Sophia
LUCID

A PEER REVIEWED MULTI-DISCIPLINARY RESEARCH JOURNAL

SOPHIA COLLEGE

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Sophia Lucid
A Peer-Reviewed Multidisciplinary Research Journal
Annual Volume-II   *Issue-I (March 2023)*

CONTENTS

Editorial

The *Annual Volume 2 Issue 1* of *Sophia Lucid*, our National level Peer Reviewed Multidisciplinary Research Journal engages with the theme 'Conflict, War, Tolerance, Peace and the Emerging World Order.' It focuses on an interdisciplinary lens to rethink the existing paradigms, perspectives, ideas, issues and compendium of knowledge on this broad area, through the disciplines of humanities, social sciences and natural sciences.

Conflicts are multidimensional in the sense that they can be intrapersonal, interpersonal, social, political, religious and cultural and physical. Though many a time they tend to disrupt the individual and the socio-cultural ethos, they need not necessarily be negative and disruptive at all times. Sometimes they put the world into a nuclear alarm; some other times they challenge the existing paradigms of thought and bring innovation. As some of the papers in this issue will propose, the building blocks that are dismantled by conflicts could transform into constructing bricks to build up an edifice of peace and progress by a creative soul.

The fabric of the world has been torn by wars many times. More than that, it has marched into periods of peace and progress too. So it is parenthetical to think of conflicts and war on par with tolerance and peace. We have a new world order emerging out of the Covid conflicts and the geo-political turbulences revolving around the existing economic context. Here, *Sophia Lucid* is lucid in its discussions to engage heterogeneity in thought while exploring diversity, plurality in practice, probability and avenues of unity in peaceful coexistence.

We route ourselves in this Issue beginning with the discussions of an eminent contemporary Indian author Dr. Ram Puniyani in his invited piece, "From *Rath Yatra* to *Bharat Jodo Yatra*: Recovery of India's Soul". His paper deals with the backdrop in which

the social scenario worsened; the response and challenges to the *yatra* to restore communal amity along with the values of Indian Constitution.

The next article in line, "The Role of Peace Movement in Conflict Management in Modern Society" describes the role of the peace movement in conflict management in modern society. The author, Fr. Baiju Thomas argues that the factors that should lead to peace, and the concept of peace, have evolved over time and between cultures. A corollary to this discussion follows in "Complementary Odds: A Philosophical and Psychological Review on the eternal saga of Peace and Conflict" by Ms. Simi Susan Shibu who examines the roots of peace and conflict, bringing insights about the interplay and the discourse of Psychological and Philosophical theories on peace and conflicts. Ensuing the psychological line of discussion further, Ms. Lavanya Mohan's paper "India in the Wake of the BJP's Re-election: A Study on Religious Outgroup Attitudes Amongst Students in India" is a scholarly attempt to measure four latent variables: intergroup contact quality, intergroup contact quantity, intergroup anxiety, and outgroup attitudes, employing Structural Equational Modelling as the method to assess the relationship between these variables within a conflict scenario.

Theoretical and conceptual expositions also necessitate pragmatic interventions to correlate experiences of conflict. Ms. Sukanya Menon's paper "Politics, Religion and the Nexus of Conflict: An Israel-Palestine Case Study" suits this purpose. The author explores the ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine and contends that while its origin has been attributed to the religious differences between the Arabs and the Jews, an analysis of this conflict since it's onset after the First World War, sheds light on a myriad of reasons- beyond religion- that has exacerbated it to its present state.

Ms. Nisha Yadav's article "Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: Impact and Implications", that follows, is yet another pragmatic appendix to highlight the economic impact and implications of the Russia-Ukraine war on Russia and Ukraine and the other economies across the globe. The economic impact analysis of conflicts is pursued further and takes

a specific turn in Dr Manjiri Gondhalekar's paper "Understanding the Associations between the Military Spending and External Debt in India. She identifies an association between India's defense expenditure and external debt. It is argued that there is a high correlation between India's external debt and its expenditure on defense. A further extension of the discussion on economic impact of conflicts is ensued in the paper, "Economic Cost of Conflict and Peace" by Dr. Sangeeta Dubey. Her paper attempts to look at the various indicators like GDP and Human Development of a few conflicting nations to better understand the economic and social cost of conflict on nations and their peoples. The benefit that peace accords with economic growth is an entailed discussion to the main. "BRICS: Strengthening the New World Order?" by Dr. Priyamvada A. Sawant initiates a much needed discourse on attempts to collaboration, by tracing specifically the journey of BRICS and commenting on its possibility to strengthen the new world order.

Stories are not just told as tales but are written to present views and critiques on a space and time. Dr. Anamika Purohit's paper in literature "Reterritorialising the Nation-space: A Comparative Analysis of Spatial and Corporeal Conflict against the 'Nation' in Saadat Hasan Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Ismat Chughtai's "Homemaker", indicates the same. The paper interrogates the category of the postcolonial nation and the dominant Indian nationalist discourses using spatial and corporeal lenses in Saadat Hasan Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Ismat Chughtai's "The Homemaker". Both the short-stories foreground characters existing at the margins of the ideal Indian national citizen. The author examines the manner in which the characters unveil the fissures in the conventional narratives of the postcolonial Indian nation.

The discourse of conflict, war and peace are not confined to the experts within the disciplines of humanities and social sciences alone. They are also concerns where biological and natural sciences have made their suggestions. From the Physical Sciences, there are two papers that explore the theme of this Issue. Swamini Patade, Jabinda Silva

Lobo, Suruchi Sawant, and Kavita Pal in their co-authored article, "Covid 19 – An Overview", compares the biological preparation, adverse effects, efficacy and effectiveness of various COVID-19 vaccines tried worldwide and the impact of new variants of COVID-19 on the vaccines. The findings offer a prelude to understanding the politics behind conflicts arising in vaccine debates and the vaccine gimmicks' that are pursued thereafter.

The last paper in this volume proposes that nuclear projects are also often scenes of conflicts and protests. The threat of nuclear warfare, the fear and dangers of radiation, and the need for alternate energy sources bring in a complex scenario for conflicts. Dr. Meeta Saxena, in her paper, "Energy discourse and the Nuclear Projects: A Comparative Study of Nuclear Energy & Other Energy Sources" compares the advantages and disadvantages of nuclear energy with other sources of energy on the basis of cost, reliability of supply, adjustment of supply with demand, size of carbon footprint and effect on the environment, scalability, future prospects, and hazards associated with it.

The papers in this volume hopes that the intellectual minds and policy makers along with its people, will take these discussions further to orient the world towards peace and prosperity.

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Dr. T.C. Roy
Editor, Vol. 2, Issue 1

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FROM RATH YATRA TO BHARAT JODO YATRA: RECOVERY OF INDIA'S SOUL

Dr Ram Puniyani
Author and Human Rights Activist

Abstract: Bharat Jodo yatra of Indian National Congress led by Rahul Gandhi and supported by many civil society groups and others started on 7th September 2022 from Kanyakumari and will culminate in Srinagar on 30th January 2023. The yatra is getting tremendous response from most sections of people. It began in the backdrop of worsening social scenario where on one side the intercommunity relations took a nosedive and on the other economic plight of average people worsened. Employment among youth dwindled, the condition of farmers, Dalits, Adivasis worsened and insecurity of women increased. The Yatra contrary to predictions got humongous response and has led to a sort of churning in the country. What does it portend for the future of the country and what are its challenges are dominating the thinking in sections of society. This paper deals with the backdrop in which the social scenario worsened; the response and challenges to the yatra to restore communal amity along with the values of Indian Constitution.

Introduction

India's independence was marked by the tragic partition of the country with Muslim majority Pakistan coming into being. The communal forces which assisted the British policy of 'divide and rule' did not disappear. The Muslim communal elements dominated Pakistan while Hindu communal elements gradually started becoming strong over a period of time. The communal discourse took a dangerous leap from the BJP's Rath Yatra by Advani, which aimed to build the Ram Temple. Its goal was to demolish Babri Mosque, an archeologically protected structure, built in sixteenth Century and in the process create a wedge between different religious communities. Let's see the major incidents which deepened the divide between different communities and weakened the fraternity inherent in the values of our republic.

Backdrop to Bharat Jodo Yatra

Babri Demolition and Mumbai Violence

Advani's Rath Yatra was taken out in a Toyta Car converted in to a chariot and as it travelled from Ahmadabad towards Ayodhya, it was intercepted in Bihar. It left a trail of violence and blood on the way. "The March's imagery was 'religious, allusive, militant, masculine and 'anti-Muslim'. This was reinforced by speeches of made by Advani which accused the government of 'appeasing the Muslims' minority and practicing pseudo secularism.'" (i). The yatra created an anti-minority hate and intensified the prevalent propaganda that Muslim Kings destroyed Hindu temples and did atrocities against Hindus, including forcible conversions.

The hate created by this led to repeated violence in city after city where the yatra passed. Anand Patwardhan, the noted documentary film maker commented "where ever rath yatra went, violence followed" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=QsBfJdKZCmk"). The sustained work of BJP-RSS Company led to the demolition of the mosque as the authorities in the Center and UP state deliberately failed in their duty to protect the mosque. "In five hours of Kar Seva all three domes (of mosque) were razed to the ground. The idols of 'Ram Lalla' were taken out…(and) bhajan Kirtan started around 7 PM" (ii). All this when the BJP leaders sitting on stage gave the slogans, *Yeh to Keval Jhanki hai, Kashi Mathura Baki hai*, (This is just a prelude, Kashi Mathura will follow). This triggered the anti-Muslim violence in Mumbai, Surat, and Bhopal. Also, Ayodhya witnessed the attack on photographers, and the local Muslim residents.

Liberahan commission appointed in the aftermath of demolition concluded, "…the events of and leading up to the 6th December in the birthplace of the virtuous Lord Ram considered an incarnation of God and the ideal king, were tainted by a joint conspiratorial enterprise." (iii)

This unleashed the massive violence and Mumbai which was unprecedented. In this anti-Muslim violence nearly 1000 people were killed out of which 750 were Muslims. Loss of property primarily of Muslims was close to 10000 crores. Shrikrishna Commission nailed the culprits but no punishment was given to the culprits. The slogans, 'Muslims have only two places to go: Graveyard or Pakistan' were thick in the air. This led to massive ghettoization of Muslims in areas like Mumbra, Bhendi Bazar and Jogeshwari. This gave an electoral boost to BJP and it succeeded to come to power in 1996. The communalization of society got a big boost.

Anti-Christian Violence: Pastor Stains-Kandhamal

The propaganda that Christian missionaries are converting by force, fraud and allurement has been very prevalent from last many decades. This was the base on which anti-Christian violence was launched, initially few spectacular incidents followed by sub-radar anti-Christian violence.

The burning of Pastor Stains by Bajrang Dal's, Rajendra Pal, aka Darasingh Dal came as a big shock to the whole country. The Pastor was sleeping in an open jeep when Dara Singh and many others burnt them alive. The then President of India K.R. Narayanan described it as "a monumental aberration of time-tested tolerance and harmony. The killings belong to the world's inventory of black deeds" (1) Wadhva Commission was appointed by Home Minster L.K.Advani in the aftermath of this brutal act gave its report as per which, "…the pastor was not involved in any conversion activities and that the percentage of Christian population in the area has remained static despite the Pastor working in the area." (2)

The anti-Christian violence picked up since then and in Dangs (Gujarat) Jhabua (MP) and Kandhaml in particular. Most of this took place around Christmas time. At the same time Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram (affiliate of RSS) set up its activities in Adivasi areas and Hinduisation of Adivasis went on large scale. Organizing of Shabri Kumbh

(Congregations), and promoting Lord Hanuman and Shabri as the major icons for Adivasis was initiated at large scale. In these areas the Ashrams set up by Swami Aseemanand (Dangs) activities of followers of Asaram Bapu (Jhabua) and Swami Laxmannand (Kandhamal, Orissa) began spreading anti-Christian propaganda and violence was the consequence. This violence peaked in Kandhamal in August 2008 in which nearly 100 Christians were killed and many Churches were attacked. John Dayal Writes "The violence began when the Vishwa Hindu Parishad vice president Lakshmananda Saraswati, who had moved to Kandhamal forty years earlier to combat, as he said, the Christian influence in the Tribal and Dalit district, was shot dead in his ashram. Local Maoists took the credit for the murder. But people such as Praveen Togadia roused the local people by taking his body in a motorcade along 270 kilometers of a tortuous journey through major villages. As the body went past, local thugs and Sangh cadres launched an attack on the Christian population."(3)

Since then, many scattered acts of violence have been taking place against this community. The prayer meetings are attacked, Pastors are arrested on the charge of conversion and an atmosphere against Christians has been created, which led Julio Reibero, the respectable police officer to comment "Today, in my 86th year, I feel threatened, not wanted, reduced to a stranger in my own country. The same category of citizens who had put their trust in me to rescue them from a force they could not comprehend have now come out of the woodwork to condemn me for practicing a religion that is different from theirs. I am not an Indian anymore, at least in the eyes of the proponents of the Hindu Rashtra." (4) This reflected the sentiments of large section of Christians.

Gujarat Carnage 2002

On the pretext of burning of Sabarmati Coach (S 6) violence was launched against the Muslim community in Gujarat, in which nearly 2000 lives were lost, 80% of those being

Muslims. "Senior Gujarat police officer Sanjeev Bhatt has told the Supreme Court in an affidavit that chief minister Narendra Modi had asked police officials to "let Hindus vent out their anger against Muslims following the Sabarmati Express train burning incident in Godhra on February 27, 2002"(5)

Babu Bajrangi, in a Tehelka sting by Ashish Khetan had stated that it was like a one-day match and he was feeling like Maharana Pratap while doing the killings. He was given life imprisonment and is currently on bail (6). Similarly another guilty Maya Kodnanni was given life imprisonment and is currently on bail. The attitude of Government and handling of situation became clear when General Zamiruddin Shah said that his battalion, which had been sent to Gujarat to quell violence, had to wait for three days before being brought into action. As per him "… after about 3,000 troops landed at an Ahmadabad airfield at 7 am on March 1 - the day after the riots broke out - they waited for transport and other logistical support from the state government, which was delayed." (7)

The Gujarat carnage led to massive ghettoization of Muslim community. Juhapura, bereft of most civic facilities is the live testimony to the plight of minority. This trend of ghettoization is on the upswing and different areas of the country face similar issues.

Muzzafarnagar Violence: Love Jihad

The communal forces have been spreading the misconception about love jihad. This campaign is totally a construct to target Muslim youth and to increase the patriarchal control over Hindu girls. Charu Gupta writes, "False claim that there is 'love jihad' organization which is forcing Hindu women to convert to Islam, through false expression of love is similar to a campaign in 1920s in North India against "alleged abductions". Whether 1920s or 2009, Hindu Patriarchal notions appear deeply entrenched in such campaigns: images of passive victimized Hindu women at the hands

of inscrutable Muslims abound, and any possibility of Hindu women exercising their legitimate right to love and their right to choice is ignored" (iv) This in a way was the backdrop of massive Muzzafarnagar violence, in which loss of lives and property of Muslim farmers was immense.

The angle of love jihad and saving 'our women' was very much there as the Muslim boy who hit the bicycle of a Hindu boy was accused of teasing his sister. As such in the violence, "In this case of Muzaffarnagar violence as the three boys got killed on the pretext of teasing of the girl after a skirmish on the road (there are two versions of the beginning of the episode). There was enough time to see the dangers of such an inter-religious violence and control the same. But that was not to be. The officers in violation of the rules and even the imposition of 144 in the area let the Mahapanchayat (Congregation) of over a lakh people take place." (8) This triggered the onset of violence in the state.

Another horrific case related to propaganda of love jihad was the one related to burning alive a Muslim. Shambhulal Regar did the heinous crime of killing a Muslim labor, with mind full of Love jihad obsession. "The horrific part of the incident was that Shambhu got his 14-year-old nephew to shoot the incident on video and then to upload the clip. The incident must belong to hate crime of the worst order. Killing with axe then burning the body and video shooting it!" (9)

Cow Beef and Lynching

Adding to the vicious atmosphere, the divisive sentiments among Hindus were deepened by throwing up the issue of Cow as Holy mother and talking of beef ban. This was meticulously done to incite the Hate against Muslims. As per IndiaSpend report "Muslims were the target of 51% of violence centered on bovine issues over nearly eight years (2010 to 2017) and comprised 86% of 28 Indians killed in 63 incidents. As many of

97 per cent of these attacks were reported after Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government came to power in May 2014, and about half the cow-related violence — 32 of 63 cases –were from states governed by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) when the attacks were reported, revealed our analysis of violence recorded until June 25, 2017." (10) Una incident of flogging four dalit youth for carrying the dead cows was equally horrific drilling a massive fear among the section of dalits dealing with leather and other products from dead animals.

CAA NRC: Shaheen Baug

The massive exercise of Citizens Amendment Act was implemented in Assam. The problems faced by citizens in Assam were massive. Keeping records for those living on pavements or even with average families is not easy. This was done in the backdrop of the propaganda that millions of Bangla Deshis have infiltrated in Assam and are a threat to security. At the end of the whole effort what came out was the false nature of the propaganda. The result was nearly 20 Lakh people were found who did not have proper papers, out of this 12 Lakhs were Hindus.

