CHAPTER I
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Introduction:

As we have entered in the 21st century, hence it is necessary to re-examine our strategic perspectives that bounded our thinking on our national security. The cold war is over and the world seems to be dominated by single power the United States. The existing global power status quo may remain for some time in the foreseeable future. Though some of the major powers like China, Russia and France would prefer a multi-polar world in the international security environment. India too shares this view. India has declared itself a nuclear weapons state. India has been moving out of the system of centralized planed economy, therefore the private sector playing a dominant role and occupying the commanding heights towards an increasingly market oriented one. This has radically changed circumstances call for a review of our definition of national security and defence. Earlier security was defined in terms of threats to our sovereignty and territorial integrity and defence in terms of our capabilities to counter them. (Subramanyam K., 2000: P.1221)

In the post-cold war paradigm of comprehensive and inclusive security, the threat agenda is now perceived to increasingly encompasses removal of economic disparity gap, development of common values, democratic functioning of state apparatus for protection of human rights, socio-political and economic justice to
achieve the objective of coherent society for effective functioning of a viable state. And that would be primary referent object for national security. Today, India is democratic but socially pre-modern where the social and economic rights of individual have yet to be adequately assured. The national security discourse is focused on limited terms, i.e. Internal security, External security, Foreign policy and Military power. The articulation of social security needs have been left to the socially concerned, whose voice is not heard in the security arena. (Koithara Varghese, 1999: P.22)

In modern India, the concept of national security ought to be located in the interest of human welfare and national power. To maintain our territorial integrity and the protection of state sovereignty our social fabrics needs to be stronger. As referred by K.Subramanyam in his well-accepted definition of national security, is that we should achieve the status of egalitarian society. That can derive enough strength and moral to protect our sovereignty and territorial integrity. The improvement and development of human conditions is at least as important as achievements in the international stage. The security discourse in India is dominated by the aspiration of the elites and the co-opted middle classes, who have elitist approach. In India, internal component of security is important, as is the external. The current emphasis on military security and lopsided rapid economic development has generated grounds for rethinking of the concept of national security. Has any increase in sophisticated Military superiority in terms of more sophisticated weaponry development solved any national and international
problems? Has the lopsided rapid economic development served the purpose of ensuring a standard of living for the well being of every citizen?

The security perspectives of our national leaders is specifically ad hoc and dominated by the external pressure such perspective seems to be compulsion arise due to temporary conditions, rather than directed towards definite long term objective. Therefore, a temporary and immediate measure adopted to protect ourself from the external threats seems to be burdensome i.e. Kargil operation.

Current debate on the national security largely revolves around India’s defence expenditures, nuclear proliferation military capability, but in reality fundamental security of the nation is for the nations prosperity and sustainability, that lies in a social development, food security, Nutrition security, Health security, and basic education security. Present day national security problems, especially for developing countries like India are a result of issues of cross border, terrorism, Trans-border solidarity, lower gross domestic products, Un-balanced market economy, social disparities, communalism, violation of human rights etc. which were traditionally kept out of national security discourse.

Traditional concept of national security is considered synonymous with national defence but changes took place in international security environment. We should adopt broad concept of national security i.e. “The preservation of the core values critical to the nation state from external and internal threats”. National security in a wider sense encompasses the economic, Industrial, and Technological progress, the cohesiveness of the socio-cultural structures, the resilience and
stability of the political system and the efficacy of diplomacy. The Indian approach to the question of national security should not be structured in the same framework as that of western countries.

Indian approach towards national security revolves around two fundamental diversions, one, the recognition that any conflictual situation the roots of conflict need to be tackled; and two the need to resolve conflict without violence. The first is a long-term perspective and includes social, political and economic aspects of any conflict and second more short-term view that looks at the means of pacific settlement of disputes.

Today internal challenges to the state have shown its pervasiveness in different parts of the world. It is argued that threats emanate domestically from different groups compelling for power in a political system where consensus is often totally absent. For example, Yugoslavia, Somalia, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Congo and Sri Lanka are some of states where particularly the ethno-religious and political rivalries have significant ramifications and as several levels they have fused with international crisis. In general these internal disturbances have resulted in blurring the divide between domestic and international policy.

In the age of globalization, experiences at global and national level would suggest that internal challenges to national security be rooted in problems of political identity, socio-economic grievances, lack of legitimacy of state and individuals. The fundamental challenge before us today is how to introduce the
domestic challenges before the state for broadening the agenda of national security.

