least three proper land owners under tribal land holding systems. They are community, clan and individual land owners. They are usually considered the first villagers of any tribal village in Manipur. Under tribal village organization, they are not mere land owners but ones who socially have administrative responsibility in general and land administration.

Therefore, the land owner's action which amounts or tends to commit outright deprivation of villagers' possessory land rights, or threat to unity and integrity of the village cannot be done at will.

Under village system, a village is considered as union of several families which are composed of different clans, sub-clans, lineages, etc. The good prospect or future of any village lies in the unity and integrity of the village through the oneness of those village social elements which are present as a unifying unit in the village. Now, if any landowner unilaterally commits an act of deprivation of the landless villagers' possessory land rights in a major way the entire village is under threat heading for disintegration of the village or some serious administrative consequences in the village.[5]

The reason is that in tribal village many villagers are landless. Yet, they are allowed to use lands under the possessory land rights when they volunteered themselves to live at the village as second-class villagers. But it is they who lend themselves to the growth and development of the village. Therefore, it is the natural duty of land owners to see that their unilateral action does not affect the interests of their tenant-villagers in land matter. This cultural compulsion vested in the land owners has obligated them to retain lands for jhumming so long as its need continues in tribal areas.

In short, in view of rights of the landless villagers and traditional administrative obligation of the land owners, jhumming is central to the sustenance and promotion of social fabric of the tribal villages of Manipur. In consideration of repercussion on village existence from any unilateral initiative for self-interest of land ownership, jhum lands cannot be put to desuetude but are retained and used in tribal areas of Manipur in the interest of landless villagers.[6]

Apart from that jhumming was the mainspring of cultural achievements in the past. That is, socio-economic status of any man was greatly determined by the size of his jhum income. Of the major achievements by which a man's status was determined in the society, great size of agricultural income was one of them. A man without enough surplus paddy income for certain period could not raise himself to higher status in the village or in his society. With such income accumulated each year for a long period of time giving rise to other steps for the accumulation of silver and gold, livestock, money etc., in his days. The accumulation of that wealth could catapult him to the position for further cultural achievements.[7]

Other cultural achievements such as erection of memorial megaliths, conduct of feasts of merits, construction of ornamented houses and other rare performances are related to his social position. No mere aspiration and qualifications without the accumulation of those wealth of the days, could enable a man to perform those rare festivities as his cultural achievements. Yet, the foundation of such social status was primarily based on paddy income from jhum cultivation.

Moreover, in tribal society of Manipur, social position is not based on caste or creed but it was essentially based on one's position in accumulation of his possessions. So, apart from village chiefship which is usually based on certain criteria and is often held exclusive of others, cultural achievements can be attained by anybody in the society. This nature of social life has opened up wide avenues for higher individual social ambition. And it was one of the factors which were behind the purposive allotment of jhum lands made in the past.[8]

Therefore, culturally jhumming still remains deep-rooted in tribal society of Manipur. Such privilege for pursuing higher cultural attainments had jointly worked with the possessory land rights of the landless villagers under tribal land systems. Therefore, while cultural privilege as inducement for jhum agricultural activity is phased out, the possessory rights remains even today. Hence, jhumming continues in the hills.

Finally, in the study of jhumming as a cultural system, no or limited practice of keeping reserve lands under tribal land systems is another aspect of the cultural system. Large-scale deforestation

is consequent upon the absence of limited practice of keeping reserve or protected lands under any class of lands. Except the lands close to settlement areas, many tribes hardly keep reserved lands under their land management. A few tribes like Mao, Poumai, Khoibu, etc. followed comparatively suitable land management system by keeping the outermost parts of their village lands as reserve forests. Yet they also allot middle parts of village lands for jhum purposes.

