P.G. Diploma in Migration and Diaspora
(PGDMIDI)

MDI-005
INDIAN DIASPORA: SOCIO-POLITICAL AND POLICY ASPECTS

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Indira Gandhi National Open University
Maidan Garhi, New Delhi 110068 www.ignou.ac.in

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SOH, IGNOU

PROGRAMME COORDINATORS

Dr. Sadananda Sahoo and Prof. Nandini Sinha Kapur

COURSE COORDINATORS

Dr. Sadananda Sahoo and Prof. Nandini Sinha Kapur and Prof. Shubhangi Vaidya

COURSE PREPARATION

MDI-005 : Indian Diaspora : Socio-Political and Policy Aspects

Block 1 Politics of Migration and Policies on Diaspora with implications for Foreign Policy and National Security

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Unit 45 Impact of Politics on Emigration and Immigration: Dr. M. Mahalingam

Unit 46 Diaspora and Soft power diplomacy: Dr. Rahul Anand Maslekar

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COURSE EDITING

Prof. P.C. Jain, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
Dr. Sadananda Sahoo, SOITS, IGNOU
Prof. Nandini Sinha Kapur, SOITS, IGNOU
Dr. Shubhangi Vaidya, SOITS, IGNOU

PRINT PRODUCTION

Mr. Rajiv Girdhar
Assistant Registrar
MPDD, IGNOU, New Delhi-110 068

Mr. Hemant Kumar Parida
Section Officer
MPDD, IGNOU, New Delhi-110 068

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MDI 005: Indian Diaspora: Politico-Economic and Policy Aspects

In the earlier course, MDI 004, you learnt about the history of the Indian diaspora. This course titled "Indian Diaspora: Politico-Economic and Policy Aspects", you will learn about how Indian diasporas engage with the home country that are both important politically and economically. The Indian diaspora represents a remarkable diversity and heterogeneity in terms of its socio-cultural, economic and political association with the country of origin. This course is composed of three blocks and covers a range of topics that are related to the policies at home and host countries. It also covers diaspora's economic engagement in the form of investment, remittances and entrepreneurship. There are issues concerning the citizenship of the diaspora in various countries. The migration and diasporic experience are also a great cultural, social and economic challenge for the migrant and diaspora communities. There are issues related to human trafficking, marriage, citizenship and property rights which directly impact their diasporic lives. The role of many civil society organisations within the diaspora and home country is another area that needs to be understood in the globalized world. These issues have been dealt with in detail in this course. We hope you will enjoy learning these interesting tales related to the Indian diaspora.

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Block 1

Politics of Migration and Policies on Diaspora with implications for Foreign Policy and National Security

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UNIT 44 EVOLUTION OF INDIA'S DIASPORA POLICY

Structure

44.0 Learning Objectives

44.1 Introduction

44.2 Pre-independence diaspora policy

- 44.2.1 Indian National Congress: Initial policies and attempts
- 44.2.2 Gandhi's efforts in South Africa
- 44.2.3 Achievements of INC

44.3 Post-independence diaspora policy

44.4 Shifting policies since the 1970s.

44.5 Let us sum up

44.6 Key Words

44.7 References/ Select readings

44.8 Check your progress- possible answers.

44.0 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to

- Explain India's diaspora policy in pre-independence period
- Describe India's post-independence shift in diaspora policies.
- Understand Indian diaspora's economic, cultural and political engagement
- Comprehend various programmes and schemes undertaken by the Indian government for the welfare and protection of its diaspora communities.

44.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit gives an account of India's diaspora policy, which is divided in different phases. The unit starts by looking at and analysing the policies undertaken during the colonial period. It then moves on to have a look at the post-independent India's approach towards its diaspora and how the changes in attitude of the government towards its diaspora have transformed its engagement with the overseas Indians.

History of migrations from the Indian subcontinent is very old. Emigration, immigration and human settlements are as old as the history of humankind itself. However, it was in the 19th and 20th centuries that India witnessed large-scale migrations. Several waves of emigration have resulted in the formation of different types of diasporas. The first type is 'indentured labour'. In the colonial period, there was outflow of indentured labour. The colonial-induced migration led to formation of Indian diaspora in countries such as Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Mauritius, Surinam and Fiji. Furthermore, there were professionals who emigrated to mostly developed regions such as North America, Canada and Europe. In the post-World War II era, emigration of professionals was

witnessed in these countries. Due to the oil boom in the Gulf in 1970s and 1980s, a third wave of migration to the Gulf was also witnessed. Today, Indian diaspora is spread across the globe with varied ethnic formations.

Indian diaspora has been categorised by the government into "Non-Resident Indian" (NRI), "Persons of Indian Origin" (PIO) and "Overseas Citizen of India" (OCI). Some emigrants retained their Indian nationality but continued to live overseas for various reasons, specifically employment. They are referred to as NRIs. Persons of Indian Origin is "a person who or whose ancestors was an Indian national and who is presently holding another country's citizenship/nationality i.e. he/she is holding foreign passport" (GOI, 2017). A person registered as Overseas Citizen of India under section 7 A of the Citizenship Act, 1955 is granted Overseas citizenship of India (GOI, 2017). . In 2016, Indian diaspora was estimated to be approximately 31 million with 17 million as People of Indian Origins (PIOs) and 13 million as Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) (GOI, 2018).

Today's diaspora is a mix of professionals, students, traders and businessmen, and labourers spread throughout the world. In addition to class distinction, there is also a distinction based on religion, region, and ethnicity as well as in terms of new and old diaspora. Therefore, it is not a homogenous group, but a heterogeneous group with stratification and layers. Indian diaspora, especially in developed countries, are becoming extremely significant in their home land as well as host land because of their economic heft and political activism.

44.2 PRE-INDEPENDENCE DIASPORA POLICY

The history of emigration from the Indian sub-continent goes back to the historic time of pre-Christian era. The modern history of emigration of Indians, however, started with the colonial state that encouraged and promoted the emigration of indentured labour to various British colonies and European countries. With the ban on slavery in British colonies in the 1830s, the British began facing labour shortage problems in their plantation islands. To overcome this shortage, the British started a new system of indentured labour from India. This led to a development of a new kind of labour, 'indentured labour'. Tinker (1993) asserts that although slavery was banned in 1830s, this form of system was no less than slavery; in fact, he called it "slavery in disguise". This system remained in place from 1840 to 1920.

The British government was directly involved in the process of emigration and deliberately chose poor peasants, untouchables and Adi Dravida as they were easily convinced to move out due to their economic as well as social condition. However, the direct involvement of the British in the process of emigration was only till the workers boarded the ship.This implied that the colonial government was not much concerned with the needs of labour in destinations. Migration of indentured labour basically satiated the needs of the British for increased demands of labour.

These labourers were mostly sent to Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Mauritius, Surinam, Fiji, Caribbean, South Africa and South East Asia, where they faced severe exploitation and violation of rights. The most inhumane characteristic of the indentured labour system was that labourers were forced to sign a contract without reading and understanding the terms of the contract. Furthermore, any breach in the terms and conditions of contract by the labour put them in great trouble (ICWA, 2001). Most often, the issues of residence, rights, poor-working conditions, long working hours, racial discrimination,

no proportional representation in the political system, substandard facilities of education, medical, conveyance etc. were the main concerns of the overseas labour.

44.2.1 Indian National Congress: Initial policies and attempts

Due to ever increasing instances of exploitation of labour in foreign countries, the nationalist consciousness towards the plight of overseas Indians soon became a major concern. The Indian National Congress (INC) made persistent efforts to alleviate the suffering of overseas labour. The INC demanded equality of rights, and fair and at par treatment of Indian labour with the natives; thereby, standing against discrimination of any kind.

The INC pressured the colonial government to act against the exploitation of the labour and uphold their rights. The INC, furthermore, popularised the problems and issues of labour and spread awareness about their miserable condition throughout the country and also pressed for a ban of recruitment by the government.

Political leaders considered that it was through the state that the conditions of indentured labour could be improved. Therefore, initially the state was being looked upon as an instrument to take action and redress the issues of expatriate Indians including the indentured labour as well as voluntary migrants (Vardharajan, 2010). Voluntary migrants were also facing many problems. One of the most important problems was that of racial discrimination. Therefore, some Congress leaders began demanding racial equality. The INC also appealed to the government in Britain as well as to the specific governments in the colonies to look into the problems of the overseas Indians.

Under the pressure from the INC and the families of the labourers, the colonial government did try to bring reform by devising policies and legislatives for wellbeing and protection of these workers. Additionally, Commissions were formed to inquire the status of these workers and provide suggestions to ease their problems. Some suggestions were made by these commissions. For example, it was demanded that the immigrant workers may be allotted land and allowed to work as free men after the period of indenture was over. However, this step had problems for the natives or the owners. Therefore, no substantial difference could be made to the conditions of the labourers.

44.2.2 Gandhi's efforts in South Africa

Mahatma Gandhi, being an overseas Indian himself, showed keen interest in the affairs of the diaspora. When Gandhi was in South Africa, he struggled for the cause of the Indians residing in Natal province. The government of the Natal province made strict rules of disenfranchising Indians in 1894. Furthermore, Black Act, "Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, 1906" exploited the overseas Indians. Gandhi resisted the exploitation, defied the discriminatory act and led Satyagrah movement.

Gandhi and his companions faced many hardships during the struggle including imprisonment many times. However, after many efforts, the Natal government accepted the demand of Gandhi as well as national support from India and to some extent pressure from the British. However, South African government cited the agreement stating that Indians would be repatriated to their homeland. This meant that Indians would be sent back to India without their will, which again was an infringement of their rights and lawful settlement.

In this regard, the colonial government said that the Indian diaspora belonged to the place of their settlement and were a resident of that colony. The colonial government

did not take the problems of Indians in Africa seriously till 1914. The British officials in India were concerned about addressing the concerns of the White settlers and not that of the Indians. It is due to the agitations of political leaders in India that the British came under pressure to reconsider the legal provisions.

In addition to concerns for the diaspora in South Africa, Gandhiji was concerned for the Indians across the globe.

44.2.3 Achievements of INC

By the early 20th century, with the united efforts of Gandhiji and other political leaders of the Indian National Congress, some positive changes were being witnessed. Indian leaders, who were concerned about its overseas population all over the world, had put across its concerns of racial discrimination and other serious grievances in several international meetings and conferences of International organisations such as the League of Nations.

Additionally, Indian National Congress sent a number of missions to countries like Fiji, Malaya, Ceylon, Zanzibar and South Africa to pressurise the colonial government to act in favour of the emigrants. Furthermore, a separate department, Department of Overseas Indians, was set up under the surveillance of the General Secretary of the All Indian Congress Committee (AICC) in 1929. This department maintained links with the overseas Indians. In addition, links were also established through several overseas Indian organisations. Many of these organisations and associations were affiliated to the INC. Along with establishing links with their overseas populations, the INC also maintained that the overseas citizens should be given rights to citizenship in the country of their settlement.

However, even after institutionalisation of the movement by making a separate department for overseas Indians and several other efforts, no substantial result could be witnessed. Indian elites, though taking interest in the matters of its diaspora, could not make much difference to the status and ordeal of the overseas Indians.

The Indian colonial government, on the other hand, did not make any practical and substantial efforts to emancipate the workers. When South Africa enacted harsh rules like the Pegging Act of 1943 against overseas Indians, for instance, the Indian government did not oppose the rules. According to the Pegging Act, purchase of lands by Indians in Natal and Transvaal was restricted.

This was considered by Indian nationalists a grave atrocity against overseas Indians. This case drew the attention of the public also, who openly criticised the colonial government for not taking any action. According to nationalists, the reason that the government was not taking any action is because the British were themselves subjugating the Indian populace; therefore, it was not a matter of concern for them that Indians are being subjugated elsewhere as well. Hence, it was largely believed that a colonial government will not resist subjugation of overseas Indians as it is also doing the same with the rest of the Indians.

Gradually, INC started incorporating in its freedom struggle, the demand of emancipation of overseas Indians. According to Rajan (2014), the achievement of India's independence was considered as an important prerequisite for emancipation of the condition and status of the overseas Indians. In this regard, the Indian diaspora in developed countries, such as in the US, started supporting India's independence struggle.

In 1940, the system of indentured labour was finally scrapped. A few years later, India

got independence. However, the post-independence period witnessed a shift in the diaspora policies of the INC, which is discussed in detail in the next section.

Check you progress 1

1. Why did the British start the system of indentured labour?

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2. What type of exploitation was being faced by indentured labour?

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44.3 POST-INDEPENDENT DIASPORA POLICY

Under the leadership of Nehru, the focus in post-independent India was on building a self-sufficient country and to develop a strong foreign policy guided by principles of anti-imperialism, non-alignment, sovereignty, and secularism. In view of the economic and political development of India, there was no role envisaged for the diasporas. This suggests a policy shift from pre-independence period to post-independence.

Nehru considered diaspora as the subject of the country of their settlement and stated that the emigrants who desire to live in the host country should consider themselves as its nationals (Mahalingam, 2013). Thus, Nehru encouraged diasporas to integrate with the host countries and work towards its emancipation; thereby, undermining their role in the development of India. Diasporas obviously had ties with their families back home, but were not encouraged to take part in economic or political development of India. Nevertheless, India did show moral concern towards its diaspora and maintained that those Indians who have contributed in building foreign lands and have become a permanent resident of that land must be treated equally with the local people. They must enjoy equal rights, citizenship and all other privileges at par with the local population.

Under the leadership of Nehru, India became a champion of anti-colonialism and fought for liberation of the world from the clutches of colonial powers. It further became a source of revival of South Asia. Therefore, it was difficult to extensively concentrate on issues of diaspora as it started playing a new role in international relations, which was yet to be carved. In a declaration in Singapore on March 18, 1946, Nehru stated:

"India cannot forget her sons and daughters overseas. Although India cannot defend her children overseas today, the time is soon coming when her arms will be long enough to protect them" (quoted in Sarwal, A (2017, p. 17)).

Nehru discussed the overseas Indians further in the Indian Assembly on March 8, 1948 and stated that

"Now these Indians abroad, what are they? Are they Indian citizens- are they going to

be citizens of India or not? If they are not, then our interest in them becomes cultural, humanitarian and political" (quoted in Sarwal, A (2017, p. 17)).

India stressed on overseas Indians to be well integrated in their host countries. Its focus shifted to carving its own foreign policy. The quote above clearly explains that the links of India with its diaspora would be purely cultural and humanitarian, but not political. Therefore, this meant that whatever links were formed in the pre-independence era with the overseas political organisations have to be loosened now.

The issue of diaspora was not raised till the 1970s by the successive governments either. The governments did not develop any machinery to deal with the diaspora question, neither did they intend to. The issues of diaspora weren't given much attention by the Indian government. However, as per the needs, the diaspora questions were addressed on a bilateral basis with the host country government such as trying to address the problems of Indian Tamils stuck between the fight of Lankan Tamils and Sinhalas in Sri Lanka. But, no such machinery was in place that would give recommendations to the government related to the Indian diaspora across the globe. Additionally, the potential that they had as a transnational actor who could bring change at several levels such as economic, cultural, technological and political, was also not realised by the Indian government till 970s.