In this backdrop the government brought in Citizenship bill as per which the citizenship for immigrants from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangla Desh will be granted to Hindus, Christians and Buddhists. The Muslims were kept out of the list. The massive protests against this were there and police mercilessly cracked down on students in AMU and Jamia Milia in particular. This is what precipitated the Shaheen Baug Movement by Muslim women in Delhi to begin with and then it picked up all over the country. These protests had vast Impact. "… these protests can be interpreted as acts of citizenship where women spearheaded demonstrations against the Indian state to withhold their rights of citizenship as 'activist citizens', asserting the constitutional value of respecting diversity and democratic citizenship, thereby demonstrating 'constitutional patriotism'" (11)

The Economic Scenario

The economic scenario was marked by rising prices, failure to fulfill the promise of jobs and rise in consumer product prices. The petrol-diesel prices touched the sky and rupee kept having a free fall against dollar. The economic and global indices saw a continuous fall in most of the spheres. The hunger index, freedom of religion, democratic freedoms all saw a steep decline. "India's score on Civil Liberties was flat at 42 till 2018 but dropped sharply to 33 by 2022; that for Political Rights dropped from 35 to 33. Thus, India's total score dropped to 66 which places India in the "partially free" category – the same status it had during the Emergency. Since the publication of the index, the only two previous instances where India was considered as 'Partially Free' was during the time of emergency and then during 1991-96 which were years of economic liberalization" (12)

The farm laws intended to increase the grip of corporate sector on the peasant's economy were implemented and met with a massive protest. This protest lasted for close to a year, finally Government had to withdraw the laws. Good reflection of the high-handed policies of the Government. It was a big sacrifice by farmers and the World saw that a unified struggle can still oppose the repressive policies of state. While withdrawing the agitation the Sanyukta Kisan Morcha (United Peasants Front), leading the protest states, "The current agitation stands suspended… The SKM dedicates the fabulous and historic victory of the struggle to around 715 martyrs of the movement, including those in Lakhimpur Kheri. SKM congratulates all the protesting farmers and citizens, and their supporters," (13)

Democratic Liberties

The authoritarianism went up by leaps. The powers of Prime Minster became close to absolute. With the different agencies meant to counterbalance the power of executive

getting constrained. Modi was on the trip to unfold the agenda called Hindutva agenda. Abrogation of Article 370, construction of Ram temple has already been achieved. With full media, becoming Pro Government, the voice of opposition got further undermined and those criticizing the Government were labeled anti-National. Many intellectuals have been labeled Urban Naxals and are in jails. The attack on JNUSU (Jawaharlal Nehru University Students Union), the Hyderabad University episode leading to Rohith Vemula and banning of Periyar Study Circle in IIT Madras, came as the repressive policy of the Government which overall added to the stifling of atmosphere. BBC report calls India as partly free, "Since 2014, it says, increased pressure on human rights organizations, intimidation of journalists and activists, and a spate of attacks, especially those against Muslims, had led to a deterioration of political and civil liberties in the country." (14)

It is in this backdrop that '*Bharat Jodo: Nafrat Chhodo*' (Unite India: Leave Hate) was conceptualized.

Bharat Jodo

The yatra (Pilgrimage) began on from Kanyakumari. Its route passed through 12 states and two union territories to culminate in Srinagar on 30th January, Mahatma Gandhi's martyrdom day. It got huge response right from the word go. It kept its slogan of unity of India. Rahul Gandhi (RG) is the central figure. The issues it raised through slogans, songs and regular press conferences were related to the issues of livelihood, rising prices, growing unemployment, the rising hate against minorities and the atmosphere of intimidation and fear.

In addition to the efforts of the Indian National Congress, many civil society groups also came forward in this endeavor. Yogendra Yadav, form Swaraj India played major role in getting the civil society groups for associating, and articulating their own concerns as

well. Neatly summing up the need for this yatra, He summarized the backdrop of such a need, "Never before have the values of our Republic faced as heinous an assault as they have in the recent past. Never before have hate, division and exclusion unleashed on us with such impunity. Never before have we seen a regime so callous to the plight of the people while the economy lies in ruins, propped up only by a few favored cronies. Never before have had the real nation-builders — an overwhelming majority of the farmers and workers, Dalits and Adivasis — faced such effective exclusion in the shaping of the nation's future." (15)

As such Yatra has a spiritual connotation in India. It is a spiritual journey. The most significant Yatra one remembers was the Dandi March of Mahatma Gandhi, which roused the conscience of the nation against British injustice. After 1933 Gandhi undertook many yatras to eradicate untouchability, which had profound effect on the psyche of the nation in eradicating untouchability.

It is getting such a response yatra is on foot, unlike the Toyota Converted into chariot. In this people come to join and mix with the yatra and share their issues with RG, who is all ears for them, "If I had undertaken this yatra in a BMW, the people you see here would not have come. They have joined because I am walking on the road, meeting them, and listening to them." (16) His tee shirt has also become a matter of great discussion along with his tireless journey, he says, "They [media persons] keep asking me how I do not feel cold. But they do not ask the farmer, the worker, poor children, this question…I have walked 2,800 km, but I believe that is not a big deal. Farmers walk so much every day; as do farm laborers, factory workers – all of India, in fact." (17)

Love and compassion of the tradition of Buddha and Gandhi are the core concerns and message. Through the politics of Hate the divisive forces have brought country to a pass where the weaker section is feeling insecure and marginalized. It is in this context that

RG said, '*Maine Nafarat Ke Bazar mein Mohabbat ki Dukan Kholi hai*' (I have opened the shop puff love in the Market of Hate)

Interestingly while Congress and national flags are there, one can see diverse expression in this journey. The type of people associating are from all walks of life, sharing their plight and coming out with their problems and ideas to the one who is regarding this as a learning process for him. Surely those who are travelling are getting a real feel of what India is all about and what type of travails it is suffering from last decade or so. Many accounts of Yatra tell us the receptive nature of RG who behaves more like an empathetic friend rather than a politician with inflated ego.

This journey is the most significant movement which has happened in India. On one hand one can see the yearning of the vast section to be heard on the other there are social groups keenly following it to imbibe nature of issues which are dogging the nation. Apart from RG the civil society groups are looking up and associating to ensure that this learning will help them to enhance the struggle for rights of the people. It is clear as on one side RG/Congress have initiated the yatra, on the other different sections of society had been looking for a move where they could express their pain and anguish, where they could articulate their suffering. Parallel to this there are programs to start other local programs and also other yatras in different parts of the country. So the first goal of yatra to create a churning in the society seems to be within striking distance, that it cannot be the endpoint.

Challenges to Yatra

While there was a criticism against the Yatra, that Congress party which is initiating this process needs to unite itself, and that it will be a flop. It is not a flop in the first instance, but the question remains whether it can make the Congress stronger remains.

Noted critics like Suhas Palshikar have from an empathetic angle raised other issues, which need a deeper introspection. Suhash Palshikar in his article in Indian Express (Jan 14, 2023) writes, "But on both counts — the rejuvenation of the party and the rediscovery of our democratic national self — the Bharat Jodo Yatra seems to be underperforming in comparison to its stated ambition. It is understandable that in view of the participation of many non-Congress groups, it does not want to over emphasise the objective of Congress rejuvenation." (18)

Pratap Bhanu Mehta makes a very pertinent observation about this Yatra (Indian Express 'A Journey in Search of Destination', December 24, 2022) "It was to give a glimpse of an alternative style of politics: A politics of decency, comfortable with listening, refreshingly bereft of the orgies of hate that define public discourse. The Yatra embodied love and national unity. Doubtless, it created that effervescence for those who participated." (19)

Responding to these valid observations and comments, Yogendra Yadav, who is not only participating in the Yatra as a yatri, observes "Indeed, its destination must go beyond Srinagar — to the mind and heart of every Indian. These mid-term assessments must be seen as guides to action, as lighthouses. A *yatri* would do well to heed Palshikar's call to expand the "geographical, political, and intellectual scope" of the *yatra*. Or address Mehta's three tests — creating a new ideological vision, gaining political momentum, and becoming the fulcrum of opposition unity." (20)

The Likely Fallout

Though yatra is completing on 30th January, the future programs have not been outline concretely yet. A glimpse of Rahul Gandhi's letter as the Yatra is coming to a close (30th January) is very indicative of future prospects. The letter in a way sums up what he observed and what are the needs for future, "The people of our country realize that we

cannot reach our full potential unless we embrace our diversity and work shoulder to shoulder. I strongly believe that India will reject hatred. We will rise above caste, religion, language, gender, and all other differences that cause rifts in society. Our greatness lies in our 'Unity in Diversity'. My message to each one of you - Daro Mat! (Don't be scared), Remove fear from your hearts and hatred will vanish from within you," (21) He also warns of the economic difficulties and unemployment which the country is facing.

The impact on the communal scenario can be partly glanced from an article of Yogendra Yadav. I also can vouch with my little participation in the yatra, that it may be the beginning of the process of combating hate and promoting amity. (22) Yadav feels that wherever the message of Yatra has reached it has de-escalated the communal tensions. He sums up his observations and hypothesis by saying "Rahul Gandhi's forthright position against the politics of hate, a refreshing change from the equivocation or strategic silence by most mainstream political leaders of the opposition, has suddenly made it acceptable to speak about love. Statements like "*Main nafrat ke bazaar mein mohabbat ki dukaan kholne aaya hoon* (I have to come to open a counter of love in the bazaar of hatred)" have a longer shelf life than we imagine." (23)

It is likely that as the atmosphere of hate declines the fear and intimidation of minorities will come down. The expressions of people's concern may come out more boldly. The Congress as electoral machine may be able to put its house in order. At the same time other non-BJP political parties may see more ray of hope in the possibility of a coalition at center which can come up as a defense of pluralism of India, of bringing back the country to the path which we embarked with hope and longing on 15th August 1947. It may pave the path of taking our Constitution more seriously, to follow this path more sincerely in future.

Summing up

Zoya Hasan, the renowned social scientist correctly sums up the yatra, "BJY has raised three big issues – economic inequality, social polarization, and authoritarian politics. These issues have been raised every day during Rahul Gandhi's interactions while walking, in his press conferences, in meetings with special collectives of people, in speeches, and in rallies." (24)

On similar lines S.N.Sahu, Apoorvanand in Janata Weekly. 15th January 2023 ('Issues Raised by Dandi March Resonate in Bharat Jodo Yatra') "The import of BJY is better comprehended by locating it in the historical backdrop of Dandi March, the significance of which endures beyond time and space. It was on the 91st anniversary of Dandi March on March 12, 2022, that Prime Minister Modi started the national celebrations of the 75th anniversary of our Independence, Aazadi Ka Amrit Mahotasav. It is equally significant that during the Aazadi Ka Amrit Mahotasav, the BJY began from Kanyakumari to unify India by taking head-on the forces of hatred and engaging in an ideological struggle with them." (25)

Whether the yatra can pull the country from the dark tunnel of material deprivations and attacks on diverse culture of India, only time will tell but what it has demonstrated that it a phenomenal beginning and it has a great potential to change to culture of Hate to culture of love and amity.

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THE ROLE OF PEACE MOVEMENT IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN MODERN SOCIETY

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Abstract: The present study describes the role of the peace movement in conflict management in modern society. The factors that should lead to peace, and the concept of peace, have evolved over time and between cultures. As observed in peace movements and conflict management worldwide, peace discourse has a propensity to become speculative and value-laden rather than scientific and realistic. Our goal is to understand contemporary academic ideas of peace better and stay current on developments in peace movements and conflict management in modern society. The contradictory ideals of peace and conflict are at the heart of peace and conflict. On the other hand, peace and conflict are not always necessarily incompatible. Instead of being stable, they are adaptable and respond to new events. This first segment on conflict and peace introduces the concepts of conflict and peace. In light of the evolution debate, the section begins with a conflict discussion. As an outcome, it encompasses both a limited and comprehensive definition of peace. The attempt to manage peace and conflict addresses the origins of the conflict, structural inequality, violence, and the obstacles to world and national peace and justice. It also encourages more egalitarian, cooperative, and nonviolent solutions to unjust, violent, or oppressive circumstances. This project aims to provide insight into how peaceful conflict resolution is tried today by enhancing the visibility of the context of crucial peace movements, evaluating the solution of conflict concepts, and introducing people to the contextual framework of relevant peace movements. People will receive a thorough awareness of current research and developments in peace and conflict resolution and a contemporary social perspective on these issues. The study concludes with an examination of the link between conflict and peace. As an outcome, it is possible to affirm that peace is an inherent characteristic of human nature. Most battles are fought in the hopes of obtaining peace because it is so wanted. Since hostility varies with time and place, conflict is expected to decrease somewhat. Now that we have established the

importance of genetics and the environment in peace and conflict, we need to define peace broadly to understand its relevance in today's society.

Keywords: *Role, Peace Movement, Conflict Management, Modern, and Society.*

Introduction

Peace is the ability of a society to prevent, manage, and settle conflicts peacefully at all levels through its institutions, values, habits, and behaviours, in addition to the safety that stability offers. Fair and inclusive opportunities for employment, means of livelihood, and other well-being elements, including health, education, and adequate living conditions, are all reliant on equality and inclusion. It is well known that from the dawn of time till the present, humanity has placed great importance on peace. The word "peace" is an excellent one for describing a peaceful society and a beautiful globe. One could argue that having world peace is everyone's biggest personal goal. To achieve peace, we have used every tool at our disposal. This makes it conceivable to see humanity's history as a quest for peace. People have explored, examined, and promoted peace in many contexts and areas. Conflict arises when fundamental differences in real or perceived interests cause disagreements between people, groups, organizations, or society. Conflicts are frequent in human culture, especially in trying or unsettling times. To avoid using violence to address issues, communities must be able to forecast them. Conflicts that are unanticipated, poorly handled, or left unsolved can quickly turn into systemic resentments or violent acts. People are more sensitive to the influence of political and violent players when their problems are unsolved (Macmillan, L. UN-World Bank Group, 2017). In terms of its application, peace and conflict analysis seeks out circumstances where it is possible to settle disputes in a way that fosters peace. Of course, the idea that work and leisure are connected does not imply that each job completed at work will inevitably have a tangibly positive impact on peace. Someone can perform ineffectively without even knowing it. Since changing the status quo is necessary to achieve social justice, there will always be a conflict between opposing

interests. As an outcome, "conflict-sensitive" solutions, or strategies that lessen the possibility that such arguments could turn violent, must be devised and implemented. This study explores the role of the peace movement in resolving disputes. It investigated the perspectives of other academics on related topics and the primary sources of knowledge. It focused on the notion of the peace movement and the elements that lead to conflict in social and community settings. Love, tolerance, and compassion three foundations of the peace movement—were highlighted. Additionally, horizontal and vertical relationships," or the links between regular people and those in positions of authority, are essential for the development of peace. Vertical and horizontal cooperation that is effective and mutually reliable is necessary for social cohesion. Peace is not a permanent state; therefore, a peaceful society must learn how to handle the conflicts and problems that arise with progress. From its earliest days to the present, humanity has prioritized creating harmonious communities. Not only can the term "peace" evoke feelings of peacefulness, but also beautiful surroundings. In a perfect world, conflict and violence would be eliminated, and everyone would get along peacefully. People are making an effort to get along with one another. The pursuit of mental tranquillity, then, is universal. Learning widely has revealed a wide range of perspectives on peace-making in modern society.

The Notion of Peace

The English word "peace" derives from the Latin word "pax," which refers to an agreement to end hostilities. To wit: (Mahmood, A. Z. H. A. R., & Ashraf, I. R. F. A. N., 2014). The great 17th-century philosopher Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) argued that peace is more than the absence of war; it is also a moral trait that leads to more compassion, trust, and fairness (Brussell, E. E., 1970). He promoted an ideology and way of thinking. The United States military history has taught us that there is no "lasting peace." As an outcome, the armed services believe that peace may be gained or sustained through force or the threat of force. Therefore, peace is often seen as an end in itself by the military.

From the standpoint of American military history, peace is typically defined as the absence of fighting from a political and historical perspective. This is because conflicts of varying degrees have always existed in human society. Veterans' need and yearning for peace is great. Once all action on the outcome stops, we can declare that peace has been restored. In this study, the concept of "peace" is used ambiguously and audaciously while considering gender, human rights, justice, and conflict resolution norms. To attain this broader definition of peace, state-building and governance tactics must be used, together with the awareness of and action against "sources of inequality and injustice based on race, religion, gender, and class" (Björkdahl 2012). Martin Luther King, Jr., the civil rights leader, was the only person who avoided being a victim of these atrocities. As per him, economic and social justice are prerequisites for lasting peace (King, M. L., 1985). Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) advocated for a peaceful approach to conflict throughout his life. It does not matter to him how close two countries are politically or culturally; he believes peace should be established.

An overwhelming sense of calm that defies explanation. Just because hostilities have ceased does not mean that peace has been achieved. The way you feel on the inside is just as crucial (Fishel, R.,2008). Take the evolution of international laws and standards for managing peace and conflict as an illustration of how peacebuilding has evolved into the main focus of the peace process (Diehl 2006; Mason and Meernik 2006). In addition, many experts on peace argue that this misinterprets the core ideas behind it. They see the calm for what it is: a condition of immense importance. When asked about what he thought peace was, Albert Einstein once said, "Peace is not just the absence of conflict, but the existence of justice, law, and order — in short, of administration" (Vesilind, P. A., 2005). In a recent public remark, the 14th Dalai Lama said that peace is of little value in the absence of conflict. It has been stated that peace can only be sustained in the long run in a society where human rights are safeguarded, everyone has access to sufficient food, and people and nations are free to pursue their interests (Abrams. I., 2010). He believes peace depends on safeguarding human rights, enhancing social welfare, and

ensuring individual and national freedom. Since peace is not an isolated phenomenon and because so many people invest time and energy into investigating it, many different points of view and understandings of the notion have emerged over time. This study explores various issues from various fields to help readers better understand the many components that contribute to our knowledge of peace in modern society.

Peace Movements in India

The study discovered that the peace movement nurtures in people a dynamic vision of confronting peace and avoiding the violent images that predominate societies; it provides information to citizens of all nations that they need to achieve security; it teaches people how to manage interpersonal, intergroup, and interethnic distinctions in a way that will prevent war; it encourages respect for various societies and aids students, learners, and residents in recognizing the variations. Although it has gained momentum, the peace movement in India still has a way to go before it can significantly impact people's everyday lives. Although India is a safe refuge for those seeking peace and nonviolence, its citizens have a hard time making links between concerns such as unsustainable development, nuclear energy, nuclear arms, and social problems. Because of this, peace efforts receive little support from the general public. Furthermore, many people may agree with the goals of peace groups in theory, but their actions rarely reflect that support. Therefore, it is challenging for peace groups to educate people on the merits of peace and the perils of conflict. As per experts, there are visual representations of peace movements. Given the bloody roots of colonialism, which spawned the modern war industry, this is to be expected. In my judgment, Brunn's 1985 study was the first global survey of peace movements. Several U.S. peace organizations provided substantial input to our study. Anti-war and peace movements, for instance, have been largely ignored by the academic world. Therefore, thanks to the efforts of social scientists, there have been significant conceptual advances in our knowledge of the

foundations of peace movements in recent times. This is done through arguing for institutional change by analogy with a natural process.