So, this culture in their land systems is usually found supportive of jhum practice permitted by other compulsions. That is, the tribal land systems are not usually averse to jhumming which is considered majorly instrumental to deforestation. So, unless the change is brought about in the existing land systems of Manipur tribals, the menace of jhumming or deforestation will continue to live with the society of Manipur in the next several decades.[9]

Possessory Right as Exploitive Inducement

The possessory land rights permitted for landless villagers under tribal land systems are found to be an inducement for ceaseless exploitation of lands and the resources. The rights are both negative and positive as well. This nature of right is the reason behind the practice of shifting cultivation in the hills of Manipur. The discussion on deforestation under this aspect will be made under the three sub-aspects such as 1. Possessory land rights and jhum practice, 2. Negatives and positive aspect of the possessory rights and 3. The rights and exploitation of resources.

The Possessory Land Rights and Jhum Practice-

In view of shifting cultivation practice, the rights are not exclusive in the sense that the rights are exercised for the exploitation of other resources as well. The rights in the matter of jhumming are often permissible for both short and long-term jhum cultivation. The rights also often permit stray jhum cultivation done by an individual or a few individuals. The possessory land rights are entitled to each landless family. Jhumming is done every year. So, regular cultivation by each family has sped up the deforestation process in the hills.

The loss of forest lands under the right has two forms of destruction done to the forests. Firstly, forests are damaged in field sites both by fire and cutting. That extent of destruction is permitted by land rights. In other words, each villager has right to destroy forests under the possessory land rights. So, forest destroyed is traditionally lawful under tribal land systems or under the possessory land rights in the context of jhumming.[10]

Secondly, destruction of plants, medicinal herbs, bamboos, minor growth in the forests is done by stray flames of jhum fire. It happens when the jhum fields are set on fire for sowing seeds. The fire may extend to a wide area of forest close to the field sites. This nature of destruction has left the affected forest to take nearly a decade for regaining its fullness. Yet many plant species are lost in the act which may or may not survive the flames. And the rights also usually permit any family to cultivate any extent of jhum lands provided the land scope permits it to do so. In fact, generally the rights have set no land limit for jhum cultivation. This has also enhanced the spread of deforestation areas through shifting cultivation.[11]

Negative and Positive Aspects of Possessory Land Rights

The two aspects of the rights are examined one after another. The positive aspects of possessory land rights permitted for the landless villagers under tribal land systems have at least four sub-aspects. Firstly, the possessory land rights guaranteed by the tribal land systems are accommodative in nature. The need of land for old villagers and late comers are alike met to use jhum lands as per the availability of jhum lands. Viewed from this nature of the rights, it is resilient enough to arrest landless problems. Therefore, in this regard, the rights are highly commendable.

The absence of landless problems in tribal areas is not only because of thin population, but it is also because of the nature of land rights enjoyed by any family or individual irrespective of position in the village. In other words, equal treatment of all is

comparatively maintained in the matter of land use. The difference is found in the rights of land ownership. This is peculiar land right system found under tribal land systems. Unless the tribal land owners maintain the system, landless villagers would have suffered from landless problems. Moreover, tenancy is not strictly operative or it has slowly and gradually dwindled in the last decades or so. Therefore, the popularity of possessory land rights goes with its relevance in tribal society.[12]

Secondly, the possessory land rights can be used in full stretch to one's advantage. Normally, there is no limit set to the use of land provided it affects no man's interest or that of village. That is, one can use land as much as he can to derive the benefits from the land if it is within the set areas of land for jhumming. Of course, if village land is limited some practical measures are used to ensure equal share of land with other fallows of the village. It is also true that certain limit is set to the exploitation of forest or other land-based resources so that depletion of the resources may be brought under check.

Under these rights no blanket restriction is cast on particular man or men or families except on extreme cases. Perhaps, unless such nature of land rights for the landless villagers, the tribal village may be always under threat or tribal villagers will be in constant internal conflicts. The rights have fastened the members of different classes, lineages together and exist as viable social unit—the village.[13]

Thirdly, under the possessory land rights choice for jhum land or other resources is wide. That is, choice for land or resources is not restricted with definite land location. One can go for the same wherever they are available and there is no restriction. For example, in each cycle of jhumming usually no one has exclusive right to reserve particular jhum site for him alone. The collection of forest produces is also opened to all men to the forests which are permitted to use by all. Therefore, the possessory land rights also open up wide choice in the use of land and land-based natural resources.[14]

Finally, while the possessory land rights give right to use land and land-based natural resources, the landless villagers' responsibility for land is short of that of the real land owners. They do not have direct

right to protect the village land nor do have obligation to develop the land. The villagers are free from the land-related problems arising under any circumstances. In other words, although they are entitled to use lands they are not as responsible as the real land owners.