In the 1970s, however, certain voices were raised from the diaspora community, when they demanded to take part in the elections of India. This was rejected by the Indian government. In 1978, the Indian diaspora in the Gulf demanded representation in the Punjab and Kerala states assemblies and overseas Indian seats in parliament. But, this too was not considered (Dutt, 1980) These demands were made perhaps due to the fact that diasporas were exploited in the host countries; therefore, they wanted to have security and protection at least by the Indian government.

The Indian diaspora formed several organisations based on ethnicity, culture, and religion. They also formed pan-India organisations that go beyond their ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identities. These organisations were formed with various purposes such as to strengthen their community against racial discrimination, develop unity among these diaspora groups and participate in the political processes of the host countries, to keep up the religious and cultural traditions etc. Since there was not much support from the home country government, the diasporas sought the help of each other to lobby for their interests.

44.4 SHIFTS IN DIASPORA POLICY

The policy of the Indian government regarding its diaspora remained unchanged till the 1970s. However, with the coming to power of the Janata government in 1977, India's diaspora policy took a turn. Now, the Indian government started showing interest in its diaspora. This became evident when the Indian Council of Cultural Relations was made responsible to look after the affairs of the Indian diaspora.

The Department of Overseas Indians that existed in the Ministry of External Affairs in the 1950s was revived by the Janata government. It was revived for the sole purpose of looking into the matters of diaspora groups, to study their issues and concerns and to address their queries.

Towards the end of the cold war in late 1980s, a sharp tilt in Indian Foreign Policy was also witnessed. The Indian government started viewing diaspora as crucial transnational

actors with economic, political, cultural and social relevance in India. The shift in the Indian government's approach coincided with the global processes that were being initiated at that time in the form of liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation.

Also, emigration of workers increased following the oil price boom in the Gulf. In addition, there was migration of highly qualified professionals to the western countries. This phase emerged as a wave of outflow of Indians to developed countries such as the US, the UK, Canada, and Australia. These emigrants were mostly professionals. Their enhanced political, economic, technological and social clout became a source of recognition for the Indian diaspora as well as the Indian state.

Due to liberalisation, the Indian economy opened up and there were increased possibilities of trade, FDI, and setting up of Multinational companies in India. Additionally, philanthropy and remittances became a major source of income for many families in India. The Indian government started viewing the Indian diaspora as an important agent for economic development and its stance towards its diaspora also changed and a revised diaspora policy came to define India's foreign policy.

The National Democratic acliancce (India)

In 1998, NDA, led by BJP, undertook several steps to involve diaspora economically as well as culturally. The importance of Diaspora for India increased and could be seen in the Chennai declaration of the BJP:

"We believe that the vast community of NRIs and PIOs also constitute a part of the 'Great Indian Family'. We should endeavour to continually strengthen their social, cultural, economic and emotional ties with their mother country. They are a rich reservoir of intellectual, managerial and entrepreneurial resources. The government should devise innovative schemes to facilitate the investment of these resources for India's all-round development" (quoted in Mahalingam (2013)).

Keeping its promise, the government undertook a number of initiatives such as appointment of High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora, launch of PIO card scheme, conducting Pravasi Bharatiya Divas annually, and awarding diaspora with the Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Awards.

India's engagements with its diaspora were to prove fruitful in time to come. In addition to economic aid, investments, philanthropy and remittances, Indian diaspora especially in the developed countries like the US and UK have been an important lobby group, exercising political pressure on host countries. For instance, Indian American's lobbying efforts were instrumental in the signing of the Indo-US civil nuclear deal. They also lobbied against the Burton Amendment and defeated it.

The Indian diaspora also justified India's nuclear tests in 1998, when India received worldwide criticism for these tests. The Indian diaspora maintained that India conducted nuclear tests in fear of a daunting neighbour, China. During the Kargil war in 1999, diasporas lobbied in the US Congress to pressurise Pakistan to cease violations. Likewise, "Indian caucus on Capitol hill and several other advocacy and lobby groups were instrumental in pushing India's national and security interests forward" (Mahalingam, 2013).

In August 2000, the Indian government made an announcement that it will constitute a high level committee on the Indian diaspora, which will be headed by Dr.L.M.Singhvi. It included studying the strengths and weaknesses of diaspora, reviewing the status of PIOs and NRIs, reviewing the provisions of the constitution regarding diaspora. The

committee was further asked to provide recommendations that would resolve the problems faced by diaspora as also to structure out a framework for diaspora policy. It also had provisions to search for ways to involve diaspora into a meaningful dialogue and participation.

The High Level Committee released its report in 2002. The report dealt with several issues. It contained achievements of the Indian diaspora, their weaknesses and problems that they face in a host country. It culminated in a policy framework to strengthen the bonds between India and its diaspora (GOI, 2002). It also provided important policy recommendations such as opening up a single window to work with NRIs.

As per the suggestions of the HLC, Indian state started celebrating the Pravsai Bharatiya Divas in 2003, which is attended by Indian diaspora from across the globe. Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Awards are also given to some members of the diaspora community. In order to engage with diaspora in a more meaningful manner, the Indian government also set-up a new ministry, i.e. Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) in 2004. This, however, was merged with the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) in 2016.

Since the last few decades, the Indian government (specially the Modi government since 2014) has been pro-actively engaging with its diaspora. Diaspora, nowadays, plays an important role during elections in India. Political engagement can be seen in the form of donations and financial support to political parties in India, which mostly helps parties in election campaigning. The diaspora also formed the party offices in their respective countries to gather support.

Currently, there are many schemes that Indian states offer to the diaspora. Some of them are: National Pension scheme for NRIs, Scholarship programmes for diaspora children, Indian community welfare fund, student registration portal, India development foundation of overseas Indians etc. The Ministry of External Affairs also runs many programmes on its website such as Know India Programme, Know Goas Programme, Bharat ko Janiye Online Quiz etc.

Additionally, to promote protection and welfare of Emigration Check Required (ECR) workers immigrating to 18 ECR countries, the government has initiated a platform, "eMigrate". eMigrate is an electronic platform, which has made it mandatory to register ECR workers through registered recruiting agents only. Additionally, it interconnects key stakeholders of the recruitment and emigration process such as the Protector General of emigrants, emigrants, recruiting agents, employers, Passport Seva, Bureau of immigration etc. This enables safe and legal migration of workers as the system reduces the chances of going through illegal agents.

Check your progress 2

1. What shift in diaspora policy was witnessed post-cold war?

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2. Name different programmes and schemes initiated by the government of India for its diaspora?

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44.5 LET US SUM UP

To conclude it can be said that Indian diaspora policy has been changing since colonial times. During the colonial times, the British government, who started the system of indentured labour, didn't pay much attention to the needs of the Indian diaspora. The nationalists, however, were concerned about its diaspora and undertook a number of initiatives against their exploitation and violation of rights.

Post-independence, a shift was seen, where the government, formed by the nationalists, urged the diaspora community to consider their host countries as their nation and work towards its liberation and emancipation. This meant that the Indian government wasn't very much interested in the matters of its diaspora.

However, since late 1970s, this policy of the Indian government changed and they started viewing the Indian diaspora as important actors owing to several changes that occurred at that time. The Indian state started engaging with its diaspora meaningfully. Currently, diaspora policy is an integral part of the Indian foreign policy and diaspora are politically, culturally as well as economically engaged with the country of their origin.

44.6 KEY WORDS

Indentured Labour : An unfree labour bound by a contract, working under a particular employer for a fixed term.

Diaspora policy : Policies adopted for engagement or disengagement of its diaspora communities in a country's political, economic, social and cultural affairs.

Diaspora lobby : Groups or influential individuals in diaspora communities who influence or seek to influence governmental (homeland and hostland) foreign and domestic policies.

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44.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1. During the colonial period, there was outflow of indentured labour. They were sent as indentured labourers by the British to several countries such as Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Mauritius, Surinam and Fiji. With the ban of slavery in British colonies in the 1830s, British were facing problems of labour shortage for their plantation islands. To overcome this shortage, the British started a new system of indentured labour from India. This led to a development of a new kind of labour called 'indentured labour'.

2. The most inhumane characteristic of the indentured labour system was that labourers were forced to sign a contract without reading and understanding the terms of the contract. Furthermore, any breach in terms and conditions of contract by the labour landed them in great trouble. Most often, the issues of residence, rights, poor-working conditions, long working hours, racial discrimination, no proportional representation in the political system, substandard facilities of education, medical, conveyance etc. were the main concerns of the indentured labour.

Check Your Progress 2

1. After the end of the cold war in late 1980s, a sharp shift in Indian Foreign Policy took place. The Indian government started viewing diaspora as crucial transnational actors with economic, political, cultural and social relevance in India. The shift in Indian government outlook coincided with the global processes that were being initiated at that time in the form of liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation.

2. Currently, there are many schemes that Indian states offer to the diaspora. Some of them are: National Pension scheme for NRIs, Scholarship programmes for diaspora children, Indian community welfare fund, India development foundation for overseas Indians etc. The Ministry of External Affairs also runs many programmes such as Know India Programme, Know Goas Programme, Bharat ko Janiye Online Quiz etc. The Indian state started celebrating the Pravsai Bharatiya Divas in 2003, which is attended by Indian diaspora from across the globe. Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Awards are also given to some members of the diaspora community.

UNIT 45 IMPACT OF POLITICS ON EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION

Structure:

45.0 Learning Objectives

45.1 Introduction

45.2 The World Trade Organization (WTO) and International Migration

45.3 Bumiputra Policy in Malaysia

45.4 Formation of Indian Diaspora in Malaysia

45.5 Affirmative Action for Native Malay majority in Malaysia

45.6 Ramifications of Bumiputra policy on Immigrants or Ethnic Minorities in Malaysia

45.7 Racism and International Migration

45.8 Citizenship Issue in the Gulf

45.9 The Immigration and Visa Policy of Canada

45.10 The Immigration Policy or Visa Policy of USA

45.11 Let Us Sum Up

45.12 Key Words

45.13 References/ Selected Readings

45.14 Check Your Progress—Possible Answers

45.0 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- understand the impacts of emigration on home countries and immigration on host countries.
- describe the Bumiputera policy on the Indian Community in Malaysia
- understand the role of WTO in connection with the international migration.
- learn about racism and its relationship with international migration
- explain the citizenship issues in GULF and Visa policy of the USA and Canada

45.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration or spatial mobility is a natural, global phenomenon since time immemorial. The reasons for migration are diverse such as socio- economic, political and cultural that may be contemporary or historical in nature. After the end of World War II, international migration has grown in space, volume, diversity, and character (Castles and Miller 1993). Origins and destinations of migrants have become much more diverse than before (Hass and Czaika 2019). As scholars point out, mobility is one of the key processes in the era of globalization (Urry 2002; Sassen 2000; Elliot and Urry 2010). The number of international migrants globally in 2019 was 272 million which is about 3.5% of the world's population (World Migration Report 2020:3).

According to an estimate in 2019, India had the largest number of migrants around 17.5 million living abroad, followed by Mexico (11.8 million) and China (10.7 million) respectively (ibid). Migration involves two important processes such as emigration (movement of people from a country) and immigration (movement of people to a country). With regard to emigration, it not only creates opportunities but also challenges for origin countries. For instance, on the one hand, the sending or origin countries obtain investments, economic and social remittances from its emigrants to boost the economic development and migrants are being viewed as 'strategic asset' for strengthening bilateral diplomatic relations , on the other hand, they may face the loss of human capital popularly known as brain drain and the national security related issues——the growth of terrorism related activities and the political or sectarian ethnic movements due to long distance nationalism of its citizens living abroad.

In the case of immigration, the immigrants might contribute to the economic growth and development in the host or destination countries; the presence of immigrants might add up to cultural diversity and subsequent multi-cultural practices. On the flip side, the host countries might face national security challenges especially from the 'illegal' or irregular immigrants, the advent of xenophobia and racism because of presence of alien migrants amongst native population. Hence, apart from demographic changes, migration is also associated with various socio-economic, political and cultural implications for origin and host countries, so it is a Janus- faced phenomenon. Given the above implications of migration, the politicisation of migration is a reality in many of the countries around the world in the light of growing international migration in the recent decades. The origin and host countries have taken various policy initiatives or measures to regulate or manage emigration and immigration. Let us discuss in this chapter the politics and implications of emigration and immigration in a few select countries around the world.

45.2 THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO) AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Under globalization, the world has become more interconnected and interdependent in terms of trade, capital, and movement of people and so on. The mission of World Trade Organization (WTO) is no longer a global trade body governing trade relations among the member countries, it also regulates and manages by lifting trade barriers in services including migration through its trade instrument GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services).

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) that liberalizes not only trade in goods but also trade in services through four modes: Mode 1- cross-border supply; Mode 2-cross-border consumption; Mode-3 -establishment of a commercial presence and Mode 4- presence of natural persons across WTO member states. Mode 4 is related to the movement of natural persons for the purpose of providing service across WTO member states. The natural persons may be either suppliers of services (independent professionals) or employees of a service supplier. However, mode 4 is about the temporary movement of natural persons across the WTO member states. Further, it is also about the limited admission of the high-skilled migration of professionals who are managers, executives and highly-skilled specialists and business visitors. The GATS is neither applicable to persons seeking access to the labour market of the host country, nor it covers measures regarding citizenship, residence or employment on a permanent basis.

Apart from limiting admission to certain categories of persons, there are other restrictions in Mode 4 that include: (a) short-term durations of stay; (b) quotas; (c) requirements to pass "economic needs tests" or "labour market tests"; (d) pre-employment conditions, and (e) residency and training requirements. It is very important to note that Mode 4 excludes semi-skilled and unskilled migration into the WTO member states. The developing countries are lobbying for the admission of semi-skilled and unskilled workforce under mode 4 as well.

If the existing limitations and barriers are reduced, Mode 4 trade is expected to produce substantial economic benefits for origin and host countries. In the case of origin country, the beneficial effects are as follows: (a) the reduction of pressure on labour market and unemployment rate; (b) inflows of remittance; (c) technology transfer and development of human capital; (d) social remittances; (e) reducing the costs of brain drain given the nature of temporary migration. In relation to the host countries, the benefits are as follows: a) meeting the labour shortage (b) avoiding social and political costs of permanent migration (c) reduction of pressure of undocumented migration by providing an alternative through temporary movement.

Despite the above-mentioned benefits for origin and host countries, the impact of GATS on the developing countries or less developed countries are mixed. For instance, in the case of Nigeria, it witnessed the loss of human capital especially in the health sector as the highly skilled doctors and nurses are increasingly emigrating to the developed countries under the GATS trade liberalization (Aginam 2010). The inclusion of migration in GATS by the WTO stirred up debates in countries like the US as it would meddle up with the existing US immigration policy (Anderson 2006).