The rapid rise of international peace groups is a topic that experts have only lately studied. The data provided here serves as a springboard for further research. This examination is divided into four different parts. If a peaceful uprising is going to work, it needs to have a firm foundation. By clarifying key terms, it lends strong justification to peacebuilding initiatives (Herb, G. H., 2005), Many individuals, both within and outside the peace movement, were concerned about India's independence. Movements for peace are an integral aspect of development cooperation because of their impact on making peace and sustainable development a realistic option for governments. The success of peace and nonviolence campaigns depends on their ability to involve as many people as possible and to make a lasting impression on the individuals they aim to help. New scientific and technological advancements have given rise to a new wave of peace movements as an outcome of humanity's ability to alter the natural order of things and create unconventional weapons of mass destruction. All of these activities would constantly threaten the social order. Campaigns for peace are held in many different parts of the world as a direct response to the threats posed by nuclear proliferation. Simply put, such movements aim to rally public opinion in favour of measures that will not be incorporated if they endanger the peace and safety of the future. The public has taken a stand to rein in and, in some cases, compel governments to cease peace-disturbing movements and deeds, creating the groundwork for a lasting and stable peace (Walker, C. C, 1967). The peace movement is a relatively new social movement to rally public support in opposition to policies and practices that threaten people's ability to live side by side peacefully. Peace movements, which emerged in the decades after World War II, are frequently cited as "new social movements" due to their unique challenges and the creative technologies they propose. We can think of peace movements as umbrella movements because there are so many kinds of social movements with the same goal of making the world more peaceful. For this reason, it is

essential to define peace to comprehend peace initiatives. To be clear, "peace" refers to more than just the absence of conflict. To determine peace, it is essential to consider the lack of social, economic, and political violence; the accessibility of natural resources for a fulfilled and happy ability to earn a living; the right to practice one's culture without intervention; and the absence of policies or actions that might potentially ruin the possibility of living a dignified life in peace.

Peacebuilding Strategies

The term "peacebuilding" covers a broad spectrum of endeavours, many of which may occur at different times or be carried out by others. Integration and reinforcement are necessary for politics, safety, development, and compassion. It is not easy to move from a "negative peace," where violence is absent, but there are no other improvements, to a "positive peace," where the root causes of conflict are addressed. As a response to the world's deadliest conflicts and wars, the study of peacebuilding became a distinct academic field. Peacebuilding aims to facilitate social cohesion at all levels of society to mitigate the effects of violent conflict and war (Waldman, T., 2009). Most experts agree that these three principles should serve as the foundation for future studies. To begin with, initiatives such as peacebuilding that are designed to last a long time are the only ones that have a chance of keeping the peace. Next, it must consider the complex interpersonal dynamics and the wide range of factors that could lead to violent acts. The third tenet of peacebuilding is to stop disputes before they escalate. Usually, the short-term goals of peacebuilding include stability, providing citizen security, and lowering levels of violence. One of the long-term goals of peacebuilding is to improve governance, social integration, and equitable and equal access to livelihoods. Building peace requires time. Even though it is still unclear how the country is currently doing overall, work on longer-term goals can begin while stability is being created or restored and small-scale peace elements are being formed. Actions in peacebuilding are based on an awareness of the overt and hidden reasons for peace and conflict since peace and inclusion are

essential—fervent beliefs, such as those that oppose social injustice and exclusion. Planned methods are frequently used in programs that balance society's access to the advantages of peace across gender, age, race, class, caste, location, and religious affiliation. Technical programming and other stakeholders in conflict zones and fragile environments which are "peace sensitive" can identify and address the causes of violence through their work. Increasing efforts to keep the peace and working to eliminate tension before it starts are both essential. A peace-responsive strategy is characterized by its promotion of change led by the community as a whole and its increase in societal resilience to violence and conflict. Former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali defined peacebuilding as "the building of a new environment" in his seminal book An Agenda for Peace (UN General Assembly 1993).

On the other hand, the term has expanded from having a narrow focus on the end of the conflict that includes issues with social welfare, economic growth, and racial harmony, in addition to problems with justice and integrity (Mason and Meernik 2006). However, the concept of peacebuilding recognizes the system-wide nature of conflict and its connection to development, which is a significant improvement over more simple methods of achieving peace. Its original scope, that of post-war reconstruction, has been expanded to encompass conflict avoidance. Throughout this study, the term is employed in the post-conflict context (Tod Waldman, 2009). If there is ever peace on Earth, it will require governments and ordinary people to conquer their preconceptions against one another. With any luck, we will be able to put an end to the recent violence and figure out how to solve the problems at hand. Coming to terms with innocent people and returning to normal are critical components of the peacebuilding process that accompanied the end of the conflict. Peacebuilding expanded the scope of post-conflict rehabilitation as it became clear that development and peace were intertwined. Conflict can be avoided, its impacts mitigated, and infrastructure repaired through implementing a peacebuilding plan in modern society.

The Concepts of Conflict

Conflicts are unavoidable in any group of two or more people. That sad reality is due to resource limitations, competence, administration, and task distribution. The Latin word "configure," from which we obtain the word "conflict," means "to strike jointly" (Barash, David P., and Charles P. Webel, 2002). If the resources held by both sides become more valuable, an escalation of hostilities may occur. When resources are expanded, more uses can be accommodated. The more people involved in a fight, the greater their influence will be (Dayo Oluyemi-Kusa, 2005). Conflict arises whenever there's a lack of mutual communication between individuals. This is a sign of hostility, competition, and an incapacity to work alone. Conflicts are inevitable when dozens of countries each try their approach to a problem. However, resorting to violence is never the best option when faced with a challenging situation. Comprehending the problem's origins is required for effective management or resolution. Conflict analysis with fresh eyes can reveal new frontiers. Preventing conflict is preferable to solving it after it has already started. Each of us has a unique set of challenges throughout the process of a typical day. Disputes may occur if one of us consistently disregards the other's attempts at conversation. When two people start confronting one another physically, the conflict reaches a different level. Sometimes, even a seemingly insignificant argument can have far-reaching impacts on individual people who are not directly involved. You may run across some persons you have never seen before. The conflict between people and authorities is one such instance. Competition is not limited to the individual level, as can be seen by the fact that wars can break out on the scale of a nation or even the entire planet. Indeed, conflicts between individuals are as numerous as those between countries. It has inspired several idioms, yet they all relate to the same thing. Instead of being up to the individual, people's divergent opinions are pinned to immovable social norms. Conflicts develop when various parts of a system work toward goals that are in competition with one another (Jacoby, Tim,2008). Disputes are almost inevitable if many parties believe they are

heading toward a common goal. More nations mean more potential battlefields (Pfetsch, R. Frank, and Rohloff, Christoph, 2000).

Negative and unhealthy views toward conflict are encouraged by teaching their alleged causes—inadequate communications, narrow views of the world, and a lack of trust in figures of authority to blame. Employees who stop working together despite disagreements on the job can harm production. Workplace disagreements reduce productivity and raise personal involvement in one's employment. Since this is the case, it is best to avoid potentially hazardous situations wherever possible. Delineating roles, processes, and authority can help reduce the likelihood of conflict and expedite its resolution. The diversity of viewpoints reflects the complexity and scope of the issue. The dispute arises between people because of their fundamental differences. This indicates disagreements occur when competing values and perspectives threaten an everyday reality. Building a wall against conflict requires the same kind of thinking that fosters the conditions that lead to war in the first place. Security and peace planning has become the most sought-after and complex topic in contemporary global and state politics as a natural outcome of the ongoing suffering caused by conflicts within and between nations. The many battles and other events during this time have ensured that it will be remembered as a pivotal historical period. No one can point to a time in human history when all war and misery were eliminated (Isa, A. A., 2015). Conflicts can emerge when employees and managers disagree on how to address a situation. Foreign companies provide opportunities for individuals from many walks of life, including those from nations with highly different political systems and religious beliefs. Therefore, many of today's most contentious confrontations may come from fundamental differences in worldview, value system, and work ethic in modern society.

Conflict Management Strategies

The ability to manage conflicts effectively is essential to the growth of trades, organizations, and individuals regarding their perspective and social skills. Conflicts

heat it not because of anything said but because of the emotions of the people involved. Conflicts in the workplace are never little, and how they are resolved has far-reaching consequences (Almost J, Doran D, Hall L, Laschinger H. 2010). Finally, every person and group will have to deal with a kind of conflict. Conflict management becomes essential when there is significant mistrust between parties or when they have drastically different perspectives on the matter at hand. Individuals have various responses and coping skills under pressure. They could flee, plot revenge, become violent or competitive with one another, or experience severe mental or physical distress. An outcome of a conflict resolution is rarely black and white. Conflict, when handled correctly, can motivate creativity and boost teamwork, but when left unchecked, it can destroy morale and productivity. It is essential to strike a balance between allowing too little conflict, which can impede the smooth running of operations, and allowing too much conflict, which can break up a stalemate, stimulate innovation, relieve stress, and sow the seeds of renewal. To succeed in today's competitive market environment, maintaining employee enthusiasm and contentment is more crucial than ever. There has been an increase in the number of scholarly works devoted to conflict management due to the change in perspective on conflict among many enterprises over the past two decades. It was (Knowledge sharing and working together as a team is crucial to their success. Everyone has a lot to gain by working together.

Conversely, managers learn quickly that employees are not always eager to carry out their orders. Naturally, there will be tension between co-workers. Depending on their outlooks, skills, and expertise, the parties to a dispute can either resolve it favourably or unfavourably. Management, especially those working in higher education institutions, need to spot the beginnings of the conflict, determine if the situation will improve or intensify, and then devise and implement solutions to manage conflict. The long-term effects of a conflict's resolution cannot be overstated (Meyer S., 2004). Many different kinds of conflicts exist, and every one of them may require a different strategy. There appears to be a fairly predictable curve from the initial sparks to the climax of a dispute.

Diverse supplementary variables also contribute to the conflict's continued existence. Personality clashes, opposing ideals, perceived threats to one's standing, diverse perspectives, and a lack of mutual trust all contribute to workplace conflict. However, interpersonal problems are caused mainly by role confusion and conflict. Since the constant presence of other people, disputes are more likely to emerge at work. A company's success depends on the management's capacity to resolve conflicts in a manner that benefits the organization as a whole. Legal problems can be solved in a wide variety of ways

(Kodikal, R., Rahiman, H. U., & Pakeerrappa,2014). Furthermore, when conflicts are not managed efficiently, the opposite is true for morale, production, and growth across the board (Kunaviktikul W, Nuntasupawat R, Srisuphan W, Booth R, 2000). Undoubtedly, this will be a vital aspect of the main parties' conflict management strategy. Conflict resolution requires a toolbox of techniques, each of which must be tailored to the situation's specifics (Sportsman S, Hamilton P, 2007). In-house problem-solving strategies used by companies are studied widely. The reasons and methods for reducing workplace and leisure-time conflicts are addressed. Management may, therefore, settle disputes if they are aware of the causes and potential solutions. Various strategies to deal with conflicts can emerge in a corporate setting. Whether or not third parties are present, conflict management's ultimate purpose is to facilitate compromise between parties with competing interests by shifting the underlying dynamics of a disagreement. Conflict management experts among administrators are well-versed in and skilled in various approaches to resolving conflicts in modern society.

Conflict Preventive Strategies

The prevalence of violence in a society might be exacerbated by economic hardship, political persecution, or aggressive or dishonest leadership. Long-simmering hatred and bitterness have led to this. A reduction in the likelihood of violence can only come about by addressing the underlying causes of it, such as mutual mistrust and hatred. The

possibility of a conflict being avoided in the first place increases the likelihood that it will be resolved peacefully and productively. We examine the current status of society's efforts to reduce the incidence of conflicts. Taking precautions is not a one-and-done deal but rather an iterative procedure that adapts to changing circumstances. When people talk about "fixing a problem," they imply trying to address the origins of the disagreement (Wallensteen, P., 2006). Ongoing peace processes must be strengthened, crisis frequency and severity reduced, an enabling environment created, and conflict resolution solutions developed. Cooperation between global, regional, regional level, national, and local entities is essential if conflicts are to be avoided. Per our understanding of conflict prevention, it is crucial to put significant resources into preparing a society to deal with conflict in a nonviolent manner.

Any two nations or any level of society are equally prone to conflict. Conflict, on the other hand, is symbolic of the positive powers of social diversity and the eternal human search for justice and individual autonomy. Good outcomes are achievable if something is addressed with respect. Conflict management and prevention are generic terms that describe various strategies (Wallensteen, P.,1998). A "conflict prevention kit" is a set of measures to prevent conflicts from becoming more serious. By "conflict management," we mean "a theoretical approach that focuses on restricting, minimizing, and containing a dispute without necessarily solving it" (Clément. S., 1997; Tanner, F.,2000). Problems can be solved in the standard order of avoidance, management, and resolution. This study, however, casts doubt on that assumption by showing that the two concepts are inextricably intertwined. In the second half of the study, we delve considerably deeper into this topic. First, though, we must engage in an honest dialogue about the dynamics and origins of conflict in modern society.

Conclusion

People will be better able to deal with unexpected conflicts if they are well-versed in the many ways of conflict management. Learning about the many approaches to conflict

resolution allows people to assess their strengths and weaknesses in this area. There is an ideal solution to any dispute that could arise. While inevitable failures, the Indian peace movement has advanced significantly in various challenging areas. The nuclear threat in the region has shifted the focus of Indian peace organizations from atomic energy, which they initially opposed because of external influences. The movement evolved from a nuclear disarmament and energy campaign to one of human history's largest and most diverse peace movements. Human rights, communal harmony, social inclusion, and the rights of tribal peoples over forests are only some of the issues that peace movements have attempted to address. Most Indian non-profits aim to make their communities better places to work and raise a family. In light of the government's current development policies, in which issues related to the lives and livelihoods of ordinary citizens appear to take a back seat to the needs of multinational corporations, there is a widespread belief that peace movements are the only effective means for the people to reclaim their right to a peaceful and dignified existence. Peace initiatives need robust and unified leadership from those who support them to succeed. Hence, a paradigm shift is required for new peace movements and conflict management methods to arise, and India is a prime example. To achieve this goal, many sectors, including conflict management, the peace movement, and the general public, may need to rethink their approaches to learning and adopting effective ways of resolving conflicts in modern society.

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COMPLEMENTARY ODDS: A PHILOSOPHICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REVIEW ON THE ETERNAL SAGA OF PEACE AND CONFLICT

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Abstract: In today's day and age, where conflict and peace are always at the odds, one is compelled to delve in deeper and explore its nuances. It becomes imperative from a research-based perspective, to closely evaluate its dimensions as well as manifestations, from different schools of thought. Hence, this paper aims to delve in deeper theoretically as well as critically examine the roots of peace and conflict, from a multidimensional purview, built on secondary research. That is, to develop insights about the interplay and discourse of Psychological and Philosophical theories on peace and conflicts.

Keywords: *Peace, Conflict, Peace and Conflict Theories*

Introduction

> *"Peace is not the absence of conflict; it is the ability to handle conflict by peaceful means".*
>
> *(Ronald)*

In a world plagued by a plethora of social problems, maintaining the balance between peace and conflict is a difficult task, considering the volatility of social institutions today. May it be international relations, one's political/religious affiliations or racial differences, inception of a conflict is as easy as fuelling fire; meanwhile, mitigating the same peacefully becomes arduous. Scholars throughout ages and time have tried to gage an understanding of what drives individuals to perpetrate violence in terms of conflict versus engage in peace-making as a non-violent way of solving issues.

Method: This paper is primarily based on Secondary Research hence the Research Design incorporated and followed is a Systematic Review, where varying philosophical as well as psychological perspectives delving into Peace and Conflict have been

explored. The conceptualisation and execution of this paper happened during September, 2022.

Conflict: An instance where individuals find their personal interests to be incompatible with others, they may work against each other leading to negative outcomes (Branscombe and Baron). This is what conflict is. Conflict is a clash. It is a struggle. Mainly as a product of incompatible opinions, interests or principles. Conflict can also be intrapersonal, interpersonal or group based. Accounting for any of the social institutions, conflict is a part and parcel of life, which allows individuals to express their discontentment and hence, pave ways to plausible outcomes. In its soul, conflict as an entity is a disruptor of peace, which is why delving in deeper into understanding conflicts are imminent.

Conflict: Through the lens of Psychology

The Industrial-Organizational branch of Psychology has conflict analysis as a major proponent of its subject matter. Within the purview of psychology, conflict has been studied, explored as well as experimented upon. When evaluating the processes of conflict, various factors play a role such as affective states, cognition as well as motivation as well as relativity of individual behaviors and preferences. Conflict can broadly be looked at across these categorizations:

Conflict of Interest along with shortage of resources **(De Dreu and Gelfand)**

Humans are driven by desire especially in terms of obtaining possessions as well as are always in competition and an unnerving, zeal to achieve their wants. The intensity to achieve the same increases, when it is an outcome/goal being competed for, by multiple individuals. To backtrack, the basic premise of all human interactions, resides in the prevalence of Interdependence Theory, which posits that humans are dependent on one another to achieve positive outcomes, while straying away from negative. However, rather than acknowledging this mutual co-dependence, individuals many a times wish

to make individualistic, self-centred choices rather than cooperating with others in tandem, while choosing more mutually, beneficial choices. In this pursuit, of prioritising personal interest, individuals ultimately end up hurting the sentiments of a group/organisation or affiliation's collective interest. In addition to this, scarcity to the already finite number of resources, exacerbate the scenario, making the atmosphere more frictional, which culminates in a conflicting situation.

Need for a Social Identity **(De Dreu and Gelfand)**

Humans on a very basic level are social beings who thrive and nurture when socially acknowledged and accepted. Having a social identity is an irreplaceable need. So, when the motive is to develop one's social identity, conflict becomes a product of ideological clashes that these individuals advocate. Personal interests are most ardently safeguarded, in case of value-related conflicts.

