INDIA’S PALESTINE POLICY SINCE 1992

THESIS
SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

IN
WEST ASIAN STUDIES
(POLITICAL SCIENCE)

BY

SASMITA TRIPATHY

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
Prof. S. Shamir Hassan

CENTRE OF WEST ASIAN STUDIES
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)
2012
Dedicated to my Parents, Brothers & Sisters
Contents

Introduction 1-20

1. India and Palestine in the Pre-Independence Period 21-43
   - The INC & the Khilafat Movement 22
   - The Palestine Question 24
   - Perception of Gandhi 34
   - Perception of Nehru 39

2. India’s Policy Towards Palestine, 1947-1992 44-81
   - India’s Support to Palestine Issue at the United Nations 45
   - India’s Espousal of Palestine Issue at the NAM 55
   - India’s Relationship with the PLO 57
   - India’s Palestine Policy: An Alternate View 69

3. India’s Diplomatic Relationship with Israel: Impact on Palestine 82-132
   - Rajiv Gandhi and the Normalisation of Relationship with Israel 82
   - Domestic Discourse and the Normalisation of Relationship 85
   - Factors That Contributed to Normalisation 95
   - International & Domestic Reactions 105
   - Impact of India-Israel Relationship on India’s Support to Palestine 116
India Palestine Relationship, 1992-2012  133-194
Political & Diplomatic Support  133
Support at the International Forums  159
Economic and Humanitarian Support for Nation Building  171
India’s Support to Palestine: A Critique  179
Support to Palestine at the Non-Governmental Level  187

4. The Israeli Palestinian Peace Process: Should India Play a Mediatory Role?  195-235
Role Before 1991  195
Role Since Madrid Conference  197
Should India Play a Mediatory Role in the Israel Palestine Peace Process?  203
The Domestic Discourse on India’s Role in the Peace Process  208

Conclusion  236-245
Bibliography  246-277
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABBREVIATIONS</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRICS</td>
<td>Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTA</td>
<td>Free Trade Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC</td>
<td>Gulf Cooperation Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBSA</td>
<td>India Brazil and South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICCR</td>
<td>Indian Council for Cultural Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>Indian National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JS</td>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAS</td>
<td>League of Arab States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEA</td>
<td>Ministry of External Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>Non-Aligned Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIC</td>
<td>Organisation of Islamic Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLO</td>
<td>Palestine Liberation Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNA</td>
<td>Palestine National Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSP</td>
<td>Praja Socialist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSP</td>
<td>Samyukta Socialist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNO</td>
<td>United Nations Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNGA</td>
<td>United Nations General Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSC</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNRWA</td>
<td>United Nations Relief Works Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSCOP</td>
<td>United Nations Special Committee on Palestine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WANA</td>
<td>West Asia and North Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organisation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While fault-finding is an easy task, fact-finding requires a lot of dedication and hard-work. This was the feeling I got while studying India’s Palestine Policy. Initially the study looked Herculean but the constant encouragement and consistent guidance of my Supervisor coupled with his liberal attitude made this task easy and comfortable to me. For this I express my sincere gratitude to Prof. S. Shamir Hasan.

The collection of material for this study was, do doubt difficult, but the cooperation and cordiality extended by the staffs of various libraries—Centre of West Asian Studies, Maulana Azad (AMU), IDSA, JNU, Sapru House, Teen Murthy, USI—did not let me feel difficult at all. I am thankful to all of them. I am also indebted to all the teaching and non-teaching staffs of the Centre of West Asian Studies for their timely help and support. I also owe special thanks to all the friends in the Centre for their support and encouragement.

Words are not sufficient to express one’s feelings. In no way, I can express my gratitude to my Husband, Dr. Upendra Choudhury (Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, AMU), daughter Abhipsa and son Akshat whose sacrifice, patience and assistance helped me to complete this thesis. I also gracefully acknowledge my gratitude to my parents and other family members for their support and encouragement.

Finally I would like to thank Mr. Arshad Ali for the pains he undertook and enthusiasm he showed to type out this manuscript.

Now that I am at the end of it all, there is an inescapable feeling welling inside me: the study could have been bettered.

Date:                                                             Sasmita Tripathy
DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled as “India’s Palestine Policy Since 1992” submitted by me in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Aligarh Muslim University is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted to AMU or any other University for any other degree.

Sasmita Tripathy

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. S. Shamir Hassan  Prof. S. Shamir Hassan
(Chairperson) (Supervisor)