The immigration of high skilled, semi-skilled and low -skilled during various historical phases has led to the settlement of immigrants as ethnic minority communities in the host countries. Subsequently, many countries around the world witnessed the rise of religious and ethnic nationalisms and concomitant racism from the locals. Let us discuss the case of Malaysia where bumiputra policy (Son of the soil) can be seen as a positive affirmative action policy implemented by the successive Malaysian governments since independence by excluding the immigrant communities or ethnic minorities namely the Chinese and the Indians.

Check Your Progress: 1

1. **What is the relationship between WTO and international migration?**

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2. **List out the impacts of GATS on the developing countries or less developed countries?**

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45.3 BUMIPUTRA POLICY IN MALAYSIA

Malaysia is a multicultural and multiracial country located in the Southeast Asian regions of the World. Malaysia consists of three major ethnic groups namely the native Malays (also known as Bumiputras) and the immigrant communities such as the Chinese and the Indians. The Indian ethnic community is the third major ethnic community, constituting about 7.7 percent of the twenty-eight million Malaysian population and numerically smaller than the Chinese and the Malays who are a major ethnic groups (Kesavapany and et al: 2008). The Indian community is the third ethnic minority of multi-racial and multi-cultural society of Malaysia which is a heterogeneous group on the basis of class, language and region. Among the Indians, Tamils, Malayalees, Telugus, Sikhs, Gujaratis and others are the major Indian ethnic groups. Among them, Tamils form approximately 80 percent of the total Indian population. Given the numerical majority of Tamils among the Indian ethnicity, Tamil-ness is being asserted in the realm of culture, religion and political representations in Malaysia (ibid).

45.4 FORMATION OF INDIAN DIASPORA IN MALAYSIA

Given the fact of geographical proximity, there have been symbiotic relations between India and Southeast Asia since time immemorial. The process of Indianisation happened through the spread and influence of Indian religions namely Hinduism, Buddhism under the rule of Chola kings of the Tamil region. Thus, Malaysia bears a strong influence of Indian civilization in its culture and language (Krishnan:1936; Sastri1949). Moreover, the long presence of Indian traders on the coastal regions of Malaysia had cemented the link between both countries before the advent of colonialism in Malaysia (Sandhu1969; Mahajani1960; Arasaratnam:1970). The Indian settlement was established due to the mass influx of Indian labourers on the advent of British imperialism. Since plantation agriculture demanded a cheap labour force, given the geographical proximity and also as the aegis of the British, India became an indispensable destination to outsource its labour force to Malaysia. Amongst the Indians, especially, South Indian labour was preferred because of its docility. In the words of Sandhu,

> "South Indian labour was also considered the most satisfactory type of labour because of its docility, which created a relationship of dependence between employer and coolie. The South Indian peasant was malleable, worked well under supervision and was easily manageable. He was not as ambitious as most of his Northern Indian compatriots, lowly paid and rather regimented life of estates and government departments. He has fewer qualms of religious susceptibilities such as aversion to crossing the dreaded kalapane and food taboos… and costless in feeding and maintenance" (Sandhu1969:47-48).

The labour exodus was carried out through innovative, cheap Kanga immigration mechanisms such as Kangani (means foreman or overseer in Tamil) (Sandhu:1969; Jain1970; Amrith:2010; Kaur:2012). The labourers were imported not only for plantation works but also for building roads, railways and ports. Along with labour immigrants, other skilled professionals, unskilled people and traders also immigrated voluntarily in large numbers to take up jobs in the colonial economy of Malaya. In general, the Indian community played a vital role for the growth and development of colonial Malaya. Thus, the formation of the Indian diaspora is a legacy of British colonialism. As the migration of high skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled Indians remains

in vogue given its proximity and demands of the labour market, it resulted in a binary between 'old Indian migrants' or 'new Indian migrants' in Malaysia (Mahalingam 2016).

45.5 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR NATIVE MALAY MAJORITY IN MALAYSIA

Malaysia achieved its independence on 31 August, 1957. The following three ethnicity based political parties such as the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) representing the majority Malays, MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) representing the Chinese and Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) representing the Indians worked for the liberation of Malaysia from the British. At the time of independence, the leaders of these parties on behalf of their respective ethnic communities had negotiations, compromises and bargains in terms of rights of the different ethnic communities in the independent Malaysia. The immigrant and ethnic minority communities namely Chinese and Indians agreed for the special provisions or privileges for the majority Malays as they claimed as bumiputra while framing the constitution of Malaysia; but on the condition of its review after fifteen year of its existence.

In return, the non-Malays were provided with citizenship rights with the various conditions for eligibility. While framing the Malaysian Constitution, the KetuananMelayu' or Malay Supremacy as special provision or privilege was incorporated in the article 153, which says that the paramount duty of the ruler is to safeguard the special position of Bumiputeras as well as the legitimate interests of the other communities. It specifically stipulates that the ruler shall reserve for the Bumiputeras a reasonable proportion in the public service, educational institutions, scholarships and trading or business permits or licenses (Sandhu and Mani 1993). Further, article 89 also states that it empowers the state government to declare certain areas as Malay Reservation Land where only the Malays are entitled to land ownership (Lim 1985: 251). It is estimated that today approximately 4.5 million hectares of land is under Malay reservation and other Malaysians are excluded from its use (Cited in Wade 2009:24).

The special provision of the Constitution for the majority of Malays has been conveniently manipulated by UMNO given its hegemonic political position since independence, for the establishment of Malay hegemony through pro-bumiputra policies (Ramasamy 2008). As a result, the ethnic minorities of Chinese and Indians have been bearing the brunt of pro-majoritarian or bumiputra policy.

45.6 RAMIFICATIONS OF BUMIPUTRA POLICY ON IMMIGRANTS OR ETHNIC MINORITIES IN MALAYSIA

The UMNO-led Barisan Nasional (Alliance) coalition since the Malaysian independence under various Prime Ministers promulgated a slew of public policy measures to empower the majority Malay community economically. For instance, the social engineering policy or positive affirmative action policy that is popularly known as New Economic Policy (NEP) was an instrument of Malay economic nationalism. Under the NEP, an expansion of quotas in education and civil service for Malays was initiated and the thirty per cent equity must be put aside for Bumiputras in the publicly-listed companies and thirty per cent of shares in initial public offerings disbursed by the government to selected Bumiputras at substantial discounts. The extension of the policy as National Development

Policy (NDP) and National Vision Policy (NVP) has reduced the economic equity and upward mobility of Malaysian Chinese and Malaysian Indians considerably over the years (Anbalakan2003; Nagarajan2000).

Malay language nationalism has resulted in the undermining of languages of ethnic minorities. Further, the Islamic religious nationalism has facilitated the resurgence of Islam among the Malays that led to a widening of Malay and non-Malay dichotomy in the recent decades. Further, the cultural heritage of Indians like temples or shrines have been increasingly under attack in recent years as most of the temples were unregistered and located on the reserved lands (Lal 2006). The continuation of pro-Bumiputra policy in Malaysia has been impinging upon the rights and interests of the ethnic minority communities such as the Chinese and the Indians of Malaysia.

Be that as it may, in recent times, the politicisation of migration is under way in many receiving countries around the globe that has resulted in the rise of racism and racial attacks on the immigrants. Let us discuss the racism and politicisation of migration in many countries in the following section.

45.7 RACISM AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

As discussed above, the international migration in the era of globalization appears to be on the rise due to various pull and push factors. So many states have become or are emerging as multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multicultural societies than ever before. The various nation states have put in place mechanisms to accommodate peoples of different cultures, races, religions and languages. At the same time, as reported in the media very often in the recent times, there are manifestations of xenophobia, racism and discrimination in some of the countries which have received substantial numbers of immigrants as workers or as asylum-seekers.

The concepts like racism and xenophobia are not the same even though it overlaps due to certain similar attributes. Racism can be defined as "an ideological construct that assigns a certain race and/ or ethnic group to a position of power over others on the basis of physical and cultural attributes, as well as economic wealth, involving hierarchical relations where the "superior" race exercises domination and control over others" (IOL/IOM/ OHCHR Report 2001:2).

On the other hand, Xenophobia means "it describes attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity" (ibid). Irregular or unauthorized migrants are vulnerable to racist and xenophobic hostility, whether in countries of transit or destination than the regular immigrants (ibid). Anti- immigrant hostility is widely reported from many parts of the world as there is a rise in forced migration in recent times due to civil war, sectarian violence, armed conflicts, grave human rights violations and persecution of hapless minorities in the various parts of the globe (ibid).

Racism in Europe is becoming more open, militant and aggressive, resulting in stark political polarisation. According to the European Network Against Racism, migrants are increasingly the targets of racist violence and speech; and face discriminatory policies and attitudes hindering their access to the labour market in 26 EU countries (ENAR' shadow report; 2015-16). There has been a rise of strong right-wing forces primarily directed against refugees and migrant workers of colour, especially the Muslims.

Germany is a case in point where the weekly protests of the PEGIDA-movement (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident) and the rise of the new right-wing party Alternative for Germany (AfD), has stirred violence against migrants and people of colour, contributing to more than 1000 attacks on refugee homes in 2015 (Cited in Georgi 2019: 96).

Further, ethnic profiling and discriminatory policing of migrants are in practice as the migrants are increasingly perceived as a security risk for the European Union, and the introduction of new border and counter-terrorism measures in some Member States. In Finland, non-Finnish people in several cities were targeted by police and border security forces by carrying out spot checks in April 2016 (ibid). In the case of Italy, certain African nationalities claiming asylum were directly issued a formal refusal order. Foreign nationals and Muslim migrants were harassed by the police for alleged suspicious behaviour in the countries like Austria, Belgium, Spain and the United Kingdom (ibid).

Even the immigrant friendly country like the United States is not immune to rise of racism against immigrants, the practice of racism and xenophobia were visible during the Trump administration, which issued a series of discriminatory executive orders and proclamations targeting Muslims and immigrant communities of colour. Despite intense opposition and criticism from the public, lawmakers, and the federal courts alike, the Trump administration also pushed forward other discriminatory policies towards the Muslim immigrants. Apart from ban on Muslim immigrants, additional discriminatory immigration policies such as extreme vetting for Muslim immigrants and ending of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Sudan and limiting it only for Syrians, Yemenis, and Somalis.

The immigrant communities after their settlement in the host lands maintain a sustained real or imaginary connection with their origin countries resulting in the formation of diaspora communities (Dufoix 2008; Brubaker 2005). On the prevalence of racism, exclusion and dominance and hegemony of the majority native population towards the minority "other" in the areas of social, political and economic life, there is an intensification of transnational practices of diaspora communities with their respective origin countries or ethnic cohorts around the world (Glick Schiller and et.al 1992).

Apart from racism and racial violence, the politicisation of migration has resulted in the exclusion of immigrants from acquiring citizenship despite their long settlement in some countries. Let us discuss the citizenship issues in the Gulf states in the following section.

45.8 CITIZENSHIP ISSUE IN THE GULF

India and the Gulf states have a long trade and cultural relationships given its proximity. The Gulf states are significant for India in terms of employment, gas, crude oil and petroleum. The first wave of Indian migration started when there was an expansion of investment in the oil industry (In the mid-19th century, Indian migrants were substantially found in large numbers in the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, Kuwait and Bahrain (Ahmad and Khan 2011). India is one of the main source countries in South Asia for meeting the shortage of workforce in the Gulf states. The Indian workforce is composed of a small number of skilled labour force and substantial numbers are semi-skilled and unskilled labourers. Indian migrant population is estimated to be three to five million in the Gulf states (ibid).

A majority of migrant workers from Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, and Andhra Pradesh, Goa, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Gujarat and Bihar continue to migrate from India to Gulf States (ibid). Majority of Indians are employed in the private sector. Some of the white-collar workers are working in government offices or public sector companies. Others are engaged in gold, electronics, motor spare parts or textiles, trade in the construction industry or in managing hotels and restaurants (ibid). India received about USD 78.6 billion as remittances in the year 2018 (Word Migration Report 2020:3). The Indian migrant from Gulf States remits about 50-60% total remittances received by India (Ahamd and Khan 2011).

Indian migrants are the "impossible citizens" of the Gulf states (Vora2013), as the Gulf states do not normally provide naturalization and permanent residency or citizenship to Indians or any foreign nationals.The Indian migrants working in the Gulf states are temporary contract workers/ employees who would return home on termination or completion of their work contract. The children who were born to Indian migrants over there could not qualify for residency or citizenship. The following anecdote or vignette will give you a clear picture about the status of Indian migrants in the UAE in particular and in other Gulf states in general:

> One of Neera Vora's interlocutors by the name Rohit is an architect and long-term Indian resident of Dubai. In spite of living over three decades in Dubai where his children were born and raised, he still considers himself a temporary economic migrant. He describes Dubai as "an air-conditioned bus" that offers comfort of life, but is always in transit and thus an unstable place of residence. For many middle-class Indians, such as Rohit, expatriation to the Gulf states is perceived as a privilege, but one that can be terminated at any time (Vora 2013).

So, Indians are the economic migrants who are always transient. The Indian migrants remain as Indian citizens who can aptly be classified as Non-Resident Indians (NRIs). The Indian economic migrants could maintain their culture as there are no policy measures for assimilation or integration in the Gulf states. Over the years, the population of immigrants or foreign nationals have increased in numbers more than the locals in the various Gulf states. In response to the growing numerical minority status of local populations, many Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states are becoming more stringent about their citizenship, migration, and employment policies. The UAE is a case in point where a number of public policies were introduced to restrict citizenship, residency and migration, including the nationalization of employment or popularly known as "Emiratization (Janardhan 2007).

As in the UAE, the Indian migrants or foreign nationals are not allowed to acquire citizenship in other Gulf states like Qatar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and others. In fact, nationalization of employment and introduction of machine or technology in place of manpower in order to reduce the immigrant population is under way to favour the locals or natives (ibid). Even though Indian migrants cannot acquire citizenship in the Gulf states, it is still a preferable destination for the Indians given its proximity and economic opportunities over there.

Apart from the Gulf states, the developed countries such as the U.S.A. and Canada are attractive destination countries for migrants in recent decades. Let us discuss the immigration or visa policy of Canada and the U.S.A. in the following section.

45.9 THE IMMIGRATION AND VISA POLICY OF CANADA

Canada has been a popular destination country for the immigrants among the industrially developed countries for over half a century because of its open or immigrant-friendly policies, economic opportunities and its official policy of multiculturalism since the 1970s. Foreign born people make up about one-fifth of Canada's population- one of the highest ratios for industrialized western countries (Cheatham 2020).

As in the United States, immigration has significantly shaped Canadian society and its culture over the years. After its independence from the United Kingdom in 1867, Canada passed its original Immigration Act of 1869 and revised it in 1910. These acts were discriminatory in nature as it welcomed prospective immigrants of particular race and also from particular region, especially from Europe. The non-Europeans and non-Christians, the poor, ill, and disabled were not encouraged for immigration. During this time, Canada secured farmers and farm workers from European regions to develop its vast track of agricultural lands in the rural and frontier areas (Green and David 1999).