Socio-cognitive conflict **(De Dreu and Gelfand)**

In addition to the aforementioned pointers, socio-cognitive conflict is a thorough understanding and interpretation of the conflicts that have occurred as well as knowing its consequences. It involves learning and making sense of what happened, and how the course of events for future can be worked around accordingly. This factor is fine-tuned by various other social psychological theories.

In terms of Conflict Psychology, conflicts can be broadly categorised into four subtypes namely: Approach-Approach, Approach-Avoidance, Avoidance-Avoidance and Double Approach-Avoidance (Branscombe and Baron), all of which tap into various kinds of conflict that one faces with respect to their context and circumstance.

Conflict: Through the lens of Philosophy

 "This problem draws from recognizing human's capacity for evil, that in our nature we are considerably flawed and troubled, unable to overcome ourselves being contingent to what is

called a meaningless existence; conflict often acts as an obstacle to understanding our place in the world (Hobbes)."

From a Philosophical purview, Thomas Hobbes advocates that man is on a constant war, with himself, as well as others. Hence, in want of preservation, waging war is a way of ensuring one's survival. Therefore, conflict many a times is just about a want or need that an individual wants to claim. However, intention behind achieving the same, is much more than what appears to the eye.

Peace: The term peace can be traced back to the Old-French Pais which translates to meanings such as "peace, reconciliation, silence and agreement" (Online Etymology Dictionary). The broad meaning of peace, involves breaking free from the shackles of conflicts as well as being able to live without the fear of violence/violent movements. In fact, to culminate as well as dissolve conflicting situations, numerous political leaders throughout time have developed peace treaties as a means of resolving the conflict as well as a gesture of extending harmony or a potential alliance. To celebrate the same, identified patrons of peace-making are awarded the *Nobel Prize in Peace* (Nobel). The Indian appreciation denoted to peacemakers is acknowledged by awarding them with the *Gandhi Peace Prize.*

Peace: Through the lens of Psychology

A lesser-known concept within the peace dominant literature is a construct called 'Psychological Peace'. The notion of Psychological Peace is embedded in a sense of peaceful thinking and introspection that eventually translates to Behavioural Peace. Peace as a human feeling closely aligns with emotions of contentment, tranquillity and satisfaction. The ideation is that peace as an inner disposition promotes and develops the will of resolving things amicably, as compared to acting out in situations and/or exacerbating the potential for conflict (Dalai Lama).

Even before the inception of Peace Psychology as a formal field, a lot of attention was diverted towards wars and violence, with the intent of preventing them. Amidst this, Psychologist William James came up with an intriguing phrase that summed up Peace Psychology – "War provides human beings with opportunities to express their spiritual inclinations toward self-sacrifice and personal honor; consequently, to end war, societies must find alternative "moral equivalents" for the expression of these profoundly important human values" (James). Hence, the humanistic incentive behind wars was understood, which paved a trajectory for numerous other peace theories to be built upon.

Following this Gordon Allport advocated the thought that conflict is amplified by ignorance of one's adversaries. He also accentuated on the importance of communication between the groups in conflict, which is a precursor to diminishing enmity and prejudice. From the lens of Social Psychology, the criterion of communication between the conflicting parties is a pivotal one. The powerful effect of the same lies in the accomplishment of *Superordinate Goals,* where shared goals can only be achieved, when both the parties in question work together mutually. This sense of interdependence, can foster and gradually nurture a conflicting situation into one of cooperation, provided the goals are achieved (Sherif & Sherif).

Closely after, the field was venerated as a promising branch of psychology amidst the nuclear war crisis, where the onus of dissipating war related tension fell back upon peacemakers, in terms of reducing threat (Walsh). Soon after mitigation of the impending nuclear war crisis, Peace Psychology was pressed for attention by several other demanding issues, such as "internationally armed insurgencies, environmental deterioration, displaced populations, and child soldiers" (Christie, Tint and Wagner). Hence, the current discourse around peace psychology, resolves around:

- An emphasis on the geohistorical context (Christie).,

- A more holistic take on Meanings and Types of violence and peace (Christie)., and

- A streamlined look into the factors causing violence and peace (Christie).

Though a relatively new concept to be explored within the realm of Psychology, Peace holds immense potential to be categorised as an entity of its own and be investigated further.

Peace: Through the lens of Philosophy

When discussing about the philosophical underpinnings of peace, one cannot negate the role of major world religions, in contributing to the same. The same can also be observed in case of Indigenous societies and religions. Peace as end goals, for various religions can be classified as the following:

- *Judaism* in its religious scripture of the Tanakh, is categorised into Torah, Nevim and Ketuvim, all of which highlight the essence of peace as well as defines peace as a result of weathering adversities and life experiences;

- *Hinduism* through scriptures like the Vedas, Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita, align peace with the construct of Karma, which is a incentive to follow moral conduct. To add on, Ahimsa is not condoned, which was also a central value to Gandhian Philosophy of non-violence;

- In conjunction to Hinduism, *Buddhism* also has a strong emphasis on the value of Ahimsa which equates to maintenance of peace. To add on, abstaining from achieving one's desires can also be viewed as promoter of peace, since warfare and conflict results from wanting to achieve desires;

- *Christianity* as a monotheistic religion also advocates peace, which was demonstrated throughout by the Messiah, including presentation and practice of values like reconciliation and forgiveness;

- *Islam* in itself literally, is a rendition of peace, where the rooting of the religion is laced with of peace as well as reliance on Zakat, that is, social justice (Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy).

Weaving the religions together, it is safe to conclude that peace can be viewed as the end goal of humankind in general, which can be weighed in terms of outcomes promoted and promised like that of heaven or paradise, or simply by a sense of better living.

Moving onto prominent philosophers, the importance of Peace as a construct of human living, was also propagated by Plato. In his work, Nomoi, he highlights peace and friendship to be a moral responsibility of every citizen to be established and maintained. In Symposium, Plato names love as a means of maintain peace among individuals. Similarly, *Ethica Nicomachea, Aristotle's brainchild on virtue ethics, has peace as its pillar. Every virtue/ethic translates to contributing to peace, including relevance of Eudaimonia. The Renaissance period changed the understanding of peace altogether. Erasmus of Rotterdam, quoted "if all that we do is predetermined, there is no motivation for improvement"*. Erasmus's works heavily relied on viewing peace as methodical; as a means rather than just a goal.

While some of these views and theories are proactive, Thomas Hobbes came up with a more static view, implying means of achieving peace is by absolute submission to the state. According to Hobbes, peace is a product of an external authority being placed for governance. Another pioneer of Modern Philosophy, namely John Locke promotes that one's right to life as well as the right to not be implicated by harm, paves way to the right to Peace. Jean-Jacques Rosseau was of the belief that peace is cultivated by being close to one's naturalistic roots. That is, peace is not something that can be executed by means of systems, but rather developed by being part of a peaceful society. Peace comes about when an individual experiences a oneness with nature.

Amongst these array of modern philosophers, notable work around Peace, was also contributed by Immanuel Kant. His take on peace revolved around the analogy of peace

being one's duty. Duty to peace implies every individual is predisposed to behave in a peaceful manner, thereby perpetuating peace in one' society. The Kantian Peace Theory has a strong foothold in viewing peace as a moral obligation. From the Indian Purview, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi can be titled as the Father of Non-Violence. For him, peace was not a mere entity or commodity, rather a way of life. Some of his trademark non-violent movements included the infamous Satyagraha. Gandhi also promoted peace, as an inner state rather than something that is externally validated or determined. One's ideation of peace is a product of what is happening on an intrapersonal level.

Philosophically then, Peace has multiple avatars depending on the context in which it is measured. The philosophical angle to peace acknowledges the fact, that for peace to occur conflict is a given. However, if preferred, peace is the way to go.

Contemporary Theories on Peace and Conflict

Realism (Nader Saiedi)

According to this theory, states are viewed to be the stakeholders in initiation of international relations, which translates to be the foundation of their political as well as military structures. As states find themselves in scenarios that may necessitate self-help, all others are viewed as potential violation to its security. As a result, war is viewed as a by-product of the International relations hierarchy. According to this theory, to ensure maintenance of peace, Nuclear Weapons and a bi-polar military structure is a pre-requisite.

Democratic Peace Theory (Nader Saiedi)

Advocated by Immanuel Kant in 1875, this theory posits that war and peace are rooted within the internalised political structure of societies. The underlying rationale is that democracies respect other democracies and hence would be more than willing to stray away from violent measures and would like to utilise peaceful resolution to conflicts.

Marxist Theory (Nader Saiedi)

Marx's theory can be broadly categorised into three distinct issues:

- How capitalism is related to war and peace;
- What role violence plays in transitioning Capitalism to Communism;
- How does colonialism impact the progression of colonized societies.
  While he believed, Violence is inevitable for revolutions to occur, the possibility of a peaceful transcendence to Socialism was also acknowledged. As the root cause of war, according to socialist theories lie in the magnitude of social inequality, Socialism is viewed to be the economic order aligning with prevalence if peace.

Social Constructivism and Cultural Theory (Nader Saiedi)

Reliant on symbolic interactionism, this theory views war to be the result of socially constructed interpretations towards others as well as ourselves.

Decoding Peace & Violence: The Ultimate Theory

All these areas of interest within Psychology as well as Philosophy, gave rise to Johan Galtung (founder of contemporary peace theory) as one of the most prominent peace researchers who made a distinct contribution in terms of classifying violence as Direct and Structural Violence. *Direct violence is episodic, manifests as an acute insult to wellbeing, and typically harms or kills people quickly and dramatically* (Christie, Tint and Wagner). In contrast, *structural violence represents a chronic affront to human well-being, harming or killing people slowly through relatively permanent social arrangements that are normalized and deprive some people of basic need satisfaction* (Christie, Tint and Wagner). Thus, the progression of structural violence was noted to be more insidious and ingrained in the roots of one's social arrangements, thereby, being close to impossible to change.

Galtung also categorised peace-related activities into 3 divisions namely – Peacekeeping, Peace-making and Peace building. Peacekeeping is the immediate attempt to de-escalate violence. Peace-making is rooted in coming up with agreements or compromises amidst a conflicting situation. Peace building is the most proactive approach focused on an aiding a post-conflict society with the primary aim of eradicating structural violence. Hence, Galtung's theory postulates to be one of the most established theories of peace in practice.

The Clash of Peace

To conclude, the discourse of Peace and Conflict is multifaceted. While the current paper, looked at the Psychological and Philosophical theories behind peace and conflict, as social phenomena, peace and conflict can also be studied from the purview of various other social sciences, such as sociology, economics, political science, history among many others. With the political atmosphere of the world right now, maintaining peace becomes urgent more than ever, while de-escalating conflict just keeps getting difficult.

As discussed by the theories and perspectives enumerated, peace and conflict can be embodied into various viewpoints. Adaptation into one, depends on the context, circumstance and urgency of a given situation. Conflict may not always be a bad situation, provided it is dealt with constructively. As well as submissive peace may not always be the optimal way to deal with conflicts.

Conflicts have multiple agencies from which it can spill over, while for peace there's a hardened scarcity. It is about providing agencies for Peace to manifest. In a situation like this, being aware of the various ways in which a conflict can deteriorate is crucial, meanwhile, also being accountable for the various kinds of ways in which these tense situations can be diffused. Conflict and Peace are two sides of the same coin. And the state of the world is one of the other. Hence, to accommodate these complementary odds it becomes imperative for individuals to be aware as well as sensitised to the notion of

conflict, identify one promptly then immediately work towards dissipating the same, so as to maintain peace.

A dormant volcano, can be enticing to a group of sightseers. But one got to remember, that it can erupt, at any given time. Similarly, as complementary a pair of odds maybe, at the end of the day, odds are odds and while weighing or accommodating both, one ought to be careful.

Delimitations

The primary reason for opting to conduct a systematic review was based upon a want to do exploration as well as better the researcher's understanding about Peace and Conflict as themes of Research. Often misconstrued in laymen language, the nitty-gritties of Peace and Conflict as reflected in the paper, go way beyond day-to-day instances about the same. Hence, this review was a humble attempt on part of the researcher to deconstruct Peace and Conflict as independent as well as co-dependent entities.

Limitations

- Being a systematic review, the paper only focused on existing literature and evidence to draw upon inferences. Other research designs such as an Explanatory Research study, Survey among many others can substantiate the premise of the topic by getting real-time data.
- Similarly, this paper was built upon Secondary data. An attempt to derive primary data can enrich the scope of the study.
- Due to time constraints, the researcher focused on the primary theories and studies revolving around Peace and conflict across the fields of Philosophy and Psychology. The field in itself can be further explored by delving into complementary multidisciplinary approaches.

Social Relevance & Scope for further Research

As the discourse goes on, Peace and Conflict as research themes, render themselves to widespread academic interest. Especially, with volatility rife in the world, in terms of increasing tensions and susceptibility to war/war-like situations, it is the need of the hour to investigate how conflicts can be diffused by the aid of Peace. Hence, research can delve in deeper into quantifying the severity of conflicts, which in turn can help world leaders to strategize Peace mediums to constructively address the same. Unpredictable problems call for novel solutions. Hence, current times call for exploring these highly underrated concepts to be taken seriously, for the betterment of the world as well as generations to come.

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INDIA IN THE WAKE OF THE BJP'S RE-ELECTION: A STUDY ON RELIGIOUS OUTGROUP ATTITUDES AMONGST STUDENTS IN INDIA

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Abstract: This paper sought to re-establish the contact hypothesis amongst students in India in the wake of the 2019 Indian General Elections. A cross-sectional online survey was used to measure four latent variables: intergroup contact quality, intergroup contact quantity, intergroup anxiety, and outgroup attitudes. Structural Equational Modelling was employed to assess the relationship between these variables. While the hypothesized model did not have very good model fit, intergroup contact quality was found to be a significant positive predictor of outgroup attitudes, with intergroup anxiety negatively mediating this relationship. However, the same was not true of intergroup contact quantity. This could imply that in a country as diverse as India, where intergroup contact is near inevitable for most people, contact quality has more bearing on attitudes as compared to contact quantity. The results are discussed in the context of the political atmosphere of the country, and their potential implications for future research and interventions.

Keywords: Intergroup Contact, Outgroup Attitudes, Intergroup Anxiety, India

Introduction

Over the years, research in various disciplines has proved that humans are a social species. Indeed, interaction with other people and the formation of social groups appears to be an innate and evolutionary trait of humans which benefits mental and physical health. One factor based on which people have been grouping themselves for centuries is religion.

While some theories emphasize the importance of religion as a force which unifies people and encourages the formation of moral communities (Durkheim, 413), others link

higher religiosity to better resilience and an overall sense of happiness. Yet despite its many benefits, religion has also been a major catalyst for conflict and violence. With some "adherents of a religious group often see(ing) other religious beliefs as a threat", and thus, treating people with different beliefs as unworthy or inhuman (Thomas, 2). A country which uniquely exemplifies both the cohesive and divisive traits of religion is India.

Despite having a majority Hindu population of nearly 80 per cent, India houses the second highest number of Muslims in the world (190 million), exceeded only by Indonesia and slated to overtake it by 2050 (Pew Research Center). Though in much smaller portions, India is also home to a considerable number of Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, etcetera. Given its great diversity and volatile history, polarizing religious sentiments have always been a subject of great interest in India. These polarizing sentiments have pervaded into multiple aspects of people's lives, of which the political sphere is not exempt.

The current ruling party, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), is a nationalist party stated to have a pro-Hindu stance. Since its landslide victory in 2014 (repeated in 2019), the BJP has been seen as the herald of the new age of Hindutva. The rise in Hindu nationalism has been attributed to many causes – the appeasement of minorities by ruling parties before the BJP, the sense of entitlement of the majority stoked by the BJP and the plethora of historical issues between the religious groups, noteworthy among them the demolition of Babri Masjid. Despite the re-elected Prime Minister's assurances of 'development for everyone', many citizens, especially the minorities, are still apprehensive about the relationship between religion and politics in the future, and how it will affect their place in India's socio-political sphere. Just as Trump being elected president of the United States, paved the way for social acceptability of prejudice towards groups such as Muslims, immigrants, etcetera (Crandall, et al., 2018), many from minority religious groups appear to believe that the BJP's victories have, and will,

lead to an increase in prejudice and violence against them. Due to certain incidents of intolerance and hostility directed by some religious groups against others, the negative sentiment between Hindus and Muslims, and other minorities, appears to be on the rise. This, combined with the growing unease among the entire population in response to it, endangers the delicate peace that holds India's diversity together.

The present study thus sought to re-investigate the influence of intergroup contact (quantity and quality) on outgroup attitudes amongst people from various religious groups in India, given the heightened sense of tension regarding religious politics in the country.

Literature Review

In 1954, Harvard social psychologist Gordon Allport developed 'contact hypothesis', theorising that contact between members of different groups could reduce prejudice and improve intergroup relations, if certain conditions were met – "equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and the support of authorities, law, or custom" (Pettigrew, 65). However, Pettigrew and Tropp's meta-analytic study found that while Allport's conditions aided the effect of contact on prejudice, contact has been proven to be significantly useful in inducing positive attitudes by increased exposure alone (Lee).

One of the few studies conducted on intergroup contact between Hindus and Muslims was carried out by Islam and Hewstone in 1993. Albeit in Bangladesh, where Hindus are a minority and Muslims a majority, this study is important in setting the context for the present study. It was in this paper that Islam and Hewstone introduced the General Contact Quantity and Contact Quality Scale, which was the scale used for the present study. They found intergroup contact to be a predictor of intergroup anxiety and outgroup attitude. The effect of both aspects of contact, quantity and quality, was found to be distinct and significant, but intergroup contact quality proved to be a stronger

predictor of outgroup attitudes and intergroup anxiety. Outgroup attitudes were also found to be negatively predicted by intergroup anxiety. Stephen and Stephen's Intergroup Anxiety Scale is considered the most popular measure to assess the variable in question, and the results of their study paralleled those of Islam and Hewstone, and helped highlight the importance of intergroup anxiety as a mediator variable.