Yet, they are, in many respects, above the status of mere tenants by virtue of their use of land with free choice and without payment of rent proper, particularly land rights empowered the landless villagers to use land and land-based natural resources without direct responsibility for protecting the land they tilled and the village land wherein they live.[15]

It is found that the possessory land rights give certain advantage in land use as is highlighted above. Individually, the rights give enough scope for land use in terms of choice, liberty, etc. The land use under this right has enhanced the process of exploitation through the practice of shifting cultivation, derivation of land-based natural resources. The possessory land rights have sped up the deforestation process in hill areas. For the rights enable the landless villagers to use the land and natural resources in a careless manner. The fact is that the lands do not belong to them. They are simply enabled to use the land and the resources through the rights. In fact, the landless villagers are the majority in the village.

Therefore, with the rights the majority of people use the available lands. As a result, depletion of forest lands and natural resources is on the rise each year. Yet, under the rights the individuals cannot make individual development on account of insecurity in land rights. Therefore, there is no incentive for individuals for developing the lands they tilled. Moreover, financial institutions find no security to extend credit facilities to the farmers for insecurity in land rights of the farmers. Therefore, the possessory land rights bear three facets—advantage to landless villagers; enhancement of deforestation process creating direct threats to environment and disadvantage for individual development.

The possessory land rights are also negative in practice on two counts—collective and individual. In collective concern, the possessory land rights are the force behind the jhum practice which is the major cause of deforestation. The deforestation is

principally considered the threat to environmental degradation in the State. The collective negative aspect of the rights can also be discussed under three angles. Firstly, manner of exploitation of lands and natural resources may be in collective, individual way or in group of men. The collective or mass exploitation is done through shifting cultivation.

No jhumia family is an exception in the application of the rights. And with the increase of tribal families in every village, there is increase in the use of jhum lands. Again, the possessory land rights are also applied in an individual way. Each and every individual is entitled to apply to exploit land and natural resources. His exploitation may be for his own benefit or for his family. This has also enhanced exploitation rate in the forest areas. And the rights are not discriminative in application.

Lastly, the possessory rights permitted by tribal land systems can also be applied by a group of villagers. The group often applies the rights in a more intensive way by deriving benefits from lands or natural resources. For example, felling trees done by group is more extensive than that of an individual or a family. In fact, exploitation of natural resources by group of villagers is done in an ambitious manner leading to extensive destruction of forests or forest lands.[16]

Secondly, the scope of exploitation of land and natural resources under the possessory land rights is inclusive rather than selective. That is, the rights usually permit the landless villagers to use land for different activities such as monoculture, farms, etc. in vegetated areas and the exploitation of natural resources is also inclusive. It includes forest produces like timbers, woods, bamboos, canes, herbs, roots, fruits, grasses, barks, etc. The exploitation also includes collection of stones, sands, etc. The rights to exploit lands or natural resources is non-selective of activities or produces. This inclusive exploitation has also led to over-exploration of land and natural resources in tribal areas of Manipur hills. The nature of such exploitation exercised under the possessory land rights poses an increasing threat to environment or bio-diversity of the State.[17]

Thirdly, the condition of exploitation of land and natural resources is either free of charges or payment of nominal royalty charge, permission of knowledge.