After the Second World War, there was an immigration policy shift to welcome the refugees and others who fled from Europe (Cheatham 2020). Later, the immigration policy was inspired by Cold war, so it welcomed the immigrants from anti-communist and Soviet blocs into Canada (ibid). The immigration policy became more inclusive and non-discriminatory by the enactment of new legislations in the 1960s and 1970 that laid the foundation for immigration regime in Canada later. To achieve the country's socio-economic and cultural goals, the immigration policy of 1971 supported cultural diversity by welcoming the immigrants from diverse cultures and regions. The legislation of 1976 explicitly articulated its commitment to refugees. Since then, Canada pursues immigrant-friendly policies to meet its socio-economic and cultural goals. Canada welcomed approximately 3, 40,000 new permanent residents in 2019 who were generally skilled professionals and the majority came from India (ibid).

In addition, Canada admitted about 800,000 temporary workers and international students (ibid). It also provided permanent residency to immigrants under four main categories such as: economic immigration; family sponsorship; protected persons and refugees; humanitarian and others.

To explain this, Canada's economic immigration has two important types such as Federal high skilled worker programme – it is an expensive and comprehensive process which has a point system by which the largest share of economic immigrants are admitted after biometric screening and language testing and so on. The second programme is provincial nominee programme as well as similar, Quebec-specific programs— economic migrants apply to individual provinces, which choose candidates in order to meet their economic needs. The Federal Government has to approve it. In the case of family immigration, under this programme, spouse, partners, relatives and children can join their family members already living in Canada. However, legal permanent residents apply to sponsor their relatives, who must also apply for permanent residency.

The immigration of same-sex couple is permitted even if they are not married. But a couple must provide proof of a long-standing relationship. Under the Protected persons and Refugees scheme, there are two main types of resettled refugees: government-assisted and privately sponsored. Canada is the number one in terms of refugee

resettlement programme. —Canada grants permanent residency for other humanitarian reasons as well.

(a) Visa Policy of Canada:

(1) The visa policy of Canada is favourable to the Commonwealth countries. Those who are having a valid passport can obtain a temporary resident visa from the diplomatic missions of Canada located in the various countries.

(2) Those who are coming from a country which is listed in the category of Visa exemption, barring the United States of America, should obtain Electronic Travel Authorization (eTA) which helps in arriving in Canada by Air from 2016.

(3) If you are applying for Canada express entry, then you need to be less than 45 years of age.

(4) Students who are pursuing higher education in Canadian universities / institutions should apply for a Canada study permit that is issued to the students when they arrive in Canada. At the same time, while entering the country, they should have a temporary resident visa.

(5) Temporary resident permit (TRP) holders- visitors, students and temporary foreign workers should have eTA or temporary resident visa depending on the nationality.

The visa policy of Canada has always been in transition. It has been very much influenced by socio-economic, cultural and political goals of the governments.

45.10 THE IMMIGRATION POLICY OR VISA POLICY OF USA

The United States of America is commonly known as the land of immigrants. It hosts about 45 million immigrants who have come from different parts of the World (George W.Bush Institute Report:2021). Not surprisingly, the immigrants play an important role in the American economy by filling critical gaps in America's labour force. Apart from economic immigrants, as the USA implements humanitarian immigration policy, it has welcomed refugees who have fled persecution, violence and instability.

To meet the scarcity of skilled labour force, Temporary Worker Visa Programme offers employers to get qualified workers when they cannot find Americans for the positions. There are different kinds of Visas such as H-1B, H-2B, H-2A for getting the needy skilled and unskilled immigrants. The H-1B visa program allows U.S. companies to temporarily employ highly skilled immigrants. The H-2B visa program is for foreign workers seeking employment in non -agricultural jobs. And the H-2A visa program is for seasonal agricultural workers.

H-1B visa is a non-immigrant visa that allows American firms to employ foreign workers in special occupations that require theoretical and technical expertise. H-1B visa scheme came into existence after the enactment of the Immigration Reforms and Control Act in the year 1990 for the immigration of highly skilled people like scientists and engineers only at the beginning. Under the H-1B visa programme, the US government provides a maximum of 85, 000 visas — out of which 65, 000 from abroad and the remaining 20,000 for the foreign students studying in the US.

In 1998, it was amended by the US Congress during the Y2K issue to permit IT professionals. The Senate passed an immigration reform bill in 2013, which was aimed at raising the cap from 85, 000 to 1,35,000 but was stalled in the House of Representatives by the Republicans, as it has a provision leading to get citizenship finally. In the year 2015, the fee for H-1B visa and L1 visa was hiked from $2000 and $ 2,500 to $4000 and $4500 respectively.

Though H-1B visas are related to high skilled workers immigration like scientists and engineers, more than seventy percent are being used by IT companies at present. H-1B visa is quite popular among the foreign high skilled immigrants especially Indians, because it is a long-term visa which allows to work for three years initially and a possible extension of three more years, that eventually leads to obtaining green card or permanent citizenship in the US.

H-1B Visa Issued in the year 2014

S.No	Receiving Country	%
01.	India	69.7
02.	China	8.4
03.	Canada	2.2
04.	Philippines	1.6
05.	South Korea	1.4
06.	United Kingdom	1
07.	Mexico	0.9
08.	Taiwan	0.8
09.	France	0.7
10.	Japan	0.6

Source: Adapted by Author from US Department of Homeland Security

As the above table shows, India is the top most recipient country of H-1B visas and the demand has been on the rise. The US government received about 2,50,000 H-1B visa applications for the financial year 2017, which is significantly more than the cap of 65, 000. It seems that the H-1B visa has fostered the growth of the high-skilled migration of Indians to the United States. After the advent of the H-1B visa scheme, the Indian high skilled migration gained momentum especially the IT professionals. The recent announcement for the capping of H-1B visa would be a great advantage for India as it would resist the emigration of the best and brightest from India. In other words, the 'brain drain' would significantly be reduced instead and would lead to brain gain for India.

During the Donald Trump administration, the policy like 'America First', 'Buy American and Hire American' has led to suspension of the issuing of H-1B visas for highly skilled workforce in June 2020 until at least the end of the year. Further, the Trump administration drastically lowered the annual refugee intake or cap from 2017. In the wake of Islamophobia, there were racists and discriminatory measures targeting Muslim immigrants which was introduced during the regime of Trump administration.

For instance, the nationals and refugees from the following countries such as Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen were banned entry and also tough vetting process was introduced to Muslim immigrants from other parts of the world. Despite strong reactions and protests from within and outside the country against these measures, the Trump administration was very reluctant to roll it back. The Federal Court ruling said that it was an unconstitutional measure and abuse of power by the President. So, the immigration policy of the United States of America witnessed a deviation from its earlier goals and objectives during the Trump administration.

Check your Progress:2

1. **What are the features of the Visa policy of Canada?**

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2. **Describe briefly about the H-1B visas of the United States?**

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45.11 LET US SUM UP

In the face of growing international migration, the politicisation of migration is underway in many receiving countries around the world. In the 1990s, many countries witnessed anti-immigration movements and racist violence against immigrants and minorities. As a result, many countries responded by increasing restrictions on immigrants by reversing its immigration policies. Initiatives like border controls, complex and lengthy immigration process and measures to prevent permanent settlement of immigrants are global reality today to discourage the arrival of immigrants. Further, the other major consequence of the politicisation of international migration has resulted in various international cooperation measures. For instance, in the Western Europe, the Schengen Agreement and a range of other multilateral measures have had some effect in reducing immigration. In the wake of human rights violations in many countries against migrants, the International body like the United Nations took initiative on migration- the 1990 Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families. Further, the ILO convention of 1949, and including declarations and agreements by the Council of Europe, the European Union (EU) and a range of other bodies have set standards for the rights and treatment of migrants.

In some countries, immigrants and their descendants are excluded from citizenship which leads to social and political divisions. The Gulf states are case in point. Around the globe, there is a rise of right-wing politics in recent times that promotes anti-immigration measures under the pretext of nationalism. In light of the above, policies

like multiculturalism are weakening in countries like Canada in recent years. In the context of origin countries, the developing and less-developed countries face the issue of "brain drain" and scarcity of skill manpower as the international migration of high skilled is on the rise. In general, the growing international migration has brought in demographic, socio-economic, cultural and political changes in both sending and receiving societies. In prevalence of racism, Islamophobia and xenophobia in the host societies, the migrants have developed transnational identities and thus intensification of transnational practices in the recent decades.

45.12 KEY WORDS

WTO : **The World Trade Organization—**It is a global trade body governing trade relations among the member countries.

GATS : General Agreement on Trade in Services which liberalizes not only trade in goods but also trade in services through four modes: Mode 1- cross-border supply; Mode 2-cross-border consumption; Mode-3 -establishment of a commercial presence and Mode 4- presence of natural persons across WTO member states.

Bumiputra : Bumiputra or Bumiputera refers to native Malay majority along with indigenous or minority ethnic tribes of Malaysia.

Ketuanan Melayu : It means 'Malay Supremacy' and is a special provision or privilege which was incorporated in the Article 153 of the Malaysia Constitution to safeguard the special position of native Malay majority of Malaysia.

Racism : It is adomination of one race over other races based upon ideological, physical and socio-economic and cultural attributes.

Xenophobia : A rejection or exclusion or vilification of immigrants or foreigners to a community, society or national identity by the locals or the host states showing attitudes, contempt and prejudice is known as xenophobia.

H-1B visa : It is a non-immigrant visa that allows American firms to employ foreign workers in special occupations that require theoretical and technical expertise.

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45.14 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress: 1

1. The World Trade Organization (WTO) is no longer only a global trade body governing trade relations among the member countries, it also regulates and manages by lifting trade barriers in services including migration through its trade instrument GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services). Mode 4 of GATS is related to the movement of natural persons for the purpose of providing service across WTO member states. However, mode 4 is about the temporary movement of natural persons across the WTO member states. Further, it is also about the limited admission of the high-skilled migration of professionals who are managers, executives and highly-skilled specialists and business visitors.

2. The impact of GATS on the developing countries or less developed countries are mixed. For instance, in the case of Nigeria, it witnessed the loss of human capital especially in the health sector as the highly skilled doctors and nurses are increasingly emigrating to the developed countries under the guise of GATS trade liberalization.

Check your Progress: 2

1. The visa policy of Canada has always been in transition. It has been very much influenced by socio-economic, cultural and political goals of the governments. The visa policy of Canada is favourable to the Commonwealth countries. Barring the United States of America, should obtain Electronic Travel Authorization (eTA) which helps in arriving Canada by Air since 2016. Those who are applying for Canada express need to be less than 45 years of age. Students who are pursuing higher education in Canadian universities / institutions should apply for a Canada study permit and so on.

2. H-1B visa is a non-immigrant visa that allows American firms to employ foreign workers in special occupations that require theoretical and technical expertise. H-1B visa scheme came into existence after the enactment of the Immigration Reforms and Control Act in the year 1990 for the immigration of high skilled people like scientists and engineers only at the beginning. . H-1B visa is quite popular among the foreign high skilled immigrants especially Indians, because it is a long-term visa which allows to work for three years initially and a possible extension of three more years, that eventually leads to obtaining green card or permanent citizenship in the US.

UNIT 46 DIASPORA AND SOFT POWER DIPLOMACY

Structure

46.0 Learning Objectives

46.1 Introduction

46.2 Indian Diaspora

- 46.2.1 Difficulties faced by Overseas Indians
- 46.2.2 Indian Government Policies for Diaspora

46.3 National Culture

- 46.3.1 Characteristics of Indian Culture

46.4 Spread of Indian Culture Abroad

- 46.4.1 Religion in Indian Culture
- 46.4.2 Yoga and Ayurveda
- 46.4.3 Indian Music and Dance
- 46.4.4 Art
- 46.4.5 Indian Temple Architecture
- 46.4.6 Indian Film Industry
- 46.4.7 Indian Festivals
- 46.4.8 Indian Cuisine

46.5 Cultural Diplomacy – Projecting Soft Power

46.6 Soft Power of Indian Diaspora

46.7 Let us sum up

46.8 Key Words

46.9 References and Select Readings

46.10 Check Your Progress- Possible Answers

46.0 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

The learning objectives of this Unit are:

(a) To appreciate role of national culture as an element of its Soft Power diplomacy.

(b) To appreciate the role of Indian Diaspora as cultural ambassadors of the nation.

46.1 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner,

India's geographical position in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) allows it to project strategic influence in its extended neighbourhood encompassing the eastern littorals of Africa, Persian Gulf, states of Central Asia and SouthEast Asia. Historically India did not covet extra-territorial aspirations nor did it show aggressive intent against any country. It has preferred to use trade, religion and culture to influence other countries. Over the

centuries Indians have travelled to distant lands for trade. India under colonial rulers saw its people being transported to other parts of the world as indentured labour to serve interests of the colonisers. Post independence many Indians went to developed countries for higher education and better employment opportunities. As per a report compiled by Indian Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) in 2018 there were over 30 million Indians living abroad in nearly every country of this world. While they may have adapted to the local environment, most take pride in continuing to maintain a distinct Indian culture. There are various facets of culture which form important constituents of a nation's 'Soft Power'. This Unit delves into the spread of Indian Diaspora to other parts of the world and how the community has helped the country in being the ambassadors of its culture abroad. In the twenty-first century there has been a determined effort by the political leadership to encourage Indian Diaspora to contribute towards building and enhancing friendly bi-lateral relations between their respective host nations and India. Diaspora is emerging as a major economic, social and cultural force. This Unit will deal with the impact of Diaspora in foreign policy formulation and implications on national security.

46.2 INDIAN DIASPORA

Early Period. People from the Indian sub-continent since long have been leaving its shores to settle abroad for a variety of reasons. Ancient historical accounts mention Buddhist monks travelling from India to Central and East Asia. Emperor Ashok's son, Mahendra and daughter, Sanghamitra travelled to Sri Lanka to spread teachings of Buddha. An offshoot of the sapling of Bodhi tree brought by her to Anuradhapura still survives. *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* written in the first century AD by an anonymous author mentions the presence of Indian traders on the eastern coast of Africa. An inscription at Brihadeshwara temple, Tanjavore, Tamil Nadu, mentions about a large naval expedition launched by Raja Rajendra Chola I in 1025 AD to subjugate the Sri Vijaya kingdom of Sumatra and Malaya peninsula (Herman Kulke, 2009). Such conquests not only established domination over areas beyond the empire's territory, but also facilitated spread and blending of Indian culture with the local.