Intergroup anxiety is defined as the negative affective response experienced when anticipating future, or expecting actual, contact with an outgroup member (Stephan and Stephan, 158), distinct from chronic levels or trait measures of anxiety. It biases information processing leading to greater stereotyping (Bodenhausen) and more homogenous perceptions of the outgroup. It is most likely related to why the effect of contact was found to be weaker for minority-status groups as compared to majority-status groups, a result which suggests that advantaged and disadvantaged groups react to intergroup interactions differently, with Tropp finding that disadvantaged groups were more likely to anticipate prejudice and discrimination from members of the dominant group. The present study studied both majority and minority religious groups in India and took into account the mediator variable of intergroup anxiety to assess the apprehension shown by minority groups; especially relevant considering the political context. A rare paper on intergroup contact and Hindu-Muslim relations in India, was written by Tausch, Hewstone and Roy in 2009. This study further established the chosen measures of contact (quality and quantity), intergroup anxiety and outgroup attitudes, as those proven to be relevant to India's context. Thus, in the current study intergroup contact quantity and intergroup contact quality are expected to predict outgroup attitudes, with this relationship negatively mediated by intergroup anxiety.

Method

Respondents: Respondents ($N = 207$) to the online survey were all students from colleges in Mumbai, New Delhi, Lucknow and Hyderabad, aged between 18 and 25

years (M = 21). The number of female and male respondents were N_{female} = 153 and N_{male} = 54. They were grouped based on religion – 149 were Hindus (72%), 22 were Muslims (10.6%), 17 Christians (8.2%) and 14 from other minority religions (6.8%), while 5 people preferred not to reveal their religious identity (2.4%).

Procedure: Ethical Approval for this study was obtained from the Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC). Faculty from multiple colleges across the country were sent the survey via email for its distribution, who then forwarded it to the students. It should be noted that despite this, all responses were completely anonymous with no personally identifiable information of the participants being recorded.

As English is widely spoken at the undergraduate and masters level in the colleges that agreed to participate, all items were presented in English via the online survey platform, Qualtrics. Responses were collected between July 1, 2019, and August 22, 2019.

Measures: General Intergroup Contact Quantity and Contact Quality Scale, developed by Islam and Hewstone, was used to assess quantity and quality of friendships. Three questions pertained to quantity and five pertained to quality. All questions were answered on a seven-point rating scale, with higher scores denoting quantitatively more or qualitatively better contact. The scale was especially chosen for its construct/factor analytic variability (each item was loaded significantly onto its factor) and predictive validity concerning outgroup attitudes and intergroup anxiety (Lolliot et al., 655). The internal consistency of the contact measures was evaluated for the data used for the present study as well, with α = .78 for the contact quantity items and α = .87 for the contact quality items.

Intergroup Anxiety was measured using six items of the short version of Stephan and Stephan's scale developed by Paolini et al. All items utilized a four-point rating scale with higher scores indicating higher anxiety whilst being the only one interacting with

outgroup members. The internal consistency of this anxiety scale was evaluated for the data used for the present study as well, with α = .81.

Outgroup attitudes were measured using the short form of General Evaluative Scale (GES) developed by Swart et al. The short form uses four five-point rating scale items, consisting of bipolar adjective pairs with a higher score indicating a more favourable attitude towards the outgroups. Swart et al. also provided EFA (exploratory factor analysis) and CFA (confirmatory factor analysis) support for the factor structure of this measure, with all items loading significantly onto a single latent variable with all factor loadings above .49. The scale was found to be highly internally consistent for the present study with α = .95.

Statistical Analysis Method

SEM (structural equational modelling) is a series of statistical methods or a modelling framework that combines multivariate techniques such as factor analysis and path models to investigate complex and multi-faceted psychological concepts. It was chosen for this study as it allows for both construct validation and scale refinement, evaluated through CFA, along with the simultaneous analysis of a complex model, including direct and indirect effects, such as in path analysis. It uses multiple measurement variables to evaluate latent variables. In doing so, the model accounts for both structural and measurement errors. SEM also overcomes other shortcomings of multiple regression and path analyses, by accounting for correlations between residuals and reciprocal relationships (Jeon, 2015). The analysis was carried out in Rstudio using the program Lavaan (Rosseel).

Results

Descriptive Statistics for Latent Variables
Before estimating the measurement model, the mean and standard deviation of all the manifest/measurement variables needed for the hypothesized structural equational

model were calculated. While the various different religious groups all answered the same questions for the items on the Intergroup Anxiety Scale, this was not the case for the Contact Quantity and Contact Quality Scale or the Outgroup Attitudes Scale. For these scales, all groups were only asked questions pertaining to their interactions with/attitude towards their respective outgroups, e.g., Hindus were asked about Muslims and other minorities. As such, the mean of the respondents' interactions and attitudes towards their respective outgroups was taken. These descriptives are presented below in Table 1.

Table 1: Mean ratings on Intergroup Contact (quality and quantity), Intergroup Anxiety and Outgroup Attitudes Scale

Variable	Mean	SD
Contact Quantity		
Contact in college	3.91	2.00
Frequency of informal talks	4.65	1.99
Frequency of house visits	3.28	1.88
Contact Quality		
Contact perceived as equal	5.02	1.71
Contact perceived as involuntary/voluntary	4.96	1.81
Contact perceived as superficial/intimate	4.29	1.73
Contact perceived as pleasant	5.26	1.51

Contact perceived as competitive/cooperative	5.30	1.55
Intergroup Anxiety **Feeling while interacting with outgroup alone –**		
Happy	1.83	.80
Awkward	1.77	.92
Self-conscious	1.97	1
Confident	1.85	.80
Relaxed	1.92	.84
Defensive	1.95	.96
Outgroup Attitudes		
Negative/Positive	4.03	.93
Hostile/Friendly	4.06	.92
Suspicious/Trusting	3.85	.96
Contempt/Respect	4.11	.87

Note: Ratings could range from 1 to 7; higher number indicates more quantitative contact, better qualitative contact, higher intergroup anxiety and more positive outgroup attitudes.

Correlations between the four latent variable scales are presented below in Table 2. All four variables are significantly correlated with each other – intergroup contact quality,

intergroup contact quantity and outgroup attitudes positively correlate to each other, and negatively correlate to intergroup anxiety.

Table 2: Pearson Correlations among Latent Variables

Latent Variables	Intergroup contact quantity	Intergroup contact quality	Intergroup anxiety	Outgroup attitudes
Intergroup contact quantity	1	.544**	-.223**	.250**
Intergroup contact quality	.544**	1	-.372**	.525**
Intergroup anxiety	-.223**	-.372**	1	-.455**
Outgroup attitudes	.250**	.525**	-.455**	1

Note: * p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Structural Equational Modelling (SEM)

The hypothesized SEM is shown in Figure 1. Maximum likelihood robust parameter estimation was chosen over other estimation methods, since data is distributed normally. The model fit indices used were chi-square goodness of fit test, RMR (root mean square residual), SRMR (standardized root mean squared residual), RMSEA (root mean squared error of approximation), TLI (Tucker-Lewis Index) and CFI (Comparative Fit Index).
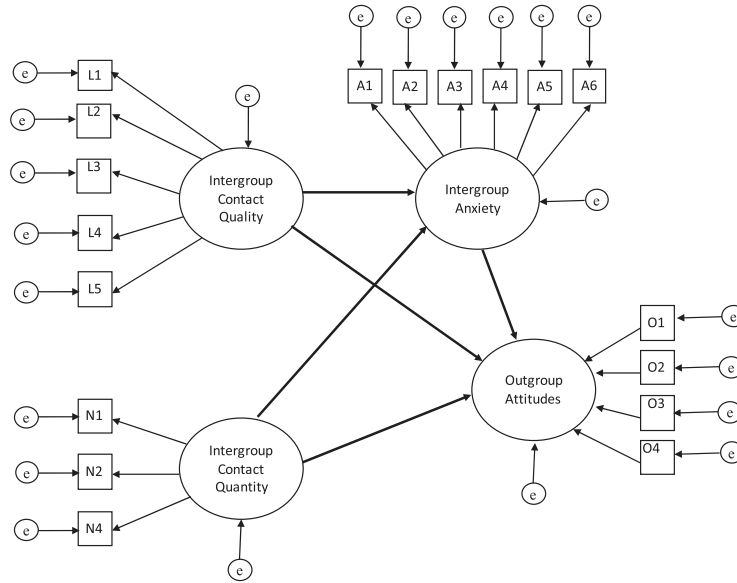
Fig. 1. Hypothesized SEM

To estimate the measurement model, the first step was to run the CFA for the latent variables of the study – intergroup contact quality, intergroup contact quantity, intergroup anxiety, and outgroup attitudes – to ascertain if all the manifest variables/item measures of each latent variable loaded onto the correct one. The chi square model fit statistic was χ^2 (129, N=207) = 250.858, p<.01, which is significant, and CFI = .94, TLI = .93 and RMSEA = .07 (significant at p<.05), which all indicate bad model fit (CFI and TLI are close to cut-offs for good model fit) and SRMR = .06, which indicates a good model fit.

When the structural model was estimated, intergroup contact quality was found to predict intergroup anxiety (β = -.45, p<.001), but intergroup contact quantity did not significantly do so (β = -.04, ns). Similarly, while outgroup attitudes were found to be predicted by both intergroup contact quality (β = .54, p<.001) and intergroup anxiety (β = -.35, p<.001), intergroup contact quantity was not found to predict them significantly (β = -.17, ns). However, intergroup contact quality and intergroup contact quantity were

found to have a significant covariance (estimate = 1.28, SE = .19, p<.001). Figure 2 shows the final modified SEM with standardized parameter estimates/regression coefficients below.
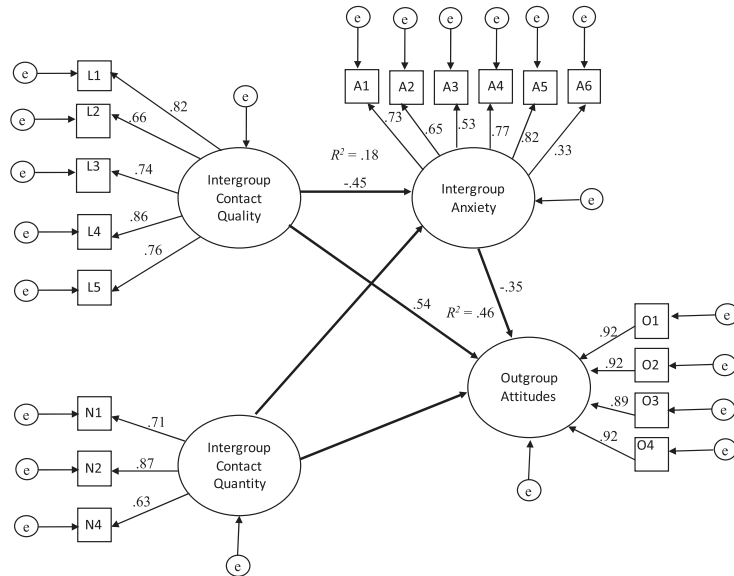
Fig. 2. Final SEM with standardized parameter estimates and R² values for the significantly predicted effects

Discussion

The aim of this study was to re-establish Allport's contact hypothesis in the current Indian context. Unfortunately, the model did not have very good fit, with only one out of five model fit indices meeting its cut-off mark. This could be due to many reasons, including the sample size, which will be discussed below in the limitations of the study.

Nonetheless, the main hypothesis was tested. While intergroup contact quality emerged as a relatively strong positive predictor of outgroup attitudes, the same was not true for intergroup contact quantity. This result was not completely in line with previous research but there could be an explanation in the form of the significant covariance found between these two variables. While intergroup contact quantity had emerged as a strong predictor in many previous studies, Islam and Hewstone (707, 708) also observed

intergroup contact quality emerged as the stronger predictor of the two. Another possible reason for this is that the contact quality scale assesses moments that include aspects of Allport's optimal conditions such as the feeling of equality and cooperative behaviour with members of the outgroup. Additionally, in a study conducted by Voci and Hewstone later, intergroup contact quantity did not emerge as a significant predictor of attitude towards immigrants or intergroup anxiety. But when the two contact measures were combined into a composite measure, it was predictive of the proposed outcome and mediator. The significant covariance between these variables also suggests that in a sample with high values of both intergroup contact and quality, the latter is the better predictor and overshadows the effect of the former.

Intergroup anxiety did mediate the relationship between intergroup contact quality and outgroup variables – contact quality was a significantly negative predictor of the mediator, which in turn was a significantly negative predictor of outgroup attitudes. On the other hand, contact quantity did not interact significantly with the mediator. A point to note for the present context is that while the quantity of contact is not affected by the political scenario in the country, quality of contact has been adversely negative for many.

The above points bring up the possibility of an as-yet-unstudied and unthought of variable, agreement or satisfaction with the political practices of the country. It is not an unreasonable question to raise that the heightened political tension has worsened the quality of contact between religious groups – both for the minority and majority. Thus, a way to take this study forward would be to add such a variable to the theorized model to assess the role it could play in the 'contact hypothesis' equation.

Limitations of the study include its sample size, the untested scale and lack of longitudinal data. While the sample size is considered adequate for SEM, it just reaches the cut-off point, and it was too small to adequately test for metric invariance between

the minority and majority groups. Out of 207, 149 people belonged to the majority, making it impossible to adequately compare the two groups.

Studying the moderating effect of group membership in a more balanced sample would have yielded a more textured view of the current analysis as well. The limited sample also prevented an additional latent variable such as that of outgroup friendships to be studied, which is considered an important predictor of outgroup attitudes.

Lack of longitudinal data also prevented testing for metric invariance over time. Additionally, it also prevents the study from talking about causal relationships between the groups, or for comparing levels of intergroup anxiety before and after the current rise of the BJP. A repetition of this study, with a similar sample could yield data that aids in the creation of the aforementioned variable of political satisfaction/agreement.

Lastly, the respondents in this study were college students from large metro/tier-1 cities, who's experiences do not adequately mirror those of the majority of the country and most affected by religious strife. The results of the study should therefore be studied with a larger, wider sample, with the addition of yet-untested variables that may play a significant role in the further understanding of the contact hypothesis and its implications for an increasingly discordant situation. An understanding of the differences in contact quality of majority and minority groups, and their causes of intergroup anxiety could lead to more targeted studies to work on interventions that address the progressively divisive thinking in the country.

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POLITICS, RELIGION AND THE NEXUS OF CONFLICT: AN ISRAEL-PALESTINE CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT: The past decade has seen an increased infusion of religion into political affairs across the globe. This paper looks specifically at the ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine. While its origin has been attributed to the religious differences between the Arabs and the Jews, an analysis of this conflict since it's onset after the First World War, sheds light on a myriad of reasons- beyond religion- that has exacerbated it to its present state. The Israeli Prime Minister, Naftali Bennett's recent remarks indicating his disinterest in reviving the peace-process between the two nations, once again highlights the political, ethnical and humanitarian paradigm to this conflict. Through a case study approach, constructed using extensive literature analysis, the paper aims to look the various factors vital in understanding the dynamics of this conflict in its present state and the impact it has on global politics.

Introduction

In contemporary understanding, Palestine is identified as the region bordering the nations of Israel and Lebanon, bounded on the east by the Jordan River, with the Mediterranean Sea on the west and the Negev desert in the south. The land is deemed holy and significant in Christianity, Judaism and Islam- especially the city of Jerusalem[1].

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[1] Jerusalem is considered the holiest city in Judaism and the ancestral and spiritual home of the Jewish people. Also known as Temple Mount, Jerusalem is extremely important for the Christians, as the place where Jesus preached, died and got resurrected. For the Islamic community, their third holiest city after Mecca and Madina and the Al-Aqsa Mosque is religiously significant for being the city Prophet Muhammad was transported to during his night journey.

The Israel-Palestine Conflict, involving the Jewish state of Israel and the Muslim majority area of Palestine, is the longest on-going conflict in contemporary times, with tensions having begun post World War I and continuing well into the 21ˢᵗ century. Although the crisis is often seen as an extension of the Arab-Jewish conflict that marred the Middle East post the second World War (and one which continues in various forms even today), it has grown more intense with several other issues such as the immigration of the Jews, fight for rights by the Arabs and the subsequent clashes occurring as a result of the long-standing distrust between these two groups. In the last couple of decades, the issue has taken a rather interesting trajectory involving full-fledged wars resulting in millions of causalities, peace talks initiated by external agencies and even a Nobel Peace Prize (for an attempt to 'solve' the conflict). Despite the brief ray of hope that was shared through the Oslo Accords in the late 1990s, in the last couple of years, relations between the two nations have worsened with both parties refused to indulge in any further peace talks. The century-long conflict, has intensified in the last couple of years, with both sides retorting to inhumane and unjustified forms of violence, which have disfigured both communities to varying extents. International organizations as well as other world nations, have been reduced to mere spectators as the conflict unfolded; with the issue often being at the crossroads between religious, political and a humanitarian crisis.

A Look into the Past

The roots of the Israeli-Palestine conflict go back to the first World War at the end of the nineteenth century. Palestine referred to the land which was to the west of the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. A historically rich land, Palestine was ruled by several powers including the Ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Persians. In the modern age, until the end of the first World War, the area was ruled by the Ottoman Empire and comprised primarily of two communities- the majority of who were Arabs and a few minority communities following Judaism and Christianity. At the end of World War I,

with the victory of the allied powers, the Ottoman empire dissolved and the territory came to be ruled by Great Britain. This period was known as the British Mandate. It was also decided that a national home for the Jewish people would be established in the territory. As per the preamble of the mandate-

> "… the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." (The Avalon Project)

Also known as the *Balfour Declaration,* this plan was vehemently opposed by the Arabs- the majority community living in the area. This disagreement led to several talks (as well as protests) by the Arabs with the British, against the influx of Jewish immigrant into what they considered as an Arab land. (Segev) The first major revolt took place in 1920, as is referred to as the *Nebi Musa Riots* or the Jerusalem Riots, during the annual Nebi Musa Festival[2]. Arab religious leaders instigated the riots through their anti-Zionist remarks and speeches, which resulted in the death of several commoners and injuring many more. The incident led to declining trust in the British- by both the Jews and the Arabs, since both parties felt that that British could not properly address their concerns. In a later part of that same year, at a Congress in Haifa, the Palestine Arabs raised a proposition for an independent Palestine state, rejecting any rights for the Jewry to Palestine. The following years led to an increased flow of Jewish immigrants, purchase of land in Palestine through the Jewish National Fund and the subsequent eviction of

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[2] Nebi Musa meaning Prophet Moses, is believed to contain the tomb of Moses. The annual Nebi Musa Festival is one of the most important festivals for the Palestinian Muslims and is celebrated over a week, beginning the Friday before Good Friday.

the local Arab peasants in the region- further aggravating the situation between the two groups. For the next two decades, the hostility continued in the form of communal clashes, rooted in religious, social and ethnic differences between Arabs and the Jews (Morris 67).