That is, exploitation is permitted on payment of nominal royalty charge to the village chief or Village Authority who is considered competent authority to grant permission or pass his knowledge to the concerned man or men for the purpose. The rights are, in fact, exercised with least restriction imposed on the exploiting villagers. Even if there is collection of nominal royalty charge it is usually most manageable by any exploiting party. Moreover, no such charge is collected from the villagers who exploit forest produces for their own consumption or use. Such condition of exploitation permitted under the possessory land rights is another reason behind the large-scale exploitation of forests or forest produces which led to the over exploitation of land and natural resources in the hill areas of the State.[18]

Conclusion

In conclusion of the study on mismanagement of economic resources and threat to bio-diversity life in Manipur, it can be stated that shifting cultivation is majorly responsible for deforestation in hill areas of Manipur. The tribal land systems are behind the practice of shifting cultivation. In that sense the land systems are responsible for the mismanagement of resources and degradation of bio-diversity status in Manipur State. The mismanagement of economic resources experienced under the practice of shifting cultivation is affected at least in two ways. Firstly, the jhumming directly or indirectly destroys the existing or available economic forest resources. Secondly, it destroys the potentials of renewable economic resources.

For the loss of forests or deforestation has decreased the rate of soil and water conservation in the forest. As a result, there is less retention of soil which reduces the quality of green cover. The water resources are also greatly affected with the loss of soil and decrease of water resources, good economy prospects are lessened in the region. In other words, with the loss of vegetated covers, bio-resources are greatly declined.

Therefore, the ultimate cause of environmental degradation in the State is assigned to jhumming. While that is true of deforestation, it is land systems that permit jhum culture among the tribals of Manipur. Therefore, the root of environmental concern is located in the tribal land systems. As we have seen that the jhum culture which the land

systems permitted is found to be deeply-rooted. It happens to be main occupation in the past and it continues to be in the absence of any alternatives. Therefore, large-scale deforestation becomes its logical consequence in the state. It seems that unless change is brought about in the existing land systems the menace of shifting cultivation or deforestation shall stay longer with the people of the State.

Notes

1. Ibid., p.3
2. Ibid.
3. Personal interview with L. Timothy, Tarung Village on 6th May, 2011.
4. Based on Questionnaire, 2011
5. Ibid.,

◆◆

Coins and Currency System Under the Chalukyas of Kalyan

Dr. Basayya I. Mathapati*

[Present paper is the descriptive effort to know about the coins and currency system of Chalukyas of Kalyan, with specific focus on the various theories of coins and currency of Greece and ancient India, minting techniques and mints, supervision of mints and various types of coins etc. Historical-analytical method is used for this purpose. Secondary data is analyzed systematically to develop ideas in this regard.]

From the very beginning of humankind itself, the human beings had started to fulfill their needs with the barter system. Later on, the tool which was universally accepted as means of barter system was called as coin and that coin used to be a sealed piece of metal or paper etc., approved by the local government. The term numismatic, used to study coins systematically, is the derivative of the Greek word 'nomisma' and it has played an important role in the reconstruction of history like other archeological sources.[1]

Coins in India

Scholars like Jems Prinsef and Wilsan have opined that Indians had not known the knowledge of coins, and the coins used in early and later Vedic period were not coins, rather they were only pieces of metal. After the military expeditions of the Alexander into India only that the technique of minting coins came into vogue. V a Smith and Canadian says that Bebilan was the origin and Alticor says that acamanian and Persian land were the origin for the Indian coins. It clearly indicates the technique of minting coins was probably barrowed by the foreigners but this kind of foreign theories seems like jokes because the evidences for the coins had appeared in the excavations at Mahenjodaro. Vedic culture and Buddhist texts also mentioned about the coins like Nishk, Hirnya, and Karshapana etc.

* Asst Prof of History, G.F.G. College Athani, Karnataka.

The Greece writers like Quintas, carties mentioned an event of Ambi the king of Takshila who gave gifts in the coins to the Alexander.[2] Kautilya enlightened about gold, copper coins and he mend a sub chapter for explaining the minting process in Lakshanaddhyaksha[3] And Panini mentioned various types of coins like Nishk, Dwinishk, Trinishk Sahastri etc[4] this gives a clear picture of Indians also known the process of minting coins since early times.