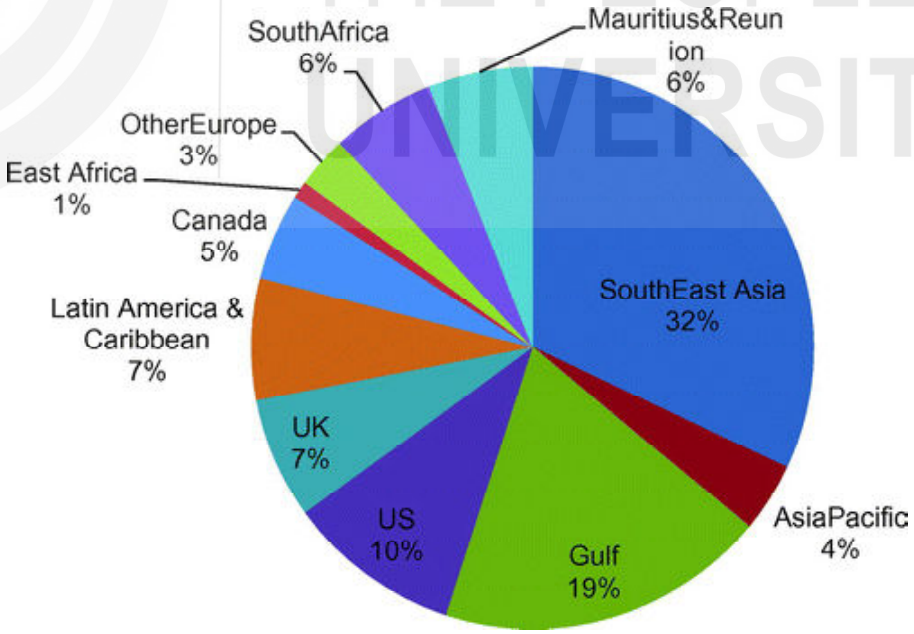
Colonial Era. At the end of the fifteenth century, Europeans led by the Portuguese seafarer Vasco da Gamacame to India as traders, established trading posts. India became largely a British colony, with smaller pockets being controlled by the French and Portuguese. Subjugation of the local population and exploiting it as a source of cheap labour benefited the colonisers in their own development and prosperity. By the middle of the nineteenth century the colonial powers started transporting thousands of Indians to their other colonies in Central America, Africa, island colonies in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) and South-East Asia as indentured labour. In the Caribbean islands they were to replace the African slaves working in the sugarcane fields. Indian labour was transported in large numbers to the islands of Fiji in the Pacific Ocean, and Madagascar, Mauritius, Reunion and Seychelles in the Indian Ocean for plantation work.

Indian traders, mostly from Gujarat and Malabar region soon followed these labourers to establish small businesses for trade. In East Africa, Indian labour was utilised by the British in constructing railway lines from the port of Mombasa (Kenya) to Kisumu on the eastern edge of Lake Victoria to gain strategic control over the Great Lakes region. Indians were also brought to South Africa to work on sugarcane plantations, construction of railway lines and in coal mines. Many of these labourers had travelled with their families and continued to settle in their place of work rather than return to

India. However, they continued to maintain their distinct culture, language, religion and other social characteristics. Their descendents form the large part of the Indian Diaspora today.

Apart from labourers, the Indian soldiers who were serving in the British army were deployed to fight wars in various parts of the world. In the earliest instance, in December 1867, Indian troops had sailed from Bombay to Abyssinia (now Ethiopia), Africa and in April 1868 fought a battle at Magadala which resulted in defeat of the Abyssinian army. Indian soldiers of the British Army had also fought during World War – I (1914 to 1918) and World War – II (1939 – 1945) in many parts of the world. Their valour and sacrifice was recognised and many were awarded the highest military decoration 'Victoria Cross'.

Post Independence. After independence Indians continued to relocate to various parts of the world. However, now they were travelling on their own free volition and to pursue many different professions. The United States of America and Great Britain were the preferred choice for pursuing higher studies which opened up many employment opportunities. By the mid 1970s Indians started migrating to other developed nations of Europe, Australia and Singapore. The sudden rise in financial status of Gulf countries due to 'Oil Boom' of the 1970s opened up employment opportunities for thousands of Indians in infrastructure development, banking and financial sectors. Ease of air transportation saw Indians settling down in hitherto remote and distant locations to set up businesses or take up other professions ranging from education to agriculture. Even religion became a raison d'etre in case of Indian Jews migrating to the State of Israel. As per a report compiled in 2018 by the Ministry of External Affairs, the Indian community is found in nearly every country of the world.



Distribution of Indian Diaspora

Fig 1 - Source:

https://www.commonwealthroundtable.co.uk/commonwealth/eurasia/india/diaspora-development-indian-state/

46.3 FACETS OF THE INDIAN CULTURE

In the following paragraphs the students will be initiated to knowing what is meant by soft power, various facets of Indian culture and how the overseas Indian community has provided an enabling environment for its spread. Most of the dictionaries define the term 'Culture' as the characteristics, knowledge and intellectual achievements of a particular group of people who tend to adhere to a particular language, religion, cuisine, art and music, social habits and customs evolved over a period. Every culture has its unique set of social behavioural pattern and ethical beliefs.What is considered as a norm in one culture could be a taboo for the other. For example, Indians normally greet each other with folded hands and not with a hug which is a norm in many parts of the world. Technology has enabled the world to become more and more interconnected. Media has played a great role in transmission, spread, and consequent mixing of cultures. General characteristics of culture which are common worldover are enumerated below:

- Culture is learned and acquired
- Culture is shared by a group of people
- Culture is cumulative
- Culture can change with passage of time
- Culture is dynamic
- Culture is diverse
- Culture provides a range of permissible behaviour patterns

46.3.1 Characteristics of Indian Culture

Indian culture is one of the most ancient cultures of the world. It considers human beings as divine creation and integral with nature and God. Spirituality and religion are central to Indian culture. It is characterised by tolerance and it accepts plurality of viewpoints, behaviours, customs and institutions. Also, it believes in coexistence with other religion and culture. The Sanskrit text of Maha Upanishad in its sixth chapter, verse 72 says "Only small men discriminate saying: One is a relative; the other is a stranger. For those who live magnanimously the entire world constitutes but a family". Two words of the verse "VasudhaivaKutumbakam" (World is Family) has now been made famous by Indian Prime Minister Modi when he invoked the term during his address at World Economic Forum at Davos in January 2018. The Prime Minister emphasized that Indians have always believed in uniting humanity, not breaking it. Nature has had significant influence in developing and nourishing other facets of Indian culture such as art, architecture, food, festivals, dance and music. The main reason for its longevity and attraction is adjustment and adaptability, and not confrontation with the contemporary environment.Geography of the sub-continent too has had marked influence on India's culture.

46.4 SPREAD OF INDIAN CULTURE ABROAD

Indian religions, its epics, its spirituality, the art forms, music, language and value systems took root in distant land wherever Indians settled. Remarkably the cultural influence was not spread by conquest, threat to individual life or annihilation of a society but by

means of voluntary acceptance of cultural and spiritual values of India. Indian culture could influence the outside world as it did not seek to dislodge the indigenous one. Indian universities of Takshila, Vikramshila and Nalanda were reputed as repositories of knowledge and advance learning. These were visited by scholars in large numbers from abroad and became the most important centres of cultural interaction. Even in the 21st century global politics, there is considerable acceptability of Indian cultural focus on peaceful co-existence, stability, and better human values. Certain important facets that are unique to Indian culture and have influenced the world are enumerated here:

46.4.1 Religion in Indian Culture

India being a secular country has no state religion and the country boasts of diversity of religious beliefs and practices although Hinduism is followed by the majority. The materialistic world finds great attraction in this diversity. The spiritual orientation which directs the human quest to seek higher knowledge which helps man to rise above the worldly agonies; to connect with the divine, to acknowledge the necessity of ethical values of a human being, finds large number of followers all over the world. Ex-President of the US, Barak Obama had once stated in an interview that he drew inspiration from Lord Hanuman.

- **Spread of Buddhism.** Buddhism, a cultural system of beliefs and practices based on principles of non-violence, compassion and non-attachment, originated in India in the sixth century BCE. Emperor Ashok of the Maurya dynasty is credited for spreading Buddhism to Sri Lanka and to regions of South East Asia. The Central Asian region saw faster spread of Buddhism after King Kanishka of Kushan dynasty (present day territories of Afghanistan and North West Pakistan) converted to the faith. Trade along the ancient Silk Route facilitated the spread of Buddhism to Tibet and China where the rulers of Han dynasty were highly influenced by its principles. Buddhism later spread into the Korean peninsula followed by Japan. Today the Buddhist population in the world is approximately 485 million.

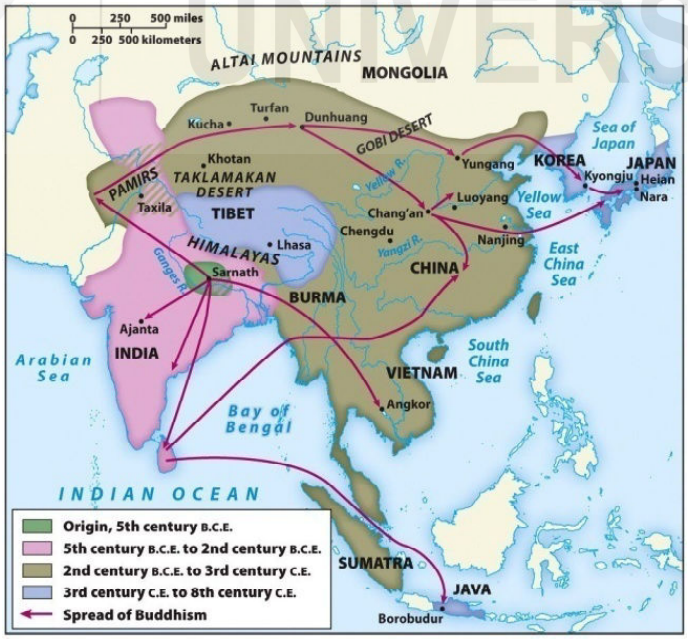


Fig 1 : Spread of Buddhism

Source : Robert W Strayer, Eric W. Nelson. *Ways of the World: A Brief Global History with Sources, First Edition*

Epic of Ramayana: The story of Lord Ram has transcended religious and cultural boundaries. The story has been adapted as per local culture prevalent in many countries of South East Asia. Hikayat Seri Rama, the Malay version gives Lakshmana a larger role and has glorified his courage. Ramakein is Thailand's version of the Ramayana having deep influence on literature, culture and art. The Thai version gives more importance to Hanuman. The Burmese (Myanmar) version of Ramayana is known as Yama Zatdaw. This epic is very similar to the Indian epic; however, the names of all the characters are Burmese translations of the Sanskrit names. Reamker is the name of a Cambodian epic based on Indian Ramayana. The story is portrayed in Khmer dance form during local festivals. The Indonesian version of the epic depicts Sita as strong and powerful who fights Surpanakha and cuts off her nose instead of Laxman.

Fig 2: Indonesian Stamp - Ramayan

Source: Google Search

- **International Society for Krishna Consciousness.** The movement founded in New York City in 1966 has its philosophy based on the Sanskrit texts *Bhagavad-Geeta and the Bhagavat Purana*. The movement aims to systematically propagate spiritual knowledge to society at large and to educate all peoples in the techniques of spiritual life in order to check the imbalance of values in life and to achieve real unity and peace in the world.

46.4.2 Yoga and Ayurveda

Whether it is Yoga or Ayurveda, there is tremendous awareness abroad of the importance of focusing on human physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing. Practising Yoga exercises, meditation and natural healing has become quite popular all over the world. The United Nations General Assembly by its resolution A/RES/69/131 of December 11, 2014 proclaimed that June 21 would be celebrated as International Day of Yoga. The proposal was first introduced by Prime Minister Narendra Modi in his address during the opening of the 69th session of the General Assembly. As per one BBC News report of 2017 it was Swami Vivekananda who made a major impact on Western understanding about Yoga through his book Raja Yoga.

By early 1960s many Indian Yoga teachers had opened institutes (Ashrams) in the United States which taught meditation and Yoga exercises. There are a number of medical institutions in various countries which are educating students on Ayurveda as part of the approved syllabus, and this number is growing every year. Some examples are Medical School of State University of Buenos Aires, Argentina which offers a post-graduate diploma in Ayurveda medicine, in Hungary Ayurveda has become an

official and accepted medical system and is an obligatory subject for a postgraduate degree course since 1997, in Japan the study, research and spread of Ayurveda is being carried out for the last 30 years. Prof Hiroshi Maruyama of Osaka medical school had established the Society of Ayurveda in Japan in1969.

Fig 3 : Yoga Sadhana Positions – Indus Valley Seals

Source : Ministry of External Affairs – article : Yoga: Its Origin, History and Development

46.4.3 Indian Music and Dance

India has one of the world's largest collections of songs, music, dance, theatre, folk traditions, performing arts, rites and rituals, paintings and writings that are known as the 'Intangible Cultural Heritage' (ICH) of humanity.

- **Music.** Indian music first came to the Caribbean with indentured labourers from Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. They retained their style of music, mostly devotional songs sung in Bhojpuri using traditional Indian instruments such as the harmonium, sitar, tabla, dholak and dhantal. With passage of time, indigenous rhythms influenced Indian music. A new form of music known as "Chutney" became very popular. A young singer named Sundar Popo from Trinidad became very famous with his song called "Nana and Nani" which was a mix of Hindi and Trinidadian Creole. The United States has been at the forefront where the Indian community has established many music associations such as Carnatic Music of North America and regularly organised music festivals such as Tyagraja Festival.

- In 1958 University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) became the first university to provide higher education in Carnatic Music. Today many foreign universities provide courses in Indian classical music. Pandit Jasraj, the doyen of Hindustani classical music, had started his School of Music Foundation in Vancouver, Canada. Pandit Ravi Shankar with his sitar concerts, Pandit Shiv Kumar Sharma rendering santoor recitals and Ustad Zakir Hussain's performance on tabla made Indian instrumental music well appreciated abroad. These maestros have a large number of disciples abroad, both foreigners as well as from the Indian Diaspora.

- **Dance.** Indian culture is enriched by its eight famous Indian classical dance forms of Bharatanatyam, Kathak, Kuchipudi, Odissi, Kathakali, Sattriya, Manipuri and Mohiniyattamalong with numerous other folk dances showcasing various regional and tribal characteristics. Indian dance forms with their spiritual content and expression of human devotion to the almighty find great attraction abroad. Indian Diaspora has been deeply involved in proliferating Indian dances in the countries of their residence. Even local dances have come under the influence of Indian dance forms and have imbibed changes.Internationally renowned dancers such as

Padma Subrahmanyam, SonalMansingh, Mallika Sarabhai, and Pandit Birju Maharaj have been taking their troupes abroad for performances. Many have set up dance training academies in collaboration with Indian Diaspora in many countries. An article in Times of India, August 04, 2010 mentions Kathak dancer Zhang Jinghui from Beijing, Russia's Kuchipudi dancer Irina Strakhovenko, German contemporary dancer Anne Dietrich learning Mohiniattam and South African Nhlanhla Vincent Zwane blending Bharatnatyam and Zulu dance form are few amongst many who have taken up Indian dances in their countries.