In October 1930, as per Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Passfield Mandate was passed, which stated that in the growing state of conflict, priority must be towards Britain's obligation to the Arabs. However, less than a year later, due to protests by the Jews in London and Palestine, the mandate was annulled. This led the Arabs to believe that the Brits were easily bought by the Zionist powers (Segev). It was under such a circumstance, that in December 1931, the Muslim Congress met to warn the other Arab nations about the growing Zionist influence. This set the foundation for the Arab Revolt which followed in the subsequent years.

In the 1930s, Europe continued to ally with the Jews. The Nazi accession in Germany and the widespread persecution of the Jews, led to an increase in the Jewish immigrants coming to Palestine. The Arabs on the other hand, became an increasing group of proletariats, primarily invested in agriculture and reeling under poor economic conditions. The arrival of the Jews- who were economically well off- into the land, heightened feelings of resentment and widened the dichotomy between the two communities. The rising nationalism among the Arabs in neighbouring nations of Syria and Egypt, along with their poor economic conditions of the Arabs residing in Palestine (due to poor harvest seasons and rampant unemployment) led to the Arab Revolt (Palestine- World War I and After).

The Arab Revolt which took place between 1936 and 1939, set the tone that the conflict would follow in the years to come. It was the first sustained violent uprising where both the Arabs and the Jews mobilized their troops. The Arab High Committee called for a general strike through means such as the non-payment of taxes, to push forward their

agenda to cease Jewish immigration. Britain constituted the Peel Commission to look into the Revolt and came to the conclusion that the Mandate was unworkable and differences between the two groups were unreconcilable. The Commission recommended partition of the land into separate states; however, this was opposed by the Arabs, amplifying the revolt between 1937 and 1938. These revolts were suppressed through stringent measures from Britain. Arrests of their major leaders led to a weakening of the movement, which subsequently paved way for the dissolution of the Arab League. Globally, with the Nazi atrocities against the Jews emerging, many of the states had a pro-Zionist outlook. It is under such a political scenario- of weakening Arab support and increased Zionist sentiments- that the crisis further deepens. As the immigrants continue to arrive and the Jewish community begins to settle down in the region, there is an evident dichotomy between the Arab peasants and the well-off Jewish community, leading to deteriorating relations between the two groups (Bartal 54).

In 1944, there was an increase in the interest towards the Palestinian Arabs by the neighbouring Arab nations, such as Jordan, Syria and Egypt. The heads of state from several of these Arab nations came together and issued the Alexandria Protocol stating that while there had been injustice done to the Jewish population, the problem of '… *European Jewry should not be achieved by inflicting injustice on the Palestinian Arabs.*' (Palestine- World War I and After). The subsequent creation of the Arab League- which emphasized the Arab nature of the Palestine land- thus, brings forth the Palestine power struggle, which is seen even today.

It is under such volatile circumstances that the United Nations in 1947, adopted Resolution 181, or the *Partition Plan* (UN Partition Plan of 1947). It sought to divide the British mandate into separate Arab and Jewish states, with Jerusalem as international capital city. The plan, though opposed by the Arabs, was implemented. The creation of the Jewish state, called Israel on May 14th 1948 set off the First Arab-Israel War. A significant point in post-war Palestine history, the Israeli's emerged victorious, thereby

referring to the incident as the First War of Independence (Naor 244). As a result of the war, over 70% the Palestine Arabs were forced to flee or expelled from their land, in what is deemed as one the largest exodus in post-World War history. The incident is thus referred to as the Al-Nakba, or '*The Catastrophe*' by the Arabs (Al Jazeera) The war had several vital repercussions. With the exodus of the Arabs, the Jewish community became the majority in the area leading to Hebraization.[3] Additionally, the disputed territory (earlier known as the British mandate) was divided into three parts- the state of Israel, the Jordan occupied land was known as the West Bank and the land under rule by Egypt, was known as the Gaza strip (Council on Foreign Relations).

Despite the ceasefire which ended the First Arab-Israel War, hostility remained high between Israel, Syria, Egypt and Jordan. Several smaller military strikes, especially around the Sinai Peninsula and the Suez Canal- all vital trade routes- added to the rising conflict, eventually resulting in the Second Arab-Israel War; which even the United Kingdom and France were also involved in. Although it ended by ceasefire, relations remained poor between the four nations. In 1967, as the Arab nations were preparing for war, Israel led a pre-emptive strike, attacking Egypt and Syrian air forces and weakening their military strength. Known as the 6-Day War or the Third Arab-Israeli War, this led to Israeli forces occupying major areas such as East Jerusalem, West Bank, Gaza, Sinai Peninsula and Golan Heights. Retaliation from the Arab countries came 6 years later, in what is known as the Yom Kippur War. Although they could not take over the preceded territory, it led to negotiations taking place between the Israel, Egypt and Syria (Al-Rodhan, Nayef R et al 103). The Camp David Accords (1978) and the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty (1994) were signed between the involved nations; the former ending a 30-year conflict between Egypt and Israel. These greatly improved Israel's relations with the

[3] Hebraization refers to the process of adopting a Hebrew name. Post the 1948 War, several of the areas occupied by the Israelis adopted a Hebrew name, so as to establish a better sense of connect with the Jewish community.

neighbouring states, as well as its global image. Yet, relations between the Palestinians and the Israelis remained unstable, especially on matters of governance and independence.

The rising internal conflict, led to the First Intifada or the First Uprising. Over hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs revolted against the Israeli forces which were present near the Gaza Strip and the West Bank (Joel and Newman 57) The revolt originated in the years post the Al-Nakba, and concluded with the Oslo Accords in 1993. As per the Oslo I Accords, Palestinians would be allowed to govern themselves and given authority in matters such as taxes, tourism, education and security in areas near the Gaza Strip and West Bank. This led to the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization,[4] headed by Yasser Arafat becoming the first legitimized authority and the latter, the first Palestinian President. His Israeli counter-part was Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. This treaty was further expanded by including several other provisions such as the withdrawal of Israeli forces from around 6 cities and around 450 towns near the West Bank. Signed in 1995, this was known as the Oslo II Accords, and was established for a 5-year period, under the faith that, within that time, a comprehensive peace agreement would emerge between the two nations. The Oslo Accords did provide for some level of stability between the two nations, even leading to the three leaders winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995. However, this peace was fairly short-lived. Radical and religious groups on both sides, were not appeased by the Accords, leading to violence in both communities. In Israel, Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by a right-wing supporter during a rally. In Palestine, it led to the strengthening presence of the Hamas- a radical, extremist group.

In September 2000, the Second Intifada was sparked by the growing presence of Israeli forces near the West Bank settlements. The delaying peace process by both sides and the

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[4] Later renamed as the Palestine Authority.

presence of the Jewish Prime Minister at the Al-Aqsa Mosque (considered the third holiest site for the Muslims) agitated the Palestinians and acted as catalysts to aggravating the tensions between both groups. Israel countered through the construction of a barrier wall near the West Bank- a move deemed illegal by International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court (Alaafin). The Second Intifada ended in 2005 through a Summit engineered by United States, Egypt and Jordan along with the two conflicting nations. The newly elected Palestine President- Mahmoud Abbas and his Israeli counterpart Ariel Shanon through a verbal agreement, promised to work towards peace in both countries. Although the violence caused by Palestine suicide bombers against the Israelis reduced and Israel released over 700 prisoners they had captured, smaller acts of violence continued to mar the regions in the years to come (Alaafin).

From 2005 to 2020

Despite the verbal agreement at the Sharim Al Sheikh Summit, the relations between the two nations continue to be strained till present day. Geographically, the territory has been broken down into the state of Israel, the state of Palestine, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Each area has been claimed by several local groups or states and its borders are fought over, with rising tensions in each area.

The West Bank is landlocked by Jordan, Israel and the Dead Sea. Although Israel controls the major parts of the West Bank- some directly and some through annexation, a few of the 'islands' are under Palestine administrations. Several areas of the West Bank, which are currently controlled and ruled by the Israeli forces are considered to be illegal settlements by the international community, in accordance with the Oslo Accord.

Another major issue has been the fight over the city of Jerusalem, which is one of the oldest cities in the world and of religious significance to the Abrahamic religions. Since Jerusalem is deemed a holy site in Islam and Judaism, both nations have made claims to

the city. Geographically, the area straddles between Israel and Palestine, with the former presently holding control. Prior to the 1948 War, the city was divided into two parts- East Jerusalem and West Jerusalem. Israel presently controls both regions and houses its government institutions in West Jerusalem. East Jerusalem was occupied by them during the 6-day War, and is therefore not internationally recognized as Israeli territory; but is rather known as Israel occupied Palestine (Nasser).

Yet, what can be termed as the most vital reason behind the disruption and on-going violence in these areas, is the emergence and growing popularity of a fundamentalist Sunni-Islamic organization called Hamas. An extension of the Muslim Brotherhood (which emerged decades earlier in Egypt) (Hillel 92), Hamas was formed in 1987. As per the Hamas Charter (The Avalon Project Hamas Covenant), the group was established to fight for Palestine liberation, and for the creation of the Islamic state of Palestine, which will comprise of modern-day Israel, West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It has been viewed as a terrorist organization by several of the Western countries. They competed against the Palestine Authority and the Al-Fateh- which has held office since the Oslo Accords were signed in 1995. Hamas has governed the Gaza Strip since 2007, but it has not been recognized by Israel or any other international community as a legitimate form of government and is placed under an economic and political boycott. Additionally, after Hamas came into power, Israel (and neighbouring country Egypt) issued a blockade on the area and Israel also controls the airspace, water and border crossing control of the Gaza strip. This has led to devastating consequences on the livelihood for those residing in the Gaza Strip (which is also the third most populated city in the world). Hamas has opposed any kind of peace talks with Israel, and although a general ceasefire was maintained between the group and Israel, there has been an increasing number of clashes between the militant wings of both groups since 2020 (BBC News).

Since 2006, Hamas and Israel have fought over 4 wars, with the most recent one in 2021. Although fought between the local group Hamas, several national powers like Egypt,

Iran, Turkey and other Islamic countries have also played a critical role in supporting and aiding this war from various sides.

Current Scenario

Since 2019, the Israel-Palestine conflict has exacerbated, due to a number of causes. In October 2020, the Israeli court ruled that Arab Palestinians residing in the Sheikh Jarrah locality, were to be evicted from their homes in 6 months and for their land to be handed over to Jewish families. This led to large scale protests demanding that a stop to the forced eviction of the Arabs and also advocated for their equal land rights. In May, an appeal on the order was rejected by a higher court, leading to police forces being deployed against the protestors resulting in clashes between the police and the citizens, leaving several seriously injured. The forces also entered the holy Al-Aqsa Mosque, under the guise of arresting protesters with rubber bullets, tear gas and grenades- an attack that left hundreds of Palestinians injured. A similar attack was repeated in 2022, when Israeli forces entered into the Al-Aqsa Mosque during the holy month of Ramadan with weapons, in an attack that left several hundred worshippers injured and drew condemnation from the international community (Arab News).

The ongoing protests against the eviction as well as the Al-Aqsa attack led to Hamas issuing an ultimatum to Israel demanding them to leave East Jerusalem. When Israel did not respond to the ultimatum, Hamas and Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ)- a fundamentalist group- launched rockets from the Gaza Strip to Israel. In retaliation, Israel released a campaign of airstrikes against Gaza, leading to massive destruction and death. According to reports, an estimated 950 attacks- leading to the schools, hospitals, banks and even a refugee camp being demolished, and taking the lives of over 200 Palestinians, injuring over a thousand, and leaving many more displaced (Israel- Gaza BBC News). A ceasefire was mediated by Egypt which eventually ended the eleven-day war, yet tensions remain high between the two regions.

The political instability in both Palestine and Israel has also been a key component in the present conflict. Hamas has gained immense popularity even beyond the Gaza Strip, and the decision to postpone the legislative assembly elections by the Palestine Authority, intensified the issue. In Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu, was also under immense pressure with the ongoing crisis and the internal struggles added to the larger conflict in the area. Fundamentalists and radical groups on either side have played a critical role in increasing the tensions in the area, with Jewish mobs attacking Palestinians in various cities, under the gaze of the security forces. Israel had to declare a state of emergency- for the first time post its military rule in 1966.

With regard to the ammunitions used as the material and human toll that has been bought about by this conflict in the last two years, the present era brings in one of the worst spasms of the Israeli-Palestine conflict. The attacks have been unprecedented leading to large scale demolition on both sides, even though Palestine- especially the Gaza Strip- has been worst hit. The 2021 attacks thus are deemed to have been more destructive than any of the earliest Israel-Gaza Wars or flare-ups seen. However, the real significance of this attack lies in how the demonstrations and protests have occurred in such a large scale, throughout the regions of Israel and Palestine.

Response from the International Community

It is rather interesting to note, that since its inception, the Israel-Palestine conflict has not merely been a localized revolt. Several countries have played a critical role, either as an ally for either side or as a mediator.

The Roadmap for Peace- the closest plan to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict was proposed by the Middle East Quartet- comprising of the United Nations, the United States of America, The European Union and Russia. It was formed in 2002, amidst rising tensions in the Middle East due to this conflict. Aimed at promoting economic and institutional empowerment in Palestine, it suggested a two-state solution. While this

plan has taken a backfoot in the last couple of years, in 2021, the Quartet suggested reviving 'meaningful negotiations between the two nations and for both to refrain from making unilateral actions (Reuters).

The countries neighbouring Israel and Palestine- namely Egypt and Jordan are some of the vital members in how this conflict has spanned out in the last couple of decades. Although they allied with Palestine during the Arab Wars, both nations have since gone on to sign Peace treaties with Israel (Egypt in 1979 and Jordan in 1994), leading to better relations than ever before in modern history. The Abraham Accords signed between the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain and Israel in 2020, was brokered by USA. UAE and Bahrain created history by becoming the first of the Arab League countries to normalize relations with Israel in the 21st century. It is also indicative of how religion has become a secondary factor while establishing global relations and also with regard to the religious ethnicity associated with the conflict. United States of America (USA), continues to be one of Israel's strongest allies and voice of support in the United Nations, especially the Security Council. The veto power by USA has also stopped Palestine from being recognized as a member state in the UN.

Though countries like Russia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, China and India among several others have recognized Palestine as an independent state, many of the Western and European countries have opted to remain mute bystanders in the growing face of this violence. While over a dozen countries have opted for the boycott of Israel, the international organizations too have not been able to create a treaty or bring an end to this violence.

Organizations such as the Human Rights Watch (Human Rights Watch) and Amnesty International (Amnesty International) have reported on the scale of violence taking place in the conflicted regions. Yet, despite the reports, the global community has failed to find a solution to the same.

Conclusion

The Israel Palestine issue is a rather dynamic conflict, which is not based on a singular reason (Dajani-Daoudi and Barakat 60). While it may have emerged as a religious conflict, understanding its history enables one to know that there are several other paradigms to it. Beyond a religious conflict, the issue has escalated into being a political war made more dangerous through the use of military warfare.

The Arabs have been claiming their right on the land, which they claim has been rightfully theirs through the lineage of the Muslims Caliphates and the Ottoman Empire. The Jewish community on the other hand, sees their presence in the occupied territories as the fulfilment of a divine obligation. A peaceful co-existence and the implementation of the two-state theory, thus gets strongly opposed by hard-core fundamentalists on both sides (Moller).

The unique nature of this conflict ensures that there is no tangible answer which would solve this situation. Even if the two-state plan was to be implemented, several questions would still remain. How would the border between the two states be decided and what security arrangement would be followed? What would be the political status of Jerusalem? The question of the Palestinian refugees as well the displacement and settlement of the citizens from both sides remain to be seen.

What is more thought-provoking has been in the failure of the world order and international organizations to bring an end to this conflict. As countries defend and pursue their personal interest, millions of innocent lives continue to pay the price of the rampant warfare. With growing protests in the region once again, the probability of the Third Intifada looms on more than ever. This would adversely not only affect the two states, but would also be a burden on the allies and would raise questions on the efficiency of the international peace-keeping organizations.

As mentioned briefly in this paper, the Israel-Palestine conflict goes beyond the current political relations between the two states. It aims to present an overarching view on the various causes which have led the conflict to its way to its existing form, yet does not delve deeper into it. There is significant scope therefore, to move ahead from where this paper left off; by analysing the causes and factors in greater detail. Additionally, it would be interesting to see how this conflict has impacted not just the individuals but the society as a whole, and how both societies have transitioned over the period of this conflict. The efficacy of global 'peace-keeping organizations' have been questioned over this matter, and the conflict will continue to be relevant as far as the idea of a global world is pushed through.

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RUSSIA'S INVASION OF UKRAINE: IMPACT AND IMPLICATIONS

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Abstract: The Russian invasion of Ukraine has caused immense human, economic and financial devastation in Ukraine. In reaction to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the United States and several other countries imposed economic sanctions on Russia significantly affecting the Russian economy. The negative economic effects of the Russia-Ukraine war are not limited to the two countries alone. As a result of economic sanctions imposed on Russia, the conflict between Russia and the western countries has greatly escalated and this could lead to a lasting restructuring of the world trade. The European economies are economically affected through the channel of global food and energy prices, financial market volatility and strained trade relations. Central Banks of Emerging Market and Developing Economies (EMDE's) face the challenging task of containing inflation while maintaining the post-pandemic recovery. This paper discusses the economic impact and implications of the Russia-Ukraine war on Russia and Ukraine and the other economies across the globe.