It is generally believed that in comparison to north India to south India, despite certain gaps, presents a continuity of coinage in the post Gupta period. Therefore, R. S. Sharma's argument of paucity of coins and decline in circulation, later its revival, only refers to north India and not applicable to south India. There are references of circulation of coins in certain coastal areas of western Deccan and also of minting of indigenous coins in the Rashtrakuta period.

In regard to South Indian coinage, B.D. Chattopadhyya's work *Coins and Currency System in South India* (1977) and his chapter "Coinage of South India" (Chattopadhyya, 2001, 705-728) deserve special mention in which he evaluated the southern coins minted between 225 CE to 1300 CE, and made historical and analytical study of the currency systems prevalent in south India. He divides the regions between the periods 950-1300

CE, into a number of political distinct currency areas based on growing complexities of south Indian trade, especially the imports of expensive horses of south india.[5] Thus the works of A. V. Narashimamoorti, G. R. Kuppaswamy and S. Gururajachyarya etc. Were thrown the light on the currency system of the south Indian kingdoms but there we could not found much information on specpick kingdom. Therefore Here I tried to explain the Chalukkyan coins and currency system of Kalyan.

Political background

The Chalukyas of Kalyana dominated the political and cultural scene of Karnataka for over two centuries. Starting their career as the subordinates of the Rashtrakutas, they achieved significant military success with the help of a great army which was famous in contemporary times under the leadership of Tailapa II. He was busy keeping enemies at bay and maintaining internal peace and order during his twenty-four-year-old reign.

His successors, Satyashraya, Vikramaditya V, Jayasimha, Someshwara I, Someshwara II, Vikramaditya VI, Someshwara III, Jagadekamalla II, and Tailapa III, ruled over their empire. Later on, Bijjala II of Kalachuris became a predominant ruler. This temporarily overshadowed the influence of the Chalukyas of Kalyana Again; Someshwara IV reestablished the rule of Kalyana Chalukyas by defeating the Kalchuris. Hence, they tried to enrich the South Indian culture by making contributions to the economic field and foreign affairs. To achieve the progress in these fields' coins have been played an important role. So here I tried to explain their coins and their currency system in in brief.

Minting Techniques and Mints

The various techniques adopted in minting coins in India have to be understood mostly with the help of the coins themselves as no complete literary work dealing with the coin technology has come to light. Occasionally inscriptions refer to some aspects of minting but they do not provide a complete picture of the various processes involved. On the basis of the different coins found in India, five techniques seem to have been used here. They are;

1. Droplet technique
2. Punch mark technique
3. Casting technique
4. Repousse technique
5. Die-striking technique among these techniques most probably Chalukyans were

Adopted third and fifth kinds.[6] Among the mints mentioned in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, the following may be noted. Lokki gundi,[7] soodi,[8] Dorasamudra,[9]

Hireya gabbooru,[10] Nidigundi, Gadag, Alooru,[11] Kudatini,[12] Balmbeedu[13] etc. It becomes clear from the epigraphic references that there were many mints working in the Chalukyan period. Considering the number of references to it, the mint at Lokkigundi seems to have been prosperous during the period. The existence of another mint at Sudi is evidenced by an inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla. The inscription mentions gifts made by Uttavoja, the goldsmith and the mint-master of Tribhuvanamalla, to god *Kammatesvara* at Sudi. It also becomes clear from the details given in the record that gold coins were minted under the orders of Uttavoja who was the royal mint-master. He had the privilege of owning the die *(Kammatada any)* containing the royal seal *(undige)* for striking the coins.[14] Another inscription at Lakkundi of the time of Somesvara IV mentions such terms as *acchu, any, acchina kani* and *acchina mole,* which are connected with the minting of coins." The same inscription mentions the word *belliyagammata,* which shows that silver coins were also minted in addition to gold coins.[15] in the inscription of Basavakalyan 117AD Tankashale,[16] Korrevu inscription of 1010 AD Mundigeya Kammat Bidigammat,[mint of change coins][17] and in the Bapuram inscription 1172 AD Kammat Undagey kammat,[mint striking seal of shiva on the coins][18] Bedikey kammat,[mint of contract base tender][19] Belliyagammat [mint of silver coins][20] etc. it indickets that the various types of mints were existed during the period. They were divided on the basis of their working nature. One inscription of the period explains