46.4.4 Art

Tradition of painting has existed in the Indian subcontinent since ancient times. The paintings have depicted stories based on Indian epics, mythology, religions and even historical events under various kings and rulers. There have been many traditional ways of painting, each developed as a distinct style such as Madhubani, Kangra, Tanjore, Kalamkari, Warli, and miniature paintings of the Mughal era. The prehistoric cave paintings at Bhimbetaka, Madhya Pradesh and murals in Ajanta caves of Maharashtra are great tourist attractions. Many original Mughal era miniatures are displayed world over as private collections or in various art galleries.Schonbrunn palace in Vienna, Austria belonging to Habsburg rulers of Austro-Hungarian Empire has one of the biggest collections of Indian Mughal miniature paintings. Even modernist artwork by Indian artists have received considerable interest from collectors of art and galleries in the US and other countries. Nicholas Reorich, a Russian artist, writer, philosopher was so impressed with Indian culture that he along with his family chose to settle in Naggar, Himachal Pradesh. Many of his paintings show the beauty of the Himalayas. Amrita Sher-Gill of Indo-Hungarian parentage, was one of the famous painters of India who aesthetically blended traditional Indian and Western art forms.

46.4.5 Indian Temple Architecture

Another unique facet of Indian culture is its temple architecture. Temples of Khajuraho, Madurai, Tanjavore, Puri and Konark depict the beautiful connection between humans, universal elements and the divine. Ancient Indian temple architecture has influenced construction of temples of Khmer Empire (Cambodia) such as Angkor Wat, Champa Empire (Vietnam) such as Po Klong Garai and Indonesian temple of Prambanan. Temples of Thailand have Buddhist and Hindu influence. Today large numbers of Swami Narayan temples have been constructed in countries across five continents including some Islamic countries such as Oman and United Arab Emirates. Contribution of the Indian Diaspora has been commendable in terms of funding and personal efforts. It shows the high level of diplomatic relations that India has with these Islamic countries.

46.4.6 Indian Film Industry

The Indian film industry began its journey from the first film 'Raja Harishchandra' released in 1913 and is the biggest producer of films in the world. Indian films can be said to truly represent the diversity that marks Indian culture. Indian films are known for showing picturesque foreign locations. This trend was pioneered by Raj Kapoor with his film 'Sangam' which was shot in Europe. Raj Kapoor was very popular in the erstwhile Soviet Union and had a large fan following. Today Amitabh Bachchan is an iconic figure of Indian cinema with a worldwide following. Indian films have been at the forefront in influencing the Diaspora in reaffirming pride in their Indian heritage, evoking love for the country and reinforcing family values and kinship. Indian films are

now getting their big share of earnings from abroad. This is not only in countries with large Indian Diaspora but even others such as China where films like "Three Idiots" and "Dangal" have been much appreciated. It clearly indicates that foreign nationals too are interested in understanding India and its people through the medium of films. Films have played a positive role in encouraging foreign tourists to visit India and experience its diverse culture.

46.4.7 Indian Festivals

India celebrates more festivals than any other country. Most of the festivals mark victory of good over evil, light over darkness, to thank nature for its bounty, and even changing seasons. The Indian Diaspora have been celebrating these festivals worldwide. Their importance in a country gets manifested by the official recognition of Indian festivals. The power wielded by Indian Americans in the US made US Presidents mark the festival of lights 'Diwali' in the official residence – the White House. The United Nations for the first time celebrated Diwali in 2016 by lighting up its Headquarters building in New York. The UN also issued special stamps to mark Diwali in 2018. Ganesh festival and Durga Puja is marked with gaiety and fervour by Indian communities in many parts of the world with idols of the deities imported from India in large numbers. Even Holi, the festival of colours, is being increasingly celebrated in many cities of the world. Local population is seen to participate in the celebrations along with the Indian community.

46.4.8 Indian Cuisine

India boasts of unique and ethnic cuisines which varies according to region and state. Some of the Indian cuisines have got international acclaim such as tandoori preparations of poultry, meat and various types of bread (roti, naan, kulcha etc) in typical Punjabi style and South Indian dishes such as idli, dosa and sambhar. The north Indian sweets made from milk as well as Bengali sweets are renowned world over. Indian cuisine is now readily available in major cities of the world as well as famous tourist spots to cater to large number of Indian tourists. The world famous fast food companies such as MacDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) have adapted Indian flavours in their products. Indian Diaspora has had major role in popularising Indian cuisine abroad. Chicken Tikkaa Masala has been included as England's national dish.

Check Your Progress 1

Note : a) Write your answer in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1. Discuss importance of cultural diplomacy in India's international relations. Give examples.

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2. Briefly explain about Indian Culture?

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46.5 CULTURAL DIPLOMACY – PROJECTING SOFT POWER

Sometimes national culture becomes a tool for effective international engagements. The role of Diaspora in cultural diplomacy can prove to be effective if supported by the government initiatives and policies. Political scientist Joseph S. Nye Jr. coined the term 'Soft Power' which meant State's ability to affect the outcomes as it wants and if necessary, to change the behaviour of others to make this happen without coercion or use of force but with persuasion and attraction. National culture is one of the elements of a nation's soft power. American scholar Milton Cummings defines cultural diplomacy as the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding. It is like a country "telling its story" to the rest of the world in an attractive manner.

Cultural diplomacy is normally considered a subset of public diplomacy supporting the foreign policy goals. Cultural engagements keep doors for dialogue open in difficult times. The best example of this is regular visits by Indian Sikh and Punjabi devotees to Sikh pilgrimage sites in Pakistan and Pakistani pilgrims to Dargah, Ajmer Sharief in Rajasthan even when political and diplomatic relations are strained between the two nations. The ongoing talks between the two countries to build the Kartarpur Corridor are part of their cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy tends to present an attractive national image abroad.

American diplomat and writer Richard Arndt has made distinction between cultural relations which grow naturally without government intervention and cultural diplomacy wherein nations make use of common cultural aspects to build strategic relations. For example when Zubin Mehta, an Indian-American from Parsee community, gets nominated as conductor of Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and conducts concerts world over, including for Arab audience, music becomes a tool to build amicable relations. Language is a great enabler of cultural interaction.

Many countries aim to encourage foreign students to learn their language for which cultural institutions are set up abroad as part of their diplomatic strategies. France has set up Alliance Francaise, an institution to promote French language and culture in over 130 countries. China has similarly set up over 500 Confucius Institutes world over to promote Chinese language and culture. India set up Indian Council for Cultural Relations in 1950 to foster and strengthen cultural relations and mutual understanding between India and other countries. However, there are only 36 culture centres established along with Indian embassies in different countries. Compared to other prominent

countries India has a long way to go in institutionalising the spread of Indian culture and languages.

46.6 SOFT POWER OF INDIAN DIASPORA

In 2003, the then Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr Yaswant Sinha, during a discussion on modernising the country's foreign policy had categorically stated that people of Indian origin are extremely important sources of support for the Indian Government in the execution of its policies through the influence and respect they command in the countries in which they live. India's soft power based on the spread of its culture by the Diaspora was steadily gaining significance in the overall scheme of the country's diplomacy. The Diaspora which for long had been stigmatised as 'Brain Drain' for the country was instead getting recognised as a repository of intellectual power to be utilised for the country's development. Whether it was Sam Pitroda spearheading India's telecommunication technology revolution, Raghuram Rajan working on monetary policies or Shashi Tharoor contributing to Indian diplomacy with his United Nations experience, many Indians who studied and worked abroad for many years have been contributing to India's growth. Since 2014 there has been a concerted effort spearheaded by the Prime Minister himself urging the Indian Diaspora to contribute to developmental efforts.

During the Cold War period (1945 – 1991), although independent India's foreign policy insisted on an approach of friendship with all while maintaining its strategic autonomy, circumstances which prevailed due to hostile acts by its neighbours, China and Pakistan compelled India to seek Soviet assistance as the Western powers led by the US took a blinkered view of the situation. India was considered as an ally of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, large numbers of Indians were seeking better opportunities of education and employment in the US and its allies. The Indian community was trying to establish itself in these countries and thus was not very influential in lobbying or opinion formation in favour of India. Overseas Indians were only able to contribute towards economic development through remittances. Indian economic liberalisation coincided with the end of the Cold War due to the breakup of the Soviet Union. India became a land of investment opportunities. The Indian Diaspora by this time had created a positive opinion about themselves as a hardworking and intellectual community. Especially in the United States and UK, Indians began to participate in electoral politics. In many other countries individuals of Indian descent have occupied very senior political posts. While such individuals may have affinity towards the country of their ancestors, but it needs to be kept in mind that these leaders would foremost uphold their own national interests. It would wholly depend on India's diplomatic acumen as to how to derive any benefit from their ancestral connection.

Although there are millions of Indians settled abroad and have done well for themselves, there are many who have gone out of the way to contribute to the development of the local society. These overseas Indians are proponents of the concept of Vedic Indian philosophy which stresses on 'World as a family' or 'VasudhaivaKutumbakam'. Here it would be pertinent to mention a few examples of exemplary work by members of the Indian community whose actions have been lauded by the host countries. KanaksiKhimji whose great grandfather immigrated to Oman in the mid 1800s runs a billion dollar worth corporate business group which has contributed immensely to local growth and development. His group has laid focus on education by opening a number of schools in

Oman. Although a Hindu, Kanaksi was conferred the title of Sheikh by the Omani Sultan. Ela Gandhi, grand-daughter of Mahatma Gandhi, was born and lives in South Africa. She was Member of South African parliament for 10 years, of which five years were during President Nelson Mandela's presidency. She was actively associated with African National Congress in its Anti-Apartheid struggle. Dr Pratima Kale, who was born in Mumbai, and migrated to the US in 1963 was President and CEO of the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR), a-Philippines-based American NGO known for community-based rural development programmes. She is renowned for her work on issues of rural development in many countries across the globe. Even organisations such as Indian Doctors Forum (IDF-K) in Kuwait have done the country proud by their extensive community health service. The doctors have been conducting medical health camps for people from lower socio-economic order. Their service has been lauded by the Kuwait government. It is such good work that enhances the impression about the Indian community and of India. It creates a friendly and warm atmosphere to build bi-lateral relations.

India's quest for energy security is dependent on import of energy resources from abroad. Apart from importing over 80% of its crude oil and gas requirements India also imports nuclear fuel and modern technology for renewable energy generation. It is largely due to intense lobbying by the Indian community in the United States that India was able to successfully conclude the Indo-US civil nuclear agreement in 2009. During the 15thPravasiBharatiyaDiwas convention held in Varanasi in January 2019, role of Indian Diaspora in developing affordable solar power was discussed at Ministerial level indicating the seriousness with which the government is approaching the subject of energy security. India expects its overseas community to contribute with its economic might and influence in facilitating energy trade.

Check Your Progress 2

3. Explain in brief about the term 'Soft Power'?

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4. Briefly explain how India's soft-power is gaining in the overall scheme of the country's diplomacy?

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46.7 LET US SUM UP

Indians have been travelling to distant lands for trade for a long time. They made use of coastal sea routes to reach lands of Africa and SouthEast Asia. Buddhism which originated in India was propagated abroad by travelling Indian monks using the sea and old silk routes. The 15th century Chola Empire was known for its large navy which protected its sea trade and maintained influence over many areas of South East Asia. During the colonial era indentured Indian labour were transported in thousands to many parts of the world ranging from the Caribbean islands to Fiji by the colonial rulers. Many chose to settle down in new countries.

After the independence, quest for better employment opportunities and higher education drove many Indians to migrate abroad, mainly to the US and other developed nations. The oil boom of the 1970s saw Indian workers and professionals migrating to the Gulf and West Asian countries. Africa continued to attract Indian businessmen and traders. Today, there are over 30 million Indians living abroad. One unique feature of the majority of these overseas Indians has been their efforts to maintain steadfastness with their culture and religion. After independence it has taken a few decades for the Indian government to acknowledge the importance of the Indian community in the country's development and economic growth. The term 'Brain Drain' has now been altered to 'Brain Gain' with efforts to make use of the intellectual acumen of overseas Indians in national progress. Overseas Indians have responded with enthusiasm to invest their hard-earned money in India's developmental projects.

India is an ancient civilisation with rich cultural heritage which has been developed and nurtured over the ages. Indian Diaspora has been at the forefront in facilitating and encouraging spread of Indian art, music, cuisine as well as spiritual way of living abroad. They have encouraged Indian artists to display their talent abroad. Many of the Diaspora have established training institutions on various performing arts in the host nations. Foreigners are attracted by the diversity and richness of India's culture. Various facets of national culture form an important component of its soft power which the country can utilise in its international engagements. The advantage of having a large Diaspora which is now quite influential in their host countries also needs to be effectively managed by the country. It is the combination of attractive culture and large Diaspora that can be of great advantage to the country.

46.8 KEY WORDS

Culture : The features, knowledge, and intellectual achievements of a certain group of people who prefer to adhere to a particular language, religion, food, art and music, social habits and conventions formed over time are referred to as "culture."

Soft Power : Soft power refers to a state's ability to influence outcomes as it sees fit, including changing the behaviour of others if required, without resorting to coercion or force, but rather by persuasion and seduction.

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46.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS- POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1:

1. Building good relations with other nations is critical for any country to ensure development of its people and for ensuring territorial integrity. Engaging others through cultural diplomacy is one way to improve relations. India's approach to propagate peace and stability in the world as part of its foreign policy is in tune with its culture of considering the world as a family (VasudhaivaKutumbakam). Followers of Zoroastrianism (now known as Parsis) and Judaism (Jews) could settle in India without ever being persecuted as religious minorities is a pointer to Indian culture of considering the world as one family. It is this historical linkage which has been able to sustain India's international relations with Iran and Israel. India having the second largest population of Shia Muslims after Iran is yet another reason for the good relations between the two countries.

2. Indian culture is one of the most ancient cultures of the world. It considers human beings as divine creation and integral with nature and God. Spirituality and religion are central to Indian culture. It is characterised by tolerance and accepts plurality of viewpoints, behaviours, customs and institutions, also it is important that to co-exist one needs to have respect for other cultures.

Check your Progress 2:

3. The role of Diaspora in cultural diplomacy can be positive and effective if encouraged through government initiatives and policies. The term 'Soft Power' meant State's ability to affect the outcomes as it wants and if necessary, to change the behaviour of others to make this happen without coercion or use of force but with persuasion and attraction. National culture is one of the elements of a nation's soft power. Cultural diplomacy acts as the exchange of ideas, information, art and

other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding. Cultural diplomacy is normally considered as subset of public diplomacy supporting the foreign policy goals.

4. People of Indian origin are extremely important sources of support for the Indian Government in the execution of its policies through the influence and respect they command in the countries in which they live. The Diaspora which for long had been stigmatised as 'Brain Drain' for the country was instead getting recognised as a repository of intellectual power to be utilised for the country's development. Whether it was Sam Pitroda spearheading India's telecommunication technology revolution, Raghuram Rajan working on monetary policies or Shashi Tharoor contributing to Indian diplomacy with his United Nations experience, many Indians who studied and worked abroad for many years have been contributing to India's growth. Since 2014 there has been a concerted effort spearheaded by the Prime Minister himself urging the Indian Diaspora to contribute to developmental efforts.