Keywords: Russia, Ukraine, economic impact, economic sanctions, food, energy prices

Introduction:

'Historically, military conflicts have had a significant impact on the regional and global economy, ranging from economic, trade and monetary devastation, to loss of production and labour capacity, resources and livelihoods' (Khudaykulova et al., 2022:44). For Instance, a study by the International Monetary Fund on the economic impact of conflict in sub-Saharan Africa finds a considerable and lasting impact on the economic growth of the sub-Saharan African countries. This study finds that economic growth rates are on an average 2.5 percentage points lower in regions which has conflicts in comparison

to the regions without conflicts. The impact is lasting as the real GDP per capita is 12 per cent lower five years after the onset of the conflicts (Fang et al., 2020:4). Higher inflation, trade disruption, decreased investment along with destruction of human and physical capital are some of the crucial channels through which conflict disrupts economic growth. The impact is not limited only to the countries involved but has spillover effects on other countries through various channels.

This paper discusses the economic impact and implications of the Russia-Ukraine war. Section one gives a brief on Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the sanctions imposed by the other countries on Russia as a response to Russia's aggression. Sections two and three discuss the economic and financial impact. section four discusses the implications and section five concludes.

1. Russia's Invasion of Ukraine and International response

Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine on 24th February 2022 causing a significant humanitarian loss and economic damage. Attacks by Russian forces were reported in major cities across Ukraine, including Berdyansk, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, Sumy, and the capital Kyiv (see figure 1). The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) verified over 5916 deaths of civilians in Ukraine during the war as of September 2022.[1] Besides, thousands of Ukrainians have fled their country and taken refuge in neighbouring countries like Poland, Russia, Bulgaria and Hungary. As of 29 August, UNESCO has verified damage to 183 sites since 24 February – 78 religious sites, 13 museums, 35 historic buildings, 31 buildings dedicated to cultural activities, 17 monuments and 9 libraries.[2]

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[1] https://www.ohchr.org/en/news/2022/09/ukraine-civilian-casualty-update-19-september-2022

[2] https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/damaged-cultural-sites-ukraine-verified-unesco

Figure 1: Regions affected by Russia's invasion of Ukraine

Source: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-60506682

In response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the United States, European Union (EU), Canada, U.K., Switzerland, Japan, Australia and Taiwan coordinated to impose sanctions on Russia to reduce its economic ability to continue with military aggression in Ukraine. The sanctions include restrictions on media, individuals, financial and trade sanctions.

1. Media: Ban on Russian TV channels, suspending broadcast activities and licences of Russian state-owned or affiliated media 'Sputnik' and 'Russia Today'.

2. Individuals: These sanctions target individuals who support and finance atrocities on Ukraine. Sanctions consist of restrictions on movement (travel ban) and freezing of assets of individuals. Individuals on this list are President Vladimir Putin and Minister for Foreign Affairs Sergei Lavrov, Russian central bank Governor Elvira Nabiullina, numerous Russian elites and their family members, oligarchs and influential media figures.

3. Trade Sanctions: Export control on software, equipment and technology; a ban on new investments in the Russian energy sector; and tightening export restrictions on individuals connected to technology that could contribute to Russia's defence and security sector. U.S. President Biden signed an executive order to ban the import of Russian oil, liquefied natural gas (LNG), and coal to the United States[3]. UK pledged to phase out Russian oil imports by the end of the year while the EU proposes to diversify supply away from Russia[4].

4. Financial sanctions: A ban on transactions with the Central Bank of Russia and Russian state-owned entities. This implies that Freezing of Russia's foreign reserves held in European Union, and other western countries. Banning Russian banks from the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT)[5] payment system, ban on trade in new as well as existing Russian government bonds.

2. Economic impact of Russia -Ukraine War

2.a Inflation

The initial economic impact of the Russia-Ukraine war is on international commodity prices. Russia and Ukraine are key exporters of some of the essential agricultural and energy commodities. With respect to energy goods, Russia and Eurozone linkage is quite strong. Europe imports a substantial share of its energy from Russia, including natural gas (35 per cent), crude oil (20 per cent), and coal (40 per cent). In turn, Russia is similarly

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[3] https://www.jpmorgan.com/insights/research/russia-ukraine-crisis-market-impact

[4] https://www.jpmorgan.com/insights/research/russia-ukraine-crisis-market-impact

[5] SWIFT is a messaging system that enables financial institutions to exchange information about international monetary transaction. Removal of Russia from SWIFT will slow down the monetary transactions as Russia will have to depend upon other means like fax or telephone to confirm monetary transactions.

dependent on the European Union (EU) for its exports, with around 40 per cent of its crude oil and natural gas being exported to the European Union[6] (Commodities Market Outlook, World Bank, April 2022).

In addition to a significant contribution to the world energy market, Russia and Ukraine, the two countries are among the top five global exporters of many important cereals and oilseeds, including wheat, barley, corn and sunflower. Russia and Ukraine jointly accounted for 27.6% of wheat and 24.7 % of barley world exports in 2020. Ukraine is also an important source of sunflower seed oil, supplying about 50% of the global market. Jointly, Ukraine and Russia contribute to about 12% of global supply of edible oils. The figure 2 below substantiates the significance of Russia and Ukraine in the global supply of some essential commodities.

Another significant contribution of Russia to the world's supply of commodities is the supply of critical raw materials to manufacturing. Russia is a significant producer and exporter of metals like Nickel, Pig iron, ferrotungsten, ferro-chromium and ferro-titanium and some rare metals like palladium. Palladium is used as input for the production of emission control systems in vehicles and Nickel is used in the production of batteries powering electric vehicles. Russia alone contributes 27.3% of global supply of Palladium and Russia and Ukraine jointly contribute 50.5 % of the global supply of Pig Iron. This high degree of dependency on Russian metals makes production in the countries depend on metal imports from Russia, sensitive to disruptions affecting the supply chains.

Natural gas is a key raw material used for the production of nitrogenous fertilizers namely ammonia and urea. Russia is a significant supplier of nitrogenous fertilizer and

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[6] Impact of war in Ukraine on Commodities market, Commodity Market Outlook, World Bank April 2022

potash. Russia accounts for nearly 15% of global supply of fertilizers. Belarus[7] accounts for an additional 6% of the global market share of supply of fertilizers.

Figure 2: Share of Russia & Ukraine in global supply of selected commodities
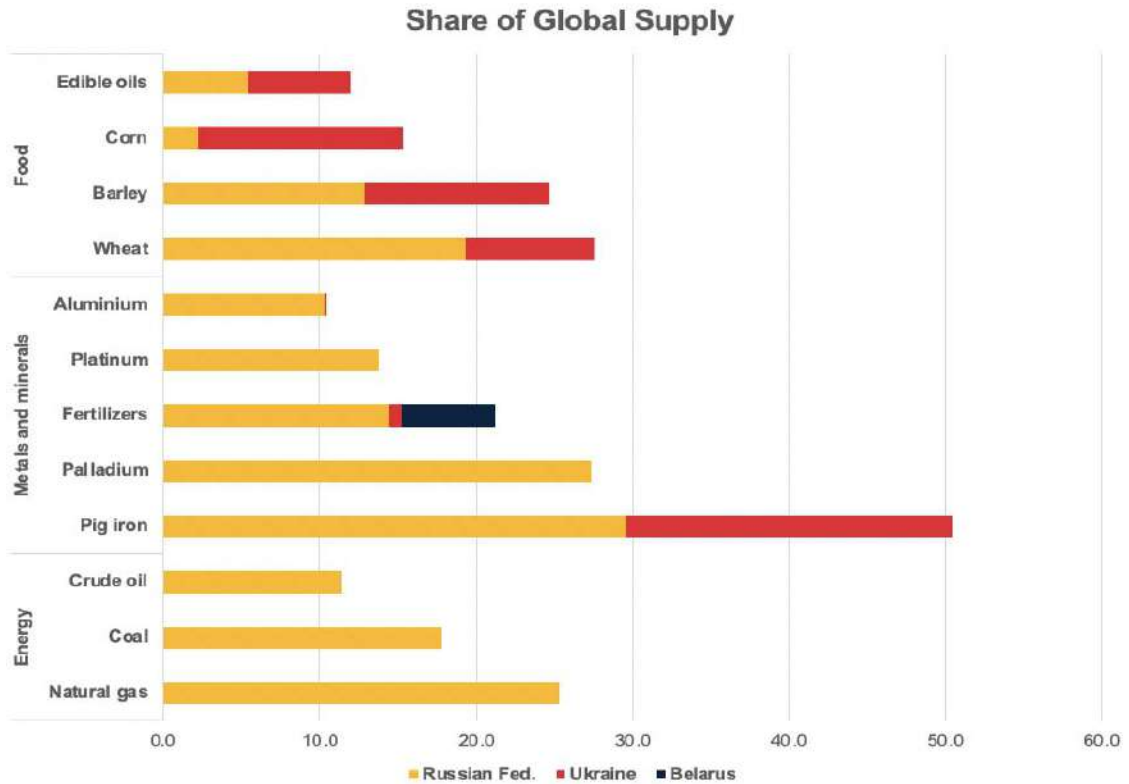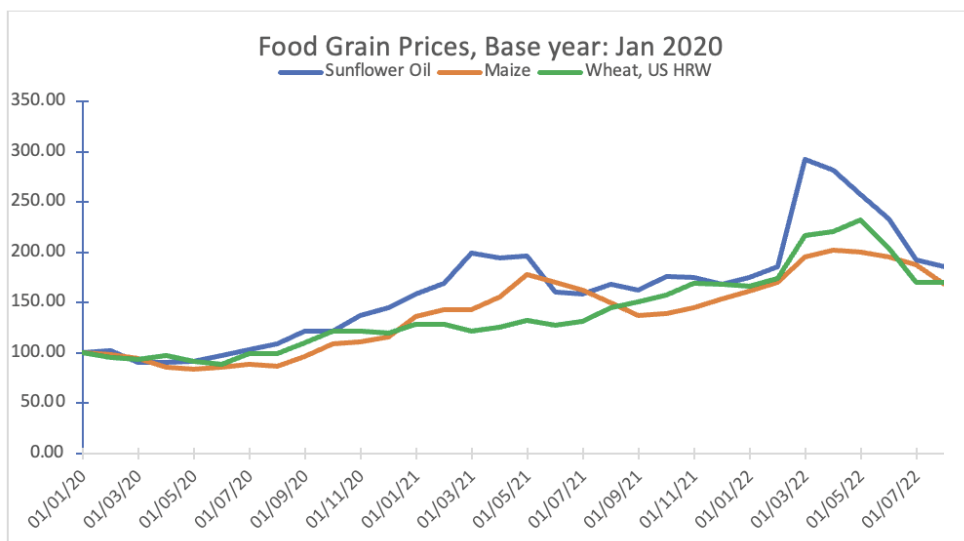

Source: World Bank (2022, May 05)

The prices of nearly all the commodities supplied by Russia and Ukraine witnessed an all-time high immediately after the invasion and remained at escalated levels until March-April 2022 (see Figures 3,4 and 5). Among agricultural commodities, wheat prices

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[7] Belarus is an ally of Russia and is subject to some international sanctions.

saw a very sharp increase. In March, the price of wheat was almost 30 per cent higher compared to December 2021.

Energy prices were increasing since the start of the year following recovery post-pandemic and country-specific reasons. After the invasion, energy prices soared to new highs not reached earlier on the expectation of reduced supply from Russia and uncertainty pertaining to the scale of war, affecting some of the European countries severely. Coal and natural gas prices also reached all-time highs in the month of March 2022. Brent crude oil was $120/bbl in June 2022, an increase of 45.77% per cent compared with December 2021. Crude oil price was the highest in the last ten years in June 2022. Although the prices have started easing in August following the commitment by the United States to release 180 million barrels of oil over the next six months, they continue to remain volatile.

Figure 3: Index number of food prices of sunflower oil, maize and wheat

Source: World Bank (2022)

Figure 4: Index number of fertilizer prices
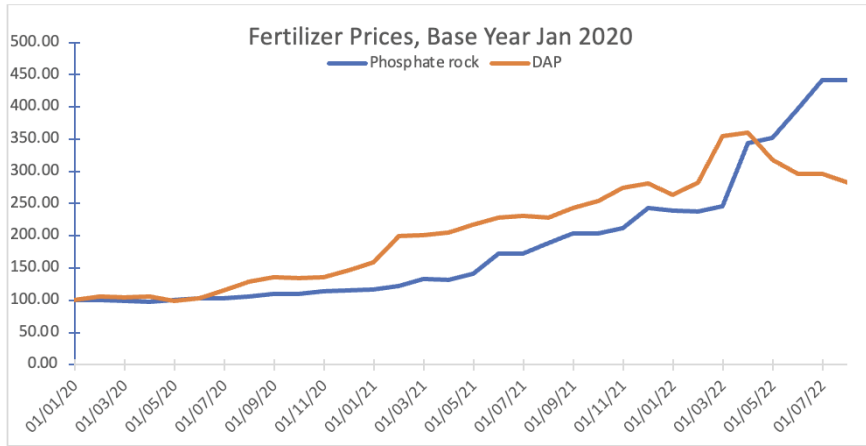
Source: World Bank (2022)

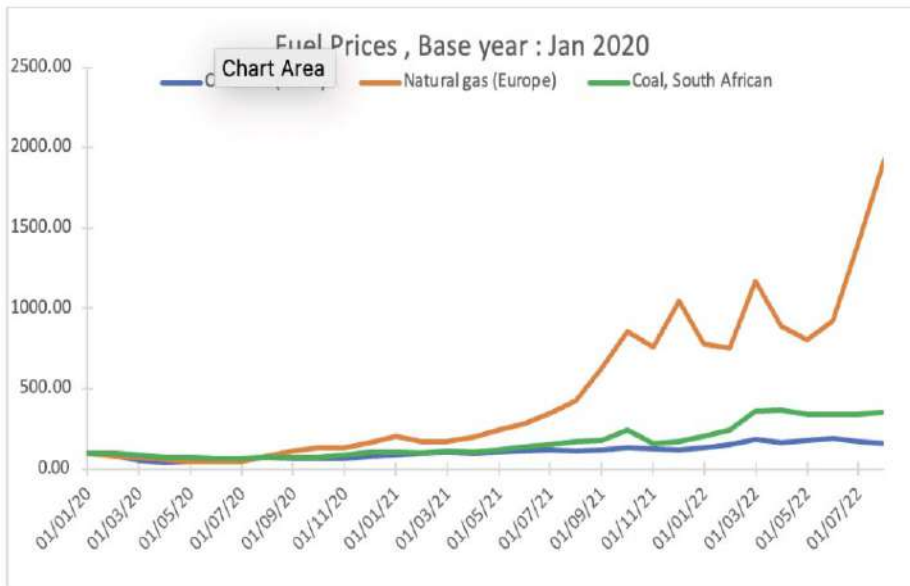## Figure 5: Index number of fuel prices

Source: World Bank (2022)

2.b. Impact on GDP

The Russia-Ukraine crisis through various channels affects economic activity globally. The impact is more on the neighbouring economy due to their considerable trade with Russia and Ukraine.

The most directly affected economies are obviously Russia and Ukraine. Six months into the war, Russia's aggression in Ukraine continues. As of 28th March, as per the Ukrainian official figures, the economic cost of the war on Ukraine is USD 500 billion. Around 60% of Ukraine's GDP was generated in territories directly affected by war. A significant proportion of Ukraine's energy reserves are concentrated in the Donbas region (OECD, 2022). The International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates that Ukraine's economic output could shrink by at least 10 % in 2022 (assuming a prompt resolution of the war and substantial donor support). If the war is more protracted, GDP could fall by up to 35% in 2022.

Sanctions imposed on Russia were expected to affect the economic activity of Russia greatly. In the month of July, the Bank of Russia, based on its survey forecasted that its GDP could slump by 6% in 2022. The World Bank predicted a fall of 11% in Russia's GDP for the year 2022. In contrast to the predicted large decline in GDP, the second quarter GDP of Russia declined by only 4.1%. Accordingly, in September, the central bank of Russia revised its forecasts to a 4% decline in GDP for the year 2022. Although the decrease in GDP of Russia will not be as much as was predicted immediately after the invasion, many experts still believe that the sanctions imposed on Russia and the decline in trade and business activity may be visible in the coming quarters.

Apart from Ukraine and Russia, Eurozone is next, which is forecasted to see a decline in the GDP. A crucial potential risk arises from the possibility of additional sanctions that could result in the complete cessation of the supply of oil and natural gas from Russia. This can have a drastic effect on the European Union due to limited sources of substitute

supply of energy in the short run, especially natural gas. Increased energy prices could negatively affect consumer demand and GDP growth. A 10% cut in gas supply to Eurozone could see around a 0.5% reduction in the GDP of some of the larger European economies (European Central Bank, 2022). This can have an indirect impact on advanced economies that do not have trade linkages with Russia but depend on demand from Eurozone.

The impact of the crisis on the GDP of the other economies of the world is mainly through higher inflation and thereby decline in demand. Monetary measures taken to contain inflation would further dampen demand and consequently GDP.

3. Impact on the financial market

Financial sanctions on Russia like freezing of the Central Bank of Russia's (CBR) assets and cutting off several Russian banks from the SWIFT payment system and a ban on trade in new as well as existing Russian government bonds have impacts, limited mainly to Russia, as the financial linkages of Russia with the other economies are very limited.

The impact of sanctions on Russia was greatly felt on Russia's currency. Capital flight from Russia amidst heightened uncertainty depreciated the Ruble (RUB) to its lowest point. Financial sanctions limit Russia's ability to defend its currency as more than 50% (of USD 634 billion) of its forex reserves were rendered unusable (see Figure 6). Despite this, Russia was able to control the capital flight by increasing the key interest rate to 20% in the month of march from 9.5%. However, this was done at an amplified cost of borrowing as indicated by increased yields on Russian government bonds (see Figure 7). Figure 7 shows that yield on the 5- year Russian government bond was above 20% in the month of March 2022. Russia has managed to stabilise its currency and currently, the interest rate stands at 7.5% after a series of slashes since March 2022 when the key rates were highest.