Above description on the concept of national security in respect of India indicates considerations of following aspects, which can provide more resistance power to observe any blow of territorial disintegration and social disharmony. The aspects should be - (1) Core values of India i.e. Democracy, sovereignty, status of egalitarian society (2) Measures to build the strong country i.e Horizontal and Vertical integration of our country.

Horizontal integration is based on :

Territorial democracy, Balance of centre state relations, Management of natural resources based on the principle that nation state as a cohesive unit and curbing perocial tendency of localised politics. (i.e. Mineral resources, water resources, power resources)

Vertical integration is based on :-

(1) Management of redistribution of goods and services to all sections of the society (centralised modern facilities, allocation of central funds etc.)

(2) Eradication of caste, creed, discrimination based on religion and faith for the purpose of developing India in to a cohesive society.

1.1 Importance of the Study :  

In the post-cold war era the paradigm shift in the dimension of national security gives more importance to non-military aspect rather than military aspect. The economic security and economic capability of a country will determine the
ability of the country to overcome the economic threats posed by the international community. The contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in respect of building India into a strong country i.e. politically, economically, socially is siminal. A critical study of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s security related policies would provide an alternative policy option for our national security.

The concept of national security is a multi-dimensional concept. It encompasses socio-political, military, economic, and cultural dimensions. In the multi-polar world, the national security is not merely a military related matter alone, it is also related to socio-economic development of the nation state as a whole which derives power to contain external threats. If a nation state is well developed and if it remains coherent then it can play an important role in international power politics. It is generally believed that national security is the concern of defence forces alone. However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the global balance of power has undergone a change and so has the concept of national security also change. In this research work, I find that non-Military dimension of national security also contribute in enhance its power and diplomatic maneuverability to protect its interests abroad, and attainment of political and economic growth and stability within the country. If a nation-state enjoys internal stability and peace, it provides a better atmosphere for socio-economic development and well being of its citizens, then the nation state could be able to tackle external threats better way with consideration of change in the nature of war and national security a nation-state has to pay more attention to develop its inner strength i.e.
national integration, social assimilation, economic development and political
stability with healthy law and order. These dimensions of national security
demands definite prudent national policies to attain the objective of the nation
building.

To make India and her people strong Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar worked
very hard before independence and after independence, to provide prudent policies
for nation-building. Policies for national assimilation and integration, Policies for
the regional integration, Policies for social integration, Policies for the political
stability, Defence policies, Policies for external security and foreign relation.
These policies for smooth functioning and better assimilation. Policy of one state
one language and not one language and one state policy for language based
division of state to avoid regionalism and to achieve horizontal integration of India,
policy of social integration for uplifting of downtrodden for vertical integration of
India, along with many hints on economic strategy to make India as a strong and
egalitarian society capable enough to face the external challenges. Therefore
importance of this policies for nation-building and developing India into secured
India has enormous importance to us.

1.2 The Recent Threats to India’s National Security: Problems and Issues:
Over the past few years the national security problems of India have continued to
deteriorate and pose serious challenges. There are external and internal factors or
military and non-military factors adversely affecting national security, which pose
serious threat to the national security of India. The disintegration of Soviet Union
and the advent of single super power, with Uni-Polar pressures on world economy attempted control over world resources and control over the UN Security Council decision-making has caused a lack of balance in the world strategic environment. The post-cold war is witnessing an unprecedented restructuring of international relation in a fast changing environment. The world security agenda of environment, Human rights and social development have started to figure prominently on the international security agenda.

Today development in Information Technology, the pace of international changes, the revolutions in communication and transportation technologies the emergence of new powerful non-state actors and the increase in the very number of state actors itself has threatened to national, international system.

India stands today, in many ways on the crossroads of history. India is a multi religious, multi linguistic, multi ethnic and cultural society, which also has numerous pressure groups with vast gap between rich and poor population. In spite of that, it stands united perhaps because of its remarkable set-up of secular constitution and provisions made in to it for every significant segment of Indian society providing them socio-economic and political space, as far as possible. Constitutional secular set-up, for the last fifty-two years proved its successful management of numerous religious, linguistic and regional diversities emanating from its plural society without damaging its national fabrics. Its vast diversified economy, which has maintained steady growth, remains impressive by all accounts. It ranks high among the top industrialized nations of the world today. It
also has one of the largest pools of information technology and scientific technological manpower, emergence of huge markets for trade and industry, thereby getting ready to play an important role in the global economy in the coming years. After the conducting five nuclear tests, India declared itself to be a state with nuclear weapons. It has also built an impressive defence capability is underlined by the notable advances it has made in nuclear, space and missiles field. (Jetly Nancy, 1997: P.7)

However, India is facing growing social political and economic challenges on the domestic front. The recent years have witnessed successively fragile coalition governments, growing social issues, increasing social disparities, caste conflicts, social discontents, malnutrition, child labour, the problem of basic education and health, communal divide, etc. Pressures from ethnic diversities and religious fundamentalism are also getting more intensified i.e. Insurgency in the North-east, cross- border terrorism in Kashmir etc. widening economic disparities and inequalities also continue to cause concern not with standing our creditable economic performance. More important incipient threats to its central authority and continuing civil strife in some sensitive parts of the country pose serious challenges to India’s national security.