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UNIT 47 IMPACT OF DIASPORA ON FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Structure

47.0 Learning Objectives

47.1 Introduction

47.2 Independent India's Foreign Policy

- 47.2.1 Formulation of Foreign Policy
- 47.2.2 Various Shades of India's Foreign Policy

47.3 Understanding the Concept of National Security

- 47.3.1 Elements of National Security

47.4 Importance of Good International Relations for National Security

47.5 Participation in Electoral Politics

- 47.5.1 Indian Diaspora in Indian Electoral Politics
- 47.5.2 Indian Diaspora in Electoral Politics of the Countries of Residence

47.6 Positive Impact of Diaspora on India's Security and Foreign Policy

47.7 Adverse Impact of Diaspora on India's Security

47.8 Let us sum up

47.9 Key Words

47.10 Progress Check

47.11 References and Suggested Further Reading

47.0 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

The learning objectives of this Unit are enumerated as follows:

(a) Important aspects of India's foreign policy under different political leadership

(b) Understanding the concept of national security

(c) Importance of Good International Relations for National Security

(d) Influence of Indian Diaspora on foreign policy

(e) Contribution of and Threat from Diaspora to Indian Security

47.1 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner,

This Unit needs to be studied as a sequel to Unit 35. In the earlier unit you were made aware of the global spread of Indian Diaspora, and how they help in cultural diplomacy as well as other aspects of 'Soft Power' diplomacy. This Unit will deal with role and impact of Diaspora on foreign policy, their role in electoral politics and positive contribution as well as threat to various national security issues.

Chanakya (371-283 BC), the great Indian strategist had in his treatise 'Arthashastra' stressed that a kingdom (in present context Indian State) needs to have an able king (institution of governance) to provide to its citizens adequate protection to their life, property and profession. The concept of security gets defined in modern political science as safety for territory and population of the State and is enabled by policies adopted for their preservation. Originally conceived as protection against external armed attack, national security now encompasses non-military dimensions such as economic security, energy security, environmental security, food security, health security and even cyber security. It becomes the bounden duty of the Government of the day to ensure that the citizens and other legal residents of the state are able to avail themselves to these various securities for their wellbeing. The risks to national security emanate not only from other nation states, but also through violent actions by non-state terrorists and ethno-religious fundamentalists, detrimental trade and business practices by multinational corporations, and even the effects of natural disasters and climate change. Governments rely on a range of measures, including political, diplomatic, economic, and military power to mitigate threats to national security. Today, the geo-political and geo-strategic interactions between two or more states have primarily focused on security issues. Involvement and considerations of Diaspora are increasingly getting dovetailed in security dialogue.

47.2 INDEPENDENT INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

K M Pannikar, one of independent India's noted statesman, diplomat and thinker, had opined that 'throughout its history, India had trouble arousing much interest in the world beyond its borders'. He analysed that the self absorption was due to apparent security afforded by the Himalayas along its northern borders and perceived self sufficiency. Albeit Indians were known since the dawn of civilisation to venture beyond the borders for trade and spread its unique culture. The colonial rule of two centuries ensured that India's voice on world affairs was largely muted. It is only after independence that the political leadership could steer the country in the international arena with its own brand of foreign policy.

47.2.1 Formulation of Foreign Policy

Formulation of foreign policy is one of the most important tasks for a government. National core values and interests lay the foundation for such a policy which gives direction and impetus to the conduct of international relations by the country. Henry John Temple Palmerston, who served twice as British Prime Minister during the mid 19th century, while addressing the House of Commons in March 1848 had stated "We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow". Hence it is expected that all countries would maintain the primacy of their national interests while interacting with India and likewise it would be imperative for India to also keep its national interests uppermost while formulating its foreign policy.

India which helped China during the Second World War (1942 – 45) by flying military aid from its territory was attacked by China in 1962 over territorial disputes. India which had supported People's Republic of China to take up the permanent seat in United Nations Security Council with veto powers was subjected to Chinese veto on United Nations resolution to declare Maulana Masood Azhar, the mastermind of attack

on Indian Parliament in 2001, as global terrorist. While India continues to have territorial disputes with China, the trade between the two countries is over USD 70 billion.

Earlier the US had supplied military hardware to Pakistan which was used against India during various wars, today it is one of the largest suppliers of modern weapon systems to India. Since neither friends nor enemies are permanent in international relations, it is evident that even the foreign policy cannot be static but has to be dynamic and evolutionary taking into consideration the prevalent political, economic, and security situation of the country, and of those others with whom it interacts.

Domestic political imperatives also play an influential role in a country's approach to its international relations and formulation of foreign policy. Geography, History and Culture also have an abiding influence on foreign policy. Indian Diaspora which represents Indian history and culture in other countries of their residence can be an important player in 21st century Indian diplomatic endeavours.

47.2.2 Various Shades of India's Foreign Policy

Even before gaining independence, Nehru in 1939 had said "A free India, with her vast resources, can be a great service to the world and to humanity. India will always make a difference to the world; fate has marked us for big things". The deep rooted aspiration that India will one day emerge as a Great Power that is fully autonomous, influential and respected in the global comity of nations comes from strong belief in its advantageous geographical location, human and natural resources and most importantly being an ancient civilisation. This aspiration has sustained India's approach to its international relations.

India's foreign policy is backed by its Constitution through Article 51 under the Directive Principles of State Policy which enumerates that "The State shall endeavour to- (a) promote international peace and security; (b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations; (c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another; and (d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration".

Independent India under the premiership of Jawaharlal Nehru preferred a foreign policy for international interactions which was more idealistic than pragmatic. Nehru decidedly chose the path of non-alignment in the face of the bipolar order of the Cold War, arguing that India would have to 'plough a lonely furrow'. In the aftermath of partition he had to tackle the threat to domestic cohesion as well as the challenge of revitalising the impoverished economy. Domestic compulsions did affect external dealings. Indian foreign policy of the time seemed moralistic to outsiders, defining the national interest as congruent with 'world co-operation and world peace'.

Nehru strongly believed that world organisations such as the United Nations can restore peace in the conflictridden areas. Hence, although he was against the Indian army's participation in any multinational exercise, Nehru sent army contingents for peacekeeping duties under the UN flag starting from the Korean war in 1953. Today India continues to be one of the largest troops providers of to the UN peacekeeping missions the world over. As the founder member of Non-Alignment Movement, Nehru insisted that membership be restricted to those countries who are not members of any block alliance. However, India continued to be an active member of the Commonwealth, an organisation of countries who were mostly part of the British Empire.

India was also a very vocal advocate of the independence movement in the African continent and supported African leaders in their freedom struggle against the colonisers. Asian nations, including People's Republic of China were supported in their struggle to establish their chosen form of governance. India and China in 1954 signed an agreement on trade and intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India. The five important principles of this agreement, termed as "Panchasheel, stressed on mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and cooperation for mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. The idealistic notion that all countries will cooperate, resolve their differences amicably and strive to establish peace in the world received a jolt when China attacked India in 1962 for territorial dispute.

Pragmatic realism slowly became part of India's foreign policy. The political leadership starting with Lal Bahadur Shastri realised that having Great Power aspirations without backing of strong economic and military capacity will remain only a dream. His bi-lateral relations focused on those countries that could assist in modernising Its military, enhancing food security through agriculture growth, economic security through industry and energy security. India began to declare its intent of keeping foreign powers away from its immediate sphere of influence, this being termed as Indira Doctrine. By assisting Bangladesh in its liberation struggle militarily in 1971 followed by deployment of peacekeeping force in Sri Lanka and restoring President Gayoom to power in Maldives after an attempted coup in the late eighties, India projected its growing regional power status.

The peaceful nuclear explosion (PNE) of 1974 followed by detonation of nuclear weapons in 1998 propelled India into a different league of geo-politic and geo-strategic equations. India has continued to stay away from any form of military alliance, even though its armed forces are increasingly exercising with world militaries. However, its international interactions are no longer limited to bi-lateral engagements but India is now actively participating in multilateral and regional groupings. India has given a new meaning to non-alignment by standing firm on its quest for strategic autonomy while still being friendly to various world powers.

After independence, the policy adopted by the government towards overseas Indians was to keep them outside the purview of domestic and foreign policy formulations. Nehru actually advised them to integrate themselves within the host countries and not to expect India to raise their issues as it would mean interfering in internal matters of another country. Today with the passage of time, Diaspora is being revered for their contribution in India's development. Narendra Modi has termed Indian intellectuals abroad as 'Brain Gain' and not 'Brain Drain' for bringing innovative ideas to the country.

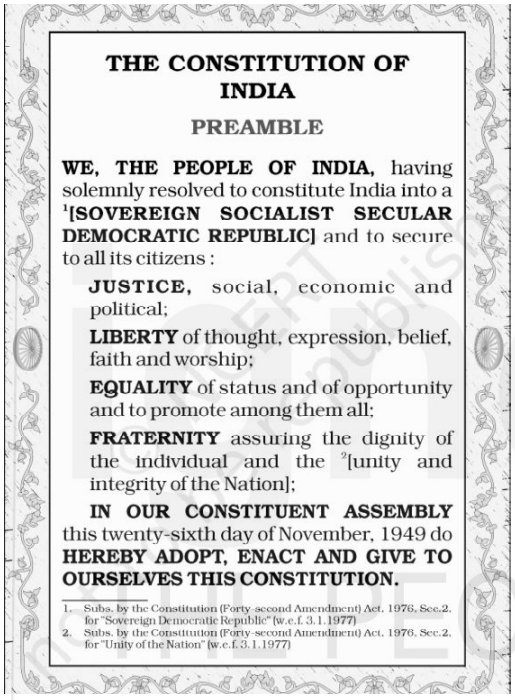
Influence gained by overseas Indians in electoral politics in the countries of their residence is being considered as an advantage in enhancing bi-lateral relations of India with those countries. It is with this view that the 'Affairs of Overseas Indians' have been brought under the purview of the Ministry of External Affairs. Since foreign policy of a nation is pursued keeping national security concerns uppermost it is pertinent to understand the concept and elements of national security.

47.3 UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

National interests or core values form the basis of formulation of national security parameters. The preamble to Indian Constitution succinctly lays down the national

core values. This is the principle document that stresses on security and wellbeing of Indian peoples (see box). Walter Lippman, the American political commentator had stated that "A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war."

Henry Kissinger, former US Secretary of State had observed that "national security in its widest sense comprises every action by which a society seeks to assure its survival or to realise its aspirations internationally". India's National Defence College, New Delhi considers that "national security is an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might."



THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a [1]**[SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC]** and to secure to all its citizens :

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

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

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the [2][unity and integrity of the Nation];

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

1. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2. for "Sovereign Democratic Republic" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)
2. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2. for "Unity of the Nation" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)

47.3.1 Elements of National Security

Besides ensuring territorial integrity of the nation by safeguarding the land and maritime borders, and the national airspace against any external threat by having a well equipped and trained armed forces, every nation will pursue efforts to ensure security of the following vital elements :-

- **Political Security**. A stable political establishment and effective bureaucratic organisation is essential for good governance. India has been steadfast in upholding the democratic style of governance. However, corrupt practices and inefficient administration has adversely affected the pace of development and wellbeing of a large percentage of the population.
- **Economic Security**. Economy drives the nation. A country with a well qualified and employable workforce, modern technology based manufacturing industry; good transportation network and facilitating government policies will be able to have a stable and flourishing economy. It will be able to safeguard against internal and external pressures to undermine the national capacities. India has slowly but steadily risen to be amongst the top ten economies of the world.
- **Energy Security**. India is an energy resource deficient country. Since its indigenous resource capacity is very limited it imports over 80 percent of its

energy requirements of crude oil and gas. India also imports large quantities of coal for its thermal power generation plants as locally available coal is not of very good quality.

- **Food Security**. Although Indians are no longer facing the situation of famine as it was during the early 20th century where millions died of starvation (Bengal famine of 1943). However, poverty makes millions go hungry everyday. Indian agriculture and horticulture output continues to be dependent on monsoon and is largely affected by vagaries of nature. A large percentage of the produce gets wasted because of poor storage and preservation facilities. India is compelled to import cooking oil and pulses because of low local production. A large percentage of India's population, especially children, is undernourished because of poverty and consequent inability to avail adequate nourishment. Impoverished population cannot be a positive contributor to national development.

- **Health Security**. Basic health services are still not readily accessible to a large percentage of India's population due to poor infrastructure and high costs especially in rural and remote areas. Every year thousands die of preventable diseases. Traditional bias towards male child also leads to female infanticide, neglect of girl child and consequent skewed population ratio. Unhealthy population will not be able to contribute effectively towards national development.

- **Environmental Security**. Worldwide climate change, over exploitation of natural resources, deforestation, degradation and pollution of inland water resources and unplanned land development has increased the frequency and severity of natural disasters. Every year floods, earthquakes and landslides take a severe toll on the nation's population, infrastructure and industry.

- **Social Security**. India takes pride in projecting its unity in diversity. However, this diversity in the social fabric of the nation in terms of ethnicity, caste, religion, language and culture has been used by vested interests to divide the people leading to violence and destruction. Even vast differences in economic status and living conditions of the population are a cause for social insecurity. Most importantly the country would need an efficient law enforcement and justice system to ensure social security.

- **Information Security**. Advancement in information technology and network connectivity has had a very positive effect on national progress and economic development. However, cyber crime and misuse of information has become the modern day scourge of every nation. It increases external as well as internal security threats. Strong national policies and adequate counter measures are required to be in place to overcome the menace.

These are some of the important elements of national security which every country tries to safeguard. The priority to mitigate threats may differ from state to state. However, it should be noted that all elements are interrelated and need to be handled holistically. The process is continuous and needs constant monitoring and innovative action. Indian Diaspora has mostly been contributing very positively to these elements. However, there are few organisations of overseas Indians that seek to undermine national security. These will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

Check Your Progress 1

Note : a) Write your answer in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1. What is Article 51 of the Indian Constitution and how it is relevant for India's foreign policy?

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2. Briefly explain the concept of 'National Security'?

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47.4 IMPORTANCE OF GOOD INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

The modern world is interdependent and interconnected. International relations are built on these two important aspects. There is an ever expanding flow of people and trade between countries. An adverse security situation in any part of the world may affect other nations too even though not directly connected with the event. It would need political and diplomatic handling and more often than not friendly relations between countries to bring an adverse situation under control. This is highlighted in the following examples.

- In 1971 millions of refugees from erstwhile East Pakistan fled to India due to atrocities inflicted by the Pakistan army. The influx of refugees in West Bengal, Assam and Tripura caused severe economic hardships to these states in particular and to the country on the whole. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi led intense diplomatic efforts by personally visiting US and western powers in order to put across a true picture of the developing situation. She did not receive expected support. However, she was able to convince and secure a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union. Later during the war for liberation of Bangladesh, the USSR used its veto power to negate many United Nations Security Council resolutions proposed by other countries against India. The US had even dispatched its naval fleet led by aircraft carrier USS Enterprise to coerce India to end the war without achieving the desired victory. The US

action was appropriately countered by the Soviet Union ensuring that India's military campaign was not affected.