"KADIVAM MURUNTARUAM BEEGADE KARAGISUVA SHATRU SAINYMGALAM SANGADAKELLAM DHAIRY VARNAKRAM MANESEYE TAM TORUVAM. KIRTHIACHHAM. KADU

CHALVPPOVANTTIRANACHOTTUVAN KHILADI SHADANTHI DANTHGALOOL NOLPODE SANTH KAMMATAKKAM TODEYANINISUVA MALLADANDADHINATAM". Mention beautifully about melting mettle, cutting and pressing seals on the coins. It shows clearly Kalyani Chalukyans were known the technique of processing coins[21].

In some cases, the coins are mentioned along with the name or the initial letter of the place of the mint. For example, *Lokkigundi gadyana* or *Lokki gadyana* are obviously *gadyanas* minted in the mint at Lokkigundi. It is not known whether this practice had any special-significance during the period.

Supervision of Mints

We come to know through the Naragundpet inscription of 12th century that the supervision of mints was given to the persons who were loyal and sincere to the king. In this inscription refers about Yechishatti who honard by the king as HemaKuppati for minting gold coins at Hemagiri mint sinsearly.[22] Kudatni inscription of 1098 AD refersthat Savivoj the mintmastar of Tribhuvamamalladevwas minted Lokki gadyan as Navilachina gadyan[MAYOOR][23] the Alampur inscription of 1076 A D refers Tankakar,[24] Shivapad inscription of 1041 AD refers Kammatapati[25] etc. Were the some references for mint mastars these mint mastars were belongs to the royal families or military commanders, provincial officers etc. They had their own liberty to mint coins but they should have responsible for the king.

Coins

Among the coins mentioned in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, the following may be noted. *Dramma, Gadyana, Pana, Honnu, Haga, Kagini, Visa, Varaha , Kane, Kasu* are some of the coins frequently mentioned in the contemporary inscriptions. Here I tried to explain about some coins as below.

Gadhyan

Gadyana seems to have been the most popular coin. It was written in various forms and abbreviated as *gadya* and *ga.* Many types of *gadyanas* are mentioned in the inscriptions and it is difficult to understand their precise nature. according to Shrinivas rithi, Gadyan was equal to a Varaha,[26] A V Narashimhamoorthi states that it is equal to 10

panna and it was 58 grains,[27] Dr Althekar and Appadorai pensioned that Gadyans were of 96,[28] 63 grains respectively.[29] It gives a clear picture there was no similarity among their coins in the weight and size, shape etc.

We come to know through the inscriptions of Kalyani Chalukyas that there were various kinds of Gadyan as Ainooru Gadyan,[30] Ankhath Gadyan,[31] Kumar Gadyan,[32] Beeya gadyan,[33] Priya gadyan[34] so on the various names of Gadyan appears in the inscriptions of the period.

Ponna

It is also one type of gold coins of the period the inscriptions mentioned as Ponna,[35] Navilachin ponn,[36] Lorneya ponn,[37] Paliya ponn,[38] Nimbad ponn[39] etc. were the various types of ponnas appeared in the inscriptions. apart from these coins Veesa, Kasu , Addha, Kane, Ane, Dharan, Dramm, etc. were also seems in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Kalyan. They were minted in the gold, silver, copper and emblems with seals of the Kingdom, titles of the kings, name, year, symbols of temples, etc. [40]

Here are Some Examples of the Coins Found in the Excavations

Hultzsch describes six specimens of this type. They weigh about 57!/2-59 grains each. Each coin contains nine punches of which five represent a lion two punches represent two &/in Kannada characters, the eighth punch has the word *Jaya* and the ninth punch contains *deva* in Kannada characters. This Jayadeva has been taken as Jayasimha and hence this coin is ascribed to Jayasimha II.