Although Punjab has managed to put behind it the painful agony caused by sustained violence for over a decade, peace still remains in the sensitive northeast. Assam is wracked by ULFA, violence, even as the problem of insurgency in Tripura, Manipur and Nagaland has yet to be completely resolved. The situation in
Kashmir remains a cause for deep and continuing concern. There is no gainsaying that India’s national security problems fundamentally secure. They can be severely jeopardized by the persistence of military and non-military dimension. It is clear from the foregoing that an overarching framework of India’s national security perspectives has to take into account both its military and non-military dimension. Political stability, social development, societal cohesion and economic well being would remain to its national integration in the long term.

India’s external security environment remains equally challenging in both terms of conventional and nuclear threats. Pakistan continued hostility and uncertainties regarding China’s policies as it acquires greater power in all aspects impinge vitally on India’s regional security. India fought three wars with Pakistan and apart from recent Kargil war. China also continues to pose a long-term threat to India’s national security. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, there is no doubt that China emerged as one of the few dominate countries of the world and has capability to influence the decisions of United States, a supper power. Today her nuclear capabilities are perhaps capable of hitting the United States. Today China has the world’s largest foreign reserves, over 140 billion. It also has a 40 billion-trade surplus; her nuclear capabilities and military capabilities based on modern professional lines, training in professionalisation, induction of technology. It is also giving priority to modernizing and developing her Naval and her Air force. (Bhattacharjee Meera Sinha, 1999: P.36) Their armed force continues to be deployed along India’s northern and eastern borders. More important, China’s
major military build-up in Tibet-reportedly deploying ballistic missiles of medium and intermediate range-add significantly to long term strategic concerns for India.

In the context of such external threats, India can ill-afford to neglect bolstering its security by building up an adequate and credible defence capability. Given the current security scenario, growing deficiencies in India’s conventional capabilities cause some concern regarding India’s defence capabilities. Growing vulnerability to nuclear pressures in the existing world scenario adds to the complexity of India’s security perspectives. India has been in the forefront of efforts for total elimination of nuclear weapons while it views as a serious threat to implement peace and security.

In the process of globalization, liberalization and privatization becoming the order of the day for social development, human rights, economic and technological issues, these also have moved to the forefront of international security environment. Continuing economic recession and steady decline in the flow of capital, trade and technology are generating its own pressures and inequities in the world economic order. Major economic powers are rapidly consolidating themselves into regional groups like NAFTA and EU. India has become a part of the inevitable process of globalization and accelerated integration into global economy on the terms of dominant economic powers and actors. India’s economic policy needed to focus today, on a new scenario where trade, investment and technology take priority without compromising our national interest. A primary task for India in the coming years would be to cope up with the
challenge posed by the inequalities in the present economic order, and work around the institutional disadvantages. Further its efforts to develop a strong economy and reduce its vulnerability to international pressures.

However, in the process of liberalization, privatization and globalization the gap between rich and poor is increasing. Social disparity and inequality in a developing country like India is a great security risk. India withdrawing her responsibility of equal development of all sections of the society, if this trend continues it would lead to paralyzing the process of assimilation of divergent groups of society. This would further weaken the objective of making Indian society an egalitarian society. Therefore, non-implementation of basic perspective security policies would pose a threat to our constitutional objectives and ultimately to India’s national security.

In recent years, India has shown greater willingness to evolve a new framework for resolving the long-standing bilateral disputes with its neighbors based on mutual confidence and co-operation. Friendship between India and China lead to greater commercial and economic interaction would be perhaps beneficial not only for the people of the two countries but also for the neighboring regions. And the world at large at the same various kinds of uncertainties and regarding china’s political moves and power projection in future. Beijing continued support to Pakistan’s Missile and nuclear programs and its broader policy to balance India within subcontinent through increased political co-operation with India’s neighbors continue to cause concern. India’s relations with Bangladesh, Nepal,
Sri Lanka have never been marked by the sustained hostility for a long period of time and it has been possible to work out a mutually acceptable framework of relations with them on the basis of mutual trust and accommodation. India's relations with Maldives and Bhutan have also been harmonious and mutually beneficial.