- The war in Yemen between two factions supported by Saudi Arabia and Iran respectively had put the lives of many international citizens in danger. In 2015, through determined efforts of the Indian Navy and Air Force, thousands of Indian citizens and those of other nationalities, including Pakistan were evacuated safely from the conflict zone. India's good relations with Saudi Arabia, Iran and Djibouti helped in safe evacuation as Indian naval ships, and air force and civil aircraft were specially permitted to use Yemeni sea port of Aden, and airport at Saana and Djibouti for the evacuation process. It is quite apparent that friendly relations are essential to overcome an adverse situation. Similar evacuation of overseas Indians was carried out from Kuwait, Lebanon and Libya highlighting deep concern of the Indian Government for their safety and wellbeing.
- India – United States civil nuclear agreement was signed on October 10, 2008. It is a prime example of how astute and persistent diplomacy combined with good international relations have helped India overcome strong opposition by the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) to its quest for clean energy. The agreement allows India to import nuclear fuel, equipment and technology for peaceful purposes with requisite waivers even though it has refused to be a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. This was a pre-condition put by the NSG which seeks to prevent nuclear (weapons) proliferation by controlling export of materials, equipment and technology that can be used for producing nuclear weapons. Many influential Indian-Americans had strongly lobbied with the US lawmakers during the initial processing of the proposal. This agreement enabled India to realise its efforts towards energy security.

47.5 PARTICIPATION BY INDIAN DIASPORA IN ELECTORAL POLITICS

By the twentieth century Indian Diaspora had started participating in the local, state and national level electoral politics. This was largely due to their acceptance by the indigenous community as positive contributors to national cause and development. Many overseas Indians had not only gained good economic status but also established themselves as highly qualified professionals and intellectuals. As a community it gave them an opportunity to lend support for local issues and have their opinion heard. Slowly Indians rose from being just migrants to taking the mantle of political leadership at various levels. Such a trend was seen not only in the developed world powers such as the US or UK but also in many developing and smaller nations such as Fiji, Guyana or Mauritius. In the subsequent paragraphs the students will learn about participation of Indian Diaspora in electoral politics of their host nations as well in Indian political arena and consequently how they influence foreign policies and national security.

47.5.1 Participation by Indian Diaspora in Indian Electoral Politics

Earlier overseas Indians, especially in the US and UK used to mostly contribute to Indian Lok Sabha or state elections by way of donations to individual contestants or parties. They did not vociferously express their opinions about emergent issues that

affected India's progress. But this has changed since the beginning of the 21st century. Overseas Indians have started playing a larger role in opinion building and lobbying for a particular individual or a party. They are making good use of social media to reach to Indian masses even in the remote corners of the country and have engaged in four broad themes of election campaigning, in raising money for political parties, providing technical services on how to run an effective campaign, volunteering for mobilization campaigns on the ground in India, and lobbying. Prominent overseas Indians have also taken to TV debates and expressed their views and concerns by publishing articles in print media. People have come together to form lobby groups such as "Overseas Friends of the BJP in UK". But one thing which stands out distinctly is that the overseas Indian community is a strong supporter of democratic system of governance and takes pride in India's democratic electoral system with all its limitations.

47.5.2 Participation by Indian Diaspora in Electoral Politics of the Countries of Residence

Indians have risen from local community governance to taking over the country's highest political leadership in many countries across the world. The first leader of Indian origin to lead the government of the country of residence was Cheddi Jagan who became Prime Minister of Guyana in 1953. Mauritius has seen persons of Indian origin taking the responsibility of national governance starting with Sir Seewoosagur Ramagoolam in 1961 to the present incumbent Mr Pravind Jugnauth. Prime Minister of Portugal Antonio Costa was the first person of Indian ancestry to head a European state in 2015. He was followed by Leo Varadkar who became Prime Minister of Ireland in 2017. In the UK many members of Parliament, both in the House of Commons and House of Lords are of Indian origin. Persons of Indian origin have also joined US mainstream politics. Piyush 'Bobby' Jindal and Nimrata Nikki Haley have held the post of Governor in their states of Louisiana and South Carolina respectively. Nikki Haley was nominated as US ambassador to the United Nations by President Trump where she was very combative in her approach to working for the UN Security Council. Kamala Harris, the Vice-President of the US, shares Indian ancestry. Harjit Singh Sajjan who was born in India had served as an officer of Canadian Army and Police. In 2015 he was appointed as Canada's Minister of National Defence.

There are many examples of Indians holding political posts in a number of countries. Participating in electoral processes and getting elected as people's representatives speaks high of their community service. Such individuals could be helpful in building good relations between their countries and India. However, there are some instances where the ethnic rivalry led to ousting of Indian origin leaders by opposing indigenous leaders. Fiji is one example where the Indian community has faced strong opposition. Mahendra Chaudhry who won the elections and took over as the Prime Minister of Fiji in May 1999 was deposed in a military coup in May 2000. Such incidents are a test of Indian diplomacy in trying to maintain a balance between maintaining relations with the country for strategic reasons and expressing solidarity with the Indian community and seeking their safety. Invariably some third country is also involved in such political events which complicates the diplomatic action further.

47.6 POSITIVE IMPACT OF DIASPORA ON INDIA'S SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

Today the Indian Diaspora is not only affluent but is also trying to get high visibility through its positive contributions in various fields of national importance in their host

countries. India finds the Diaspora ready to be tapped for their growing influence and potential to make a difference in the development of the country. The biggest example where India has benefited from Diaspora influence has been in the Indo-US Civil Nuclear Deal. Ashley Tellis, Strategic and Political analyst and senior advisor to the US government was born in Mumbai. He was intimately involved in the nuclear deal negotiations. The government initiatives to improve sanitation and cleanliness, to clean up the river Ganga, for enhancing skill development and Start Ups have received tremendous support in terms of funds and technical assistance from the Diaspora.

In 2008, the government had established a non-profit Trust called India Development Foundation of Overseas Indians to serve as a credible institutional avenue to enable Overseas Indians to engage in philanthropy with social and developmental projects. This trust has now been closed as of March 31, 2018. Many Indian institutions of higher learning and education have received large sums of money as donations from their alumni who have now settled abroad and are doing well in life. In the aftermath of natural disasters too the Indian Diaspora has contributed funds for rehabilitation and rebuilding. Large sums were received after the Gujarat earthquake in 2001 which was used to rebuild houses and infrastructure which were completely devastated.

The World Bank report states that India received the highest amount of remittances of around USD 69 billion from its Diaspora in the year 2017 giving a positive contribution to its foreign exchange reserves. Good reserves indicate a healthy state of the national economy. Since the early 1970s Punjabi Diaspora has contributed to India's Green Revolution for enhancing its agriculture output by contributing funds for farmers to purchase agriculture implements and machinery. Similar assistance has taken place for horticulture, fish and animal husbandry in many other Indian states. Such initiatives strengthen the country's food security.

The presence of a large Kashmiri Diaspora in Norway, and in other Scandinavian countries, became an important factor for the former Norway Prime Minister KjellMagneBondevik to make a recent visit to Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir to ascertain possibilities of bringing early peace in the region. Such initiatives by the Diaspora will strengthen the government's efforts in dealing with adverse situations and take the country towards a brighter future.

47.7 ADVERSE IMPACT OF DIASPORA ON INDIA'S SECURITY

Indian Diaspora has done the country proud by their commendable achievements as well as positive contribution to national development. However, there have been serious implications for national security too because of anti-national activities. Many organisations are trying to destabilise the national security for which they are getting funds and support from abroad. Turbulence in the neighbourhood also affects India because of issues that are of concern to the common set of people.

- The secessionist Khalistan movement which sought to form an independent state out of states of Punjab, Haryana and some parts of Himachal Pradesh received major political, financial and material support from large sections of Sikh communities abroad, especially in Canada, UK and US. As part of the planned violence against the Indian State, terrorists belonging to Babbar Khalsa group who were Canadian Sikhs had targeted Air India Flight 182 from

Toronto, Canada to Bombay (now Mumbai) via London. While the aircraft was flying over the Atlantic Ocean near the coast of Ireland, a bomb exploded killing all 329 persons on board (Kashmeri et al, 2005). Khalistan leaders actively mobilized support of elected representatives, media, human rights and other civil society groups in many countries against India. Pakistan which is actively supporting terrorist activities in Kashmir saw the Khalistan movement as a golden opportunity to destabilise India further by encouraging armed struggle in Punjab. Pakistan also facilitated interaction between Kashmiri and Khalistani separatists. Khalistan movement may not be very active today, however, Indian leadership needs to be vigilant. A proactive policy for international interactions is necessary to ensure that other countries do not lend official support to such anti national organisations and they take effective measures to curb anti-India activities from their soil.

- Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front was founded by Amanullah Khan in the United Kingdom in 1976. This organisation was initially a militant organisation working to liberate Kashmir. Murder of Indian diplomat Ravindra Mhatre in Birmingham, UK in 1984 had been carried out by JKLF militants (Ghosh, 1995). Under the present leadership of Yasin Malik it claims to have given up violent struggle. JKLF has been supported by Kashmiri Disapora, particularly of Muslim community settled mostly in UK. Today Kashmir continues to be severely affected by unrest and militancy.

- Tamil Diaspora spread over the world had supported Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in their separatist war against the Sri Lankan government. The Indian political environment had also been affected by the war as local Tamil politicians were demanding that India take strong action to help Sri Lankan Tamils get their legitimate dues. The Indian Peace Keeping Force which was sent to Sri Lanka to preserve peace in Tamil dominated areas had to fight against LTTE. The force had to be withdrawn after nearly four years and had suffered many casualties without achieving the political objective. Sri Lanka finally won the war against LTTE in 2009. India has carried out many rehabilitation projects in war affected areas for the benefit of local Tamils. Sufferings of Sri Lankan Tamils cause great anguish to Indian Tamils which has a direct impact on the state and national politics. The issue also impinges upon bi-lateral relations between the two nations.

- Threat to the country's economic security is manifested when Indians whether overseas or regular citizens indulge in "Hawala" or irregular foreign exchange transactions with an aim to convert either their black money or divert funds for illegal activities. This type of transaction deprives the country of taxes and also affects the strength and stability of its official currency in the world currency market. It also reflects very badly on the efficiency and effectiveness of the country's law enforcement agencies. Illegal money can be utilised to foment insurgency, create adverse law and order situations, inflame religious fundamentalism and thus destabilise the country.

Check your Progress 2

3. Enumerate elements of national security and comment on the positive contribution of the Indian Diaspora on any two elements.

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4. Comment on impact of Diaspora on national security with one positive and negative example each

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47.8 LET US SUM UP

The Diaspora of a country provides a human dimension to the relations between two countries. They play a unique role in international relations as they can be sharing and propagating two cultures, participate in emotional investment in two nations, and help in preserving social connections in two societies. As the Diaspora has the capacity to influence a country's foreign policy without coercion or the use of hard power, it inherently becomes a "soft power" tool in the hands of policy makers. It is only in recent times that the Indian government has officially acknowledged that Diaspora can act as a tool; a sounding board to gauge local sentiments about India and its policies on issues such as climate change, human rights, freedom of speech and many more of concern to the international public. This feedback can help in projecting India in the right perspective as well as formulation of its foreign policy. National security can be under threat from elements of the Diaspora who are supporting secessionist movements and other activities inimical to national interests. The government can take help from other members of the Diaspora in countering these threats by getting them to lobby for the national cause with policy makers, activists, and strategic analysts in their host countries. Diaspora's contribution to the growth of the national economy through their remittances has to be acknowledged. Overall it can be stated that if the Government of India takes proactive steps in building good relations with the Diaspora, their intellectual and economic strength could be a catalyst in economic growth and in building a good image of the country.

47.9 KEW WORDS

Economic Security: A stable and successful economy can be achieved by a country with a well-educated and employable workforce, a contemporary technology-based

manufacturing industry, a well-developed transportation network, and favourable government regulations. It will be able to protect national capabilities from both internal and foreign challenges.

Environmental Security: Natural catastrophes have become more frequent and severe as a result of global climate change, overexploitation of natural resources, deforestation, degradation, and contamination of inland water resources, and uncontrolled land expansion. Floods, earthquakes, and landslides wreak havoc on the country's population, infrastructure, and industry every year.

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47.11 PROGRESS CHECK (ANSWER IN BRIEF)

Check your Progress 1

1. The provisions of the Article 51 of the India Constitution promote the philosophy of peace and security at global level. India's foreign policy is backed by its Constitution through Article 51 under the Directive Principles of State Policy which enumerates that "The State shall endeavour to- (a) promote international peace and security; (b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations; (c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another; and (d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration".

2. National Security is the security that state assures to provide its citizens. It includes the defence of the sovereignty of a state, protect the economy and institution for the citizens. National interests or core values form the basis of formulation of national security parameters. As Henry Kissinger, former US Secretary of State had observed that "National security in its widest sense comprises every action by which a society seeks to assure its survival or to realise its aspirations internationally." India's National Defence College, New Delhi considers that "national security is an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might."

Check your Progress 2

3. National security is no longer limited to guarding the borders by the armed forces. In modern times subjugation of a nation could be attempted by its adversaries in many innovative manners. The important elements of national security are political, economic, energy, health, food, environmental, social and information, and securing these elements is the paramount responsibility of not only the government but each citizen of the country.

   Energy Security. Energy resources are critically required for national development and progress. India imports over 80 percent of its requirement of crude oil and gas. The country has to ensure that it is not only able to purchase these resources at affordable rates, but also spread its basket so that it does not depend on only one source which may suddenly get disrupted due to unpredictable international developments. India's focus on renewable energy resources such as solar and wind power is an attempt to reduce dependency on imports. The best example of contribution of the Indian Diaspora for the country's energy security is the intense lobbying that Indian-Americans carried with the Bush Government for getting the civil nuclear agreement signed.

   Health Security. Health of the population is an important consideration in the national development index. Malnourished and sick citizens will not be able to positively contribute to national productivity. Nationwide immunisation of children to eradicate diseases has to be undertaken earnestly. Availability of drugs and medicines at affordable rates is thus essential. Overseas Indians have contributed with donations in building national health services. Many Indian Doctors have returned after getting specialist training to start hospitals in India. Dr Prakash Amte's 'Lokbiradari' hospital in remote Maharashtra town of Himalkasa receives funds

even from overseas Indians which are utilised to run the charitable medical service for the poor tribals of that area.

4. Indian Diaspora contributes positively to the country's economic security through remittances of over USD 69 billion every year. Many affluent persons of Indian origin have contributed funds as well as work for improving sanitation, health, river cleaning, agriculture and many other issues. They have also lobbied with the political leadership of their host nations for favourable action on many issues of concern to India such as during the Indo-US civil nuclear agreement negotiations. However, on the other hand many members of Indian Diaspora have worked against the national interests, especially on security by encouraging militant organisations like Babbar Khalsa, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, and many such. Economic offenses conducted by overseas citizens of India have put the nation in an embarrassing situation in its international interactions.

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