Figure 6: Global distribution of Central Bank of Russia (CBR) Foreign exchange and gold assets (in %) January 2022.

Source: *OECD (2022), International investment implications of Russia's war against Ukraine, OECD Publishing, Paris.*

Figure 7: Yield on 5-year Russian sovereign bond
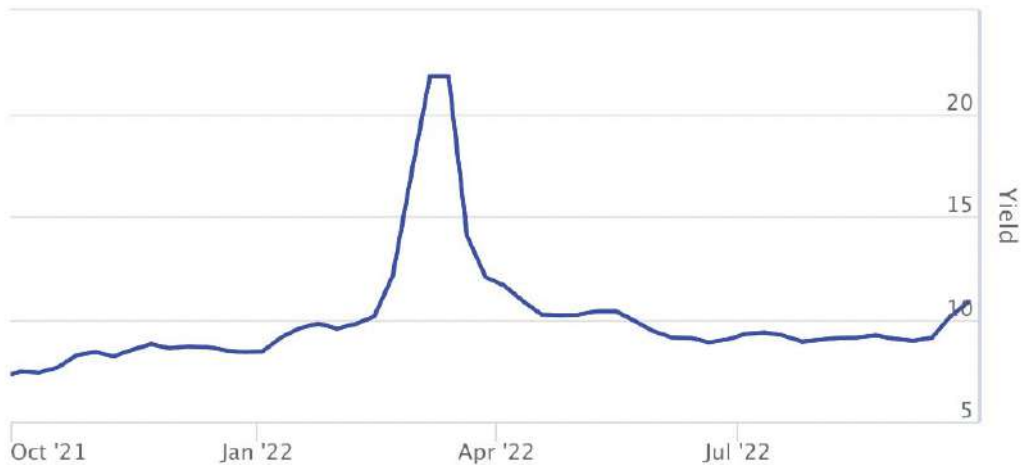
Source: (2022, May 27). The effect of war in Ukraine on global activity and inflation. FEDS Notes.

4. Implications of the war

Food security: Even before the Russia-Ukraine war, the pandemic had already taken a toll on food insecurity. The Ukraine crisis has exacerbated food security concerns. Threat to food security arises from two sources, decreased supply from Russia and Ukraine and increased prices of fertilizers. Higher prices of energy and consequently increased cost of fertilizers and transportation, lead to increase in the costs of food production. The magnitude of food insecurity concern can be apprehended by the fact that Russia and Ukraine are key suppliers of wheat and maize; and many countries in the Middle East import around 75% of their wheat (see Figure 8) . 36 countries in the world import more than 50% of their wheat from Russia and Ukraine (UN, 2022). According to the estimates of the World Food Programme estimates, just in a span of two years, the number of severely food insecure people have doubled from 135 million during the pre-pandemic period to 276 million at the start of 2022. The ripple effects of the war in Ukraine are expected to drive this number up to 323 million in 2022 (World Food Programme).

Figure 8: Import of wheat from Russia and Ukraine
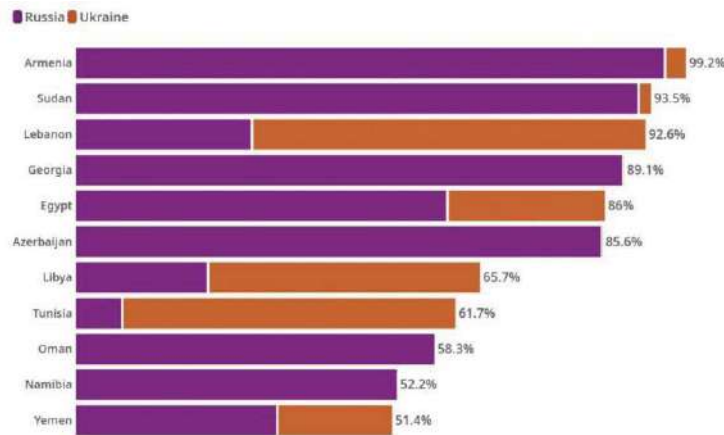
Source: Weekly Digest, 17th June 2022, Economic Governance Unit, European Parliament

Diversion of trade: Strained relations of Russia with sanction-imposing countries has increased the risk of the formation of fragmented trade blocks. As European Union pledges to diversify its sources of energy imports, Russia too has diverted its supply of crude oil to Asian economies. For example, India has increased its imports of oil from Russia. A re-division of the world into trading blocs would sacrifice some of the gains from specialisation, economies of scale and the transmission of information and know-how. This would mean a reversal of globalization, which has been the engine of economic growth and development in the last 30 years (World Bank Group, 2022). Besides, the formation of trading blocs and the exclusion of Russia from the SWIFT payment system would lessen the dominant role of the U S dollar in making international payments.

Monetary policy: The main channels through which the Russia-Ukraine crisis affects countries around the globe are inflationary pressure from rising food and energy prices. The tightening of monetary policy is expected as countries attempt to tame inflation. This becomes more challenging for emerging market developed economies as they have to balance between controlling inflation and propping economic recovery post-pandemic. Most countries have increased policy rates, with policy interest rates raised by a little over 1 percentage point on average in the major advanced economies and 1 and a half percentage points in the major emerging-market economies (OECD Economic Outlook Interim Report, March 2022).

Fiscal pressure of increased military spending: Global military spending topped 2 trillion dollars for the first time ever, reaching $2,113 billion, up 0.7% from 2020[8]. Russia is among the top five countries, spending 4.1% of its GDP on military expenses in the year 2021. Strained relations of Russia with the European Union following the invasion

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[8] https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/face-off-with-russia-over-ukraine-lifts-military-spending-2021-think-tank-says-2022-04-25/

of Ukraine is likely to further increase military expenses not only in Russia but in Europe as well. Military expenses in Europe have been increasing since 2014 after Russia annexed Crimea. Following the commencement of the Ukraine crisis, many EU countries have announced plans to increase their defence budget significantly.

Conclusion

The Russia- Ukraine war has had a severe economic impact on many economies across the globe. This comes on top of the crisis due to two years of the pandemic. If the war continues, it would weaken investor confidence and will have an impact on trade and business thereby further weakening economic growth. Besides, countries affected have to coordinate fiscal and monetary policies to mitigate inflation and provide food safety nets.

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UNDERSTANDING THE ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN THE MILITARY SPENDING AND EXTERNAL DEBT IN INDIA

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Abstract: Military expenditure is considered a non-development expenditure as it does not directly contribute to economic development. It is usually compared with the government's expenditure on education and healthcare facilities. The association between military expenditure and economic growth is much debated. But the association between military expenditure and the external debt of the country has not been investigated significantly.

There is continuous growth in military expenditures in the world. In 2021, the world military expenditure increased by 0.7 percent. It was $2113 billion, surpassing the 2 trillion US dollar mark. The top five nations with the highest military expenditure in 2021, were the United States, China, India, the United Kingdom, and Russia. India ranked third with the highest military expenditure. Together they accounted for 62 percent of the total military expenditure of the world. India's military spending - $76.6 billion -ranked third highest in the world. (Abhinandan Sharma, 2022; SIPRI Fact Sheet, 2022) One of the causes of such high military expenditure is conflicts with neighboring countries like Pakistan and China. India has a very weak domestic defense industrial base and therefore India is one of the largest importers of arms and armaments. India's external borrowings are growing as its military expenditure. India's external debt was US$ 617.1 billion at the end of June 2022. (RBI Press Release, June 2022) External borrowings may endanger self-reliance. Against this backdrop, the study aims to identify the association between India's defense expenditure and external debt. It has been found that there is a high correlation between India's external debt and its expenditure on defense. Improvement in good relations with the neighboring nations

to keep the peace, and reduction in imports of arms and armaments may help to reduce external borrowing and strengthen self-reliance.

Keywords: *Military Spending, India, External Debt, Expenditure*

Introduction

Countries carry out military expenditures to safeguard their nation and citizens from possible threats. Provision of national security is the duty of every Government. Military expenditure is the expenditure of a nation to keep the safety and security of the country. As per the definition introduced by SIPRI[1], Military expenditure includes all current and capital expenditures on the armed forces, including peacekeeping forces of defense ministries, and other government agencies engaged in defense projects and paramilitary forces[2], when judged to be trained, equipped and available for military operations and military space activities. (SIPRI Milex)

Countries make financial arrangements in the form of military or defense budgets for their defense or military needs such as to keep the armed forces or other related agencies. The size of the military budget suggests demand for military expenditure. It also suggests the ability of the country to finance its defense activity. Studies have pointed out the association between military expenditure and conflicts or wars. Also, the association between the arms trade and the reduction of available resources for social and economic development has been identified. (Mohammed Nadir Abdel Latif)

There are no clear-cut observations in economic theory regarding how a change in military expenditure influences economic growth. According to classical economists, military or defense expenditure reduces civilian investment and welfare. Keynesian theory on the other hand suggests that government spending on defense increase

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[1] Stockholm International Peace Research Institution, SIPRI Definition of military expenditure
[2] In India, paramilitary forces are funded by Ministry of Home Affairs.

effective demand and production in case effective demand is deficient. (Deger, Saadet, and Ron Smith) Contemporary literature suggests mixed effects. Benoit claimed that countries with heavy defense expenditures had rapid economic growth. (Benoit, Emile) While Deger predicted a negative relationship between economic growth and military expenditure. (Deger Saadet)

The relationship between military expenditure and public debt is explored in developing countries. Most developing countries import military equipment and finance it through credit. There is the opportunity cost of defense expenditure. (Brzoska Michael) The positive relationship between defense expenditure and external debt has been justified by many studies. (Ahmed Abdullah D., Alami Randa., Alexander, W. Robert J.et.Al,)

Azam and Feng found a positive effect of military spending on external debt. Military expenditure often requires an increase in external debt, which affects economic development negatively. The study suggested that military expenditure increases the external debt burden in countries where the debt management system is weak. (Khan et al.)

India is one of the top five countries with the highest military expenditure and it also is among the top five arm-importing countries. This shows that India is not self-sufficient in arms production. India's defense expenditure was 2.9% of the GDP. (World Bank) But India's external debt was 20% of GDP. (RBI Bulletin)Along with the increase in defense expenses, India's borrowings are growing.

This study aims to understand the association between India's external debt and India's military expenditure. Section two describes the military expenses of the world. Section three examines the growth in military expenditure in India. Section four studies the association between India's military expenditure and public debt. Section five presents a discussion. Section six concludes.

The World Military Expenditure

The military expenditure of the world is continuously growing. Very recently, it surpassed the mark of two trillion. It was 2.1 trillion in the year 2021. The USA occupies the highest rank and leads the world in military spending. Its military expenditure is 38% of the total world military expenditure. China occupies the second position in military spending. China's military expenditure was 2993 billion US dollars in 2021. It was 14% of the total military expenditure of the world. India occupies the third rank in military spending. India spent 76.6 billion US dollars in 2021 which was 4% of the total military spending in the world. (Sharangee Datta) Table 1 shows the military expenditure of the top fifteen countries in the world and their contribution to the world's military expenses.

Table 1: World military expenditure, top fifteen leaders 2021

Country	Military Expenditure in USD (Billion)
USA	801 (38%)
China	293 (14%)
India	76.6 (4%)
United Kingdom	68.4 (3%)
Russia	65.9 (3%)
France	56.6 (2%)
Germany	55 (2%)
Saudi Arabia	54.6 (2%)
Japan	54.1 (2%)
South Korea	50.2 (2%)
Italy	32 (1%)
Australia	31.8 (1%)
Canada	26.4 (1%)

Iran	24.6 (1%)
Israel	24.3 (1%)
The figure in parenthesis shows the percentage share in world military expenditure	

Source: Compiled from Statista and Sharangee Dutta

Figure 1 Trend in Military Expenditure of the world and Regions since 1992

Military Expenditure Asia

Military Expenditure Europe

Military Expenditure Middle East

World Military Expenditure
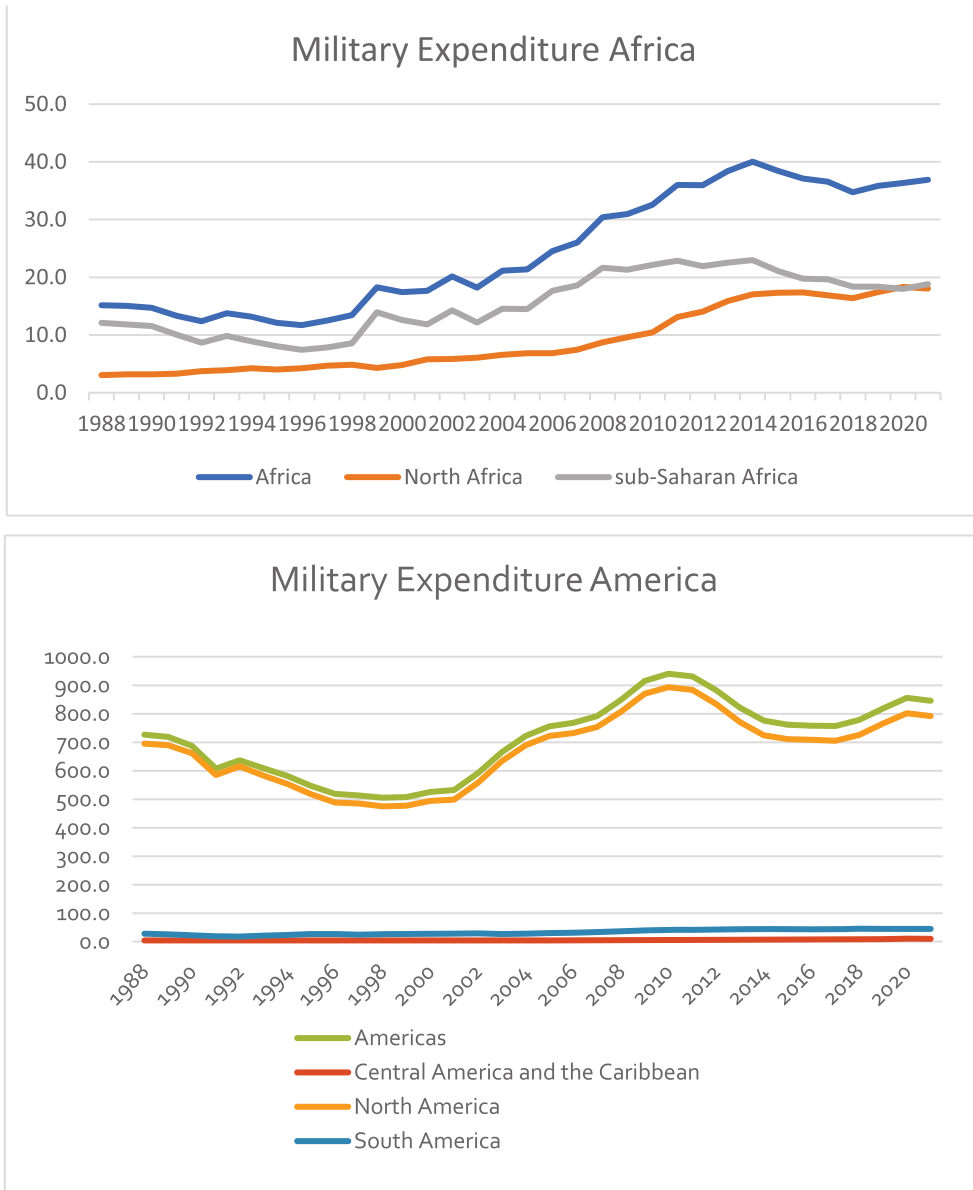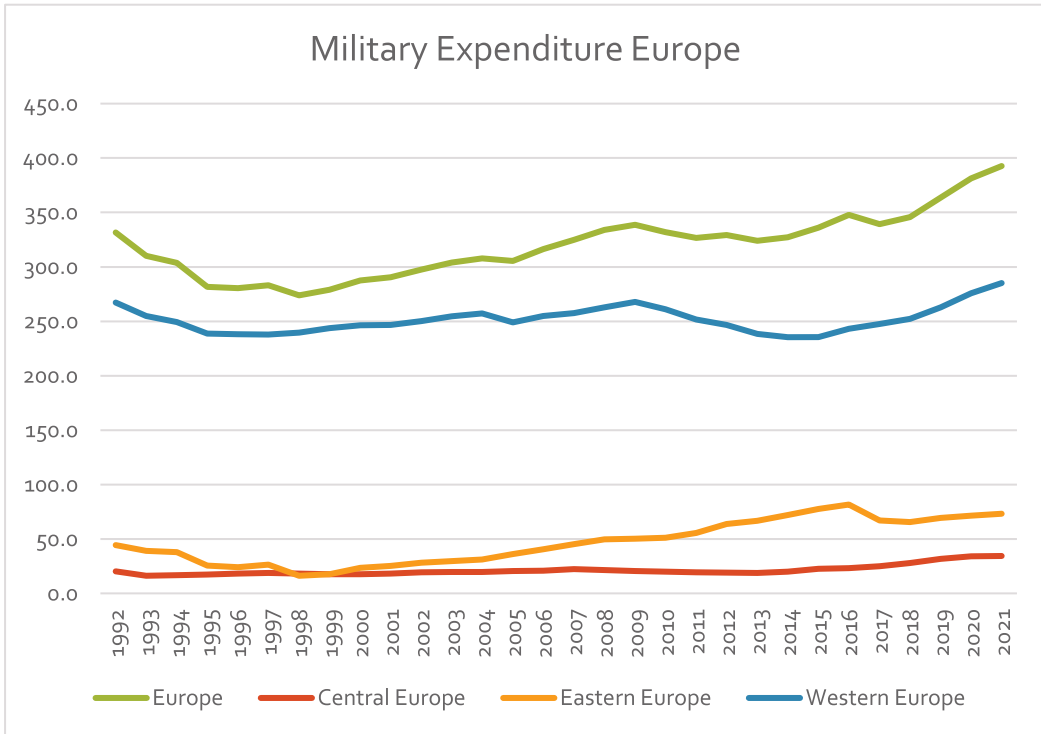