The world today is facing enormous challenges of poverty, environmental degradation, and lack of an equitable multilateral economic environment conducive to the economic growth of developing countries. India's unity and territorial integrity and national power are under stress from external and internal sources. Externally, Pakistan, China and the U.S are the major concerns whereas Pakistan and China are military threats. India would need to play an active role in collaboration with other countries. Internally, a number of factors act as constraints on defence capabilities, economic stability more important ethnic problems: secessionism of Kashmir, issue of migrants in Northeast, communal riots, and caste conflict threatens the unity and stability of our country.

1.3 Objectives of the Study:

In the process of globalization, liberalisation and privatisation in the age dominated by information technology tremendous changes are taking place in socio-economic field and international power politics. At the end of the cold war, realisation dawned that the concept of security is not merely restricted to the defence or military formulation. The aim of this research is to study challenges to the India's national security, and critically examine security related policies of
government in the context of ideas and policies of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on the security matters of India. The study would be carried out with the comprehensive national security approach.

India is a plurastic society where religious, regional, sectarian and linguistic identities intermix with social and political identities. The problem arises when a conflict or an adversarial relationship develops amongst these identities. Thus national security reflects the crisis of identity and legitimacy.

The other fact that has to be noted is that in the context of our national security, the concept of human security is far too nebulous. The question of national security is discussed in very narrow confines of foreign policy and military power equations. The aspects of human security or social development needs have been left to the society to meet and its voice is not heard in various fora discussing the security-related issues. The aim of the research is to assess the impact of domestic problems on the national security and critically examine the thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on the subject matter hold relevance if we have to take a holistic view of the problems of our national security and to provide pragmatic policy options.

In view of the importance of the subject matter, the present study is being undertaken with the following objectives: -

1. To study the changing concept of national security, particularly applicable to India.

2. To assess the challenges to India’s national security.
3. To identify security related policies and strategies adopted by government of India and to assess their implications.

4. To examine security related policies adopted by the government, which are essentially suggested by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

5. To study the security related policies suggested by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar but which never adopted by the Indian Government in relation to contemporary problems of India's national security.

6. To analyse critically security related thoughts i.e. policies, strategies and perceptions of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, which can be pragmatic solutions and policy options to the security of India.

1.4 Hypothesis:

1. Whether the policies adopted by Government of India for nation building are prudent? Whether the existing policies for national assimilation and national integration helped adequately to foster unity and integrity of India?

2. Whether the Government policies for the regional integration have been helpful to maintain center-state relations and regional economic equilibrium.

3. Whether the Government policies for social integration have helped for the overall socio-economic development of the state?

4. Whether the Government policies for political stability have been helpful to maintain internal security of India?
5. Whether the Government policies for external security and foreign relations have been helpful for India to protect its interests and security?

6. Whether Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, views on above all policies would be helpful for India’s national security?

1.5 Limitations of the Study:

This study has been carried out with full awareness of its certain limitations particularly related to the sensitive issues of national security. Therefore, study is based on only documentary proofs and not on the popular perceptions. Non-strategic dimensions of national security, although involves policies for socio-economic and political procedural which seems to be enumerable and some of them had been short-lived, all such insignificant policies beyond the scope of this study. Secondly, Policies and ideas of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar have multidimensional importance; therefore, certain policies, in broad sense may not fall in the category of national security, hence they are beyond the scope of the conceptual frame-work of this study. The ideas and policies suggested by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar related to state craft and directly related to security and stability of India, and those which appropriately fit in to the new concept of national security are incorporated in the study for the purpose of logical analyses.
1.6 Research Methodology:

National security encompasses various issues, which are essential and important for a progress and for the existence of a nation-state. Therefore, to evaluate the existing security scenario in the country, a content analysis method has been used. So that merits and demerits of the existing policies adopted by the government of India since independence which are responsible for existing situation in the country and security conditions and threats can be evaluated after carrying out critical evaluation of the security policies. It will thus be easier to see correspondingly into the thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on various issues, which are relevant to contemporary problems of India’s national security.