M. Rama Rao has described some coins which are in the coin cabinets of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad. These coins either of gold or of silver measure 0.63" to 0.83" in diameter and their weight ranges from 54 to 60.58 grains. They are punched coins having obverse only. They contain four punches. But instead of the lion as in the type A, these coins contain the punch or punches of Varaha or boar. They also have one or two *Srt* punches and the legend *Jaya* punched in Kannada characters. From the fabric, weight, size and even the legend they closely resemble the coins of Jayasimha. Hence there is no doubt that they are the issues of Jayasimha II of the Kalyana Chalukya

dynasty. These coins are found from various places in Medak, Nalgonda Districts of Andhra Pradesh, Gulbarga and Bidar Districts of Karnataka. The title *Karunada bhupa* cannot be attributed to anybody other than the most distinguished Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI and hence this coin has been attributed to him.

Though the other two coins do not contain any legend, they have been attributed to this king because of the similarity in fabric and typology.

weight 3.9 gms; diameter 12 mms.

obv: A boar to right; sun and moon above

rev: A floral design and *tri$ula* flanked by lamp stand.

The other coin is also similar and weighs 3.8 gms; diameter 13 mms. obv: A boar to right, sun and moon above rev: Large eight Petalled lotus

However, these coins require further confirmation as regards their attribution to Chalukya Vikramaditya VI.[41]

Here i noticed near about five hundred inscriptions of kalyani chalukyas. Among those inscriptions some were belonged to their mints and minting presses and inscriptions refers the various names of the coins. as gadyan, ponna, varaha, dramm, kasu, veesa etc. they are not similar in numbers from one place to another. we found more Gadyan's in Vijaypur [18] district and les in Tumukuru, Sangali, Beed[0] districts, ponn: Ballari [1] in Ballari district les in other districts, veesa: in Vijaypur [8] district les in [1] Sangali district, dram :[4] more in Nanded district les in Usmanabad and Vijaypur [2] district, thus this indicates that was predominant in the area of their rule of the period.

Conclusion

Thus we conclude that the Chalukyas of Kalyan were given encouragement to the minting coins. Through these coin circulations they enriched their trade and commerce towards inside and outside the state. It may also caused to degrees in land grants and increase of grants in the kinds of money due to the practice of minting more coins and circulation was caused to put an end of feudalism in later on.

Even though we are handicap in describing clearly because of les posity of coins, having titles of the kings is not clearly helpful to know the period

because some time more kings attributed the same titles, symbols, so on. There is no clear picture about the values among the coins mentioned in the inscriptions. There is no similarity among the coins found of same period etc shows that there is much space for research about coins and currency system of the period.

References

1. Narshimhmoorthi A V, Karnataka nanya parmpare p1-2 Banglore 2003.

2. Kannada university inscription vol VIII [K V V Hampy], N – 22, p24 Hampy 2001.

3. Shri Koodali Shringeri jagdguru, shri Sachidanand Shankarbharati swamiji, [trans] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p139, Banglore 1963.

4. IBID VIII p41.

5. Chattopadhyaya B.D. *Coins and Currency System in South India* (1977) —

6. Narshimhmoorthi A V, Karnataka nanya parmpare, p12 to 16, Banglore 2003.

7. S, I, I XV, n22 p22.

8. B,K,I,P, p153 [1103.

9. E,C,V, Bi 335 [1138].

10. E,C XII Gb 34 [1134].

11. Kuppaswamy G, R Economic condition in Karnataka, p 146, Dharwad 1975.

12. Kannada university inscription vol I, [K V V Hampy], N- 20 p 23 Hampy.

13. K,I IV n33 A.D.1079.

14. I, B, I, D XI Pii n153.

15. Narshimh moorthi, A, V. Studies in Karnataka numismatics Mysore 1996.

16. Kannada university inscription vol VIII [K V V Hampy], N- 6 p 23, Hampy 2006.

17. Nagayya G, M, [edt[] Kalyanad chalukyar shasan samputa. I N 128 p376, Banglore 2001.

18. E, C XII Si37 [1040].

19. S, I,I IX 262 [12th century].

20. S, I,I XV 76 [1185].

◆◆

Total Page (60)