Therefore, various policies for the nation building, policies for national assimilation and national integration, policies for the regional integration, policies for social integration, policies for the political stability, defence policy, policies for external security and foreign relations, etc. propounded by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and the thoughts expressed by him related to the issues of national security are studied and critically evaluated for testing the above-mentioned hypotheses. The security policies and governments programs for the nation building and crucial decisions related to security matters since the independence of India have been studied with the help of historical analytical method. Some of the historical facts during the period before the independence, studied to understand the priorities given by our national leaders to secure our national interests, both short term and long term perspectives.
1.7 Scheme of Chapterisation:

Chapter I: Introduction:

This research work is laid out in eight chapters including ‘Introduction’ and ‘Conclusion’. The first chapter being ‘Introduction’ of the study has mainly discussed the recent problems and issues related to India’s national security, i.e. social, economic, cultural, military, regional and global etc. It also includes objectives of the study, hypotheses, limitations of the study, research methodology and the scheme of chapterisation.

Chapter II: The Conceptual Framework:

This chapter highlights the concept of national security, from its inception since the seventeenth century to the recent one, i.e. security concept in the age of globalization. It also analyzed in the context of India. In conceptual framework of security, an attempt has made to discuss Hobb’s and Marxian view on security apart from other views and its contemporary relevance. Hourglass model of security also been discussed in details.

Concepts of individual security, state security, elements of states and components significant to national security have been discussed before making the conceptual framework for the present research work. It is felt essential here to overview the significant ideas and views of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on issues of India’s national security for the purpose of providing basis to construct the framework. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has put forth his views on very concerned issues and problems of national security of India as well as provided solutions to the problems and suggested definite policies for sustainable security of India.
Chapter III: Thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on Nation Building Policies of India:

In this chapter, a detail study has been carried out on nation building policies of Government of India and thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on various policies of nation building i.e. economic policy, education and eradication of poverty, etc. Some of the policies suggested by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar have been adopted by the Government of India, the results and implications of these policies examined for the purposes of determining the degree of nation building.

Chapter IV: Thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on Policies of National Integration:

In this chapter, an attempt has made to prove the provisions of Indian constitutions for national integration, i.e. single citizenship, and single judicial system, unity in diversity; this chapter also focuses on meaning and concept of national integration.

1) Policies for the regional integration: Policies those which purposely formulated to foster the regional integration of all states and union territories of India. Center-states relations governed by political and economic governing principles as well as intra-states cooperation and interdependence can take place in a positive direction of national interest.

2) Policies for social integration: Social integration work as a moral force of the national power. It also binds together minds of all social segments of nation-state for a collective act; therefore, it has immense value to overcome any adverse eventualities, which are detrimental to the basic idea of the nation-
state. These policies include social justice, Principle of Secularism, eradication of casts, labour policy, women development policy and education.

**Chapter V : Thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on Policies for Political Stability :**

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to study the political system in India and working of parliamentary democracy as well as federal relations between center-states, and also it highlights thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on political stability.

**Chapter VI : Thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on India's Defence and Foreign Policy :**

A detail study focuses on India’s defence policy and India’s foreign policy highlighted with reference to contemporary problems of India’s national security, such as Kashmir issue, alliance with the foreign powers, approach to the foreign policy, and some of the other strategic issues.

**Chapter VII: Consequences of Non-Implementation of Security Policies of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar :**

This chapter focuses on consequences of non-implementation policies of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar i.e. Defence policies, Policies for external security and foreign relations and policies for regional integration. According to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s strategic thoughts, he has advocated the need for the second capital at Hyderabad for strategic and security purpose. He propounded concept of compulsory military education to Indian youth for enhancing the human resources of the country and inculcating national spirit in the minds of every new generation, and making them aware of the security matters. For
regional integration point of view, he suggested smaller states based on one state
one language and not one language one state formula.

Chapter VIII : Conclusion :

The present detailed study carried out in view of the objectives of the study
that revealed the following findings.

A narrow view of national security restricted to its military aspects would
not suffice to reflect the current realities in the national and international security
system. The concept of national security is multidimensional concept. It
encompasses politico, military, economic aspects: - regional equilibrium and
vertical integration, socio-cultural aspects – assimilation and integration of
heterogeneous group and integration by annihilating social hierarchical structures.
It is revealed that thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar are seems to be prudent
and result oriented if implemented properly and through which India can be
protected from self-fragmentation.

It reveals that India’s security lies in the balance of Center-state relation,
which aspired by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Secondly, the economic potential of
India needs to be harnessed by bringing womenfolk and socially weaker section of
the society into the economic integration. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has given top
priority to law and order in the country for which he has suggested many ways and
means to tackle in extra ordinary eventualities. The strategic thinking of
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in many ways can help to keep our country more secure
in the many years to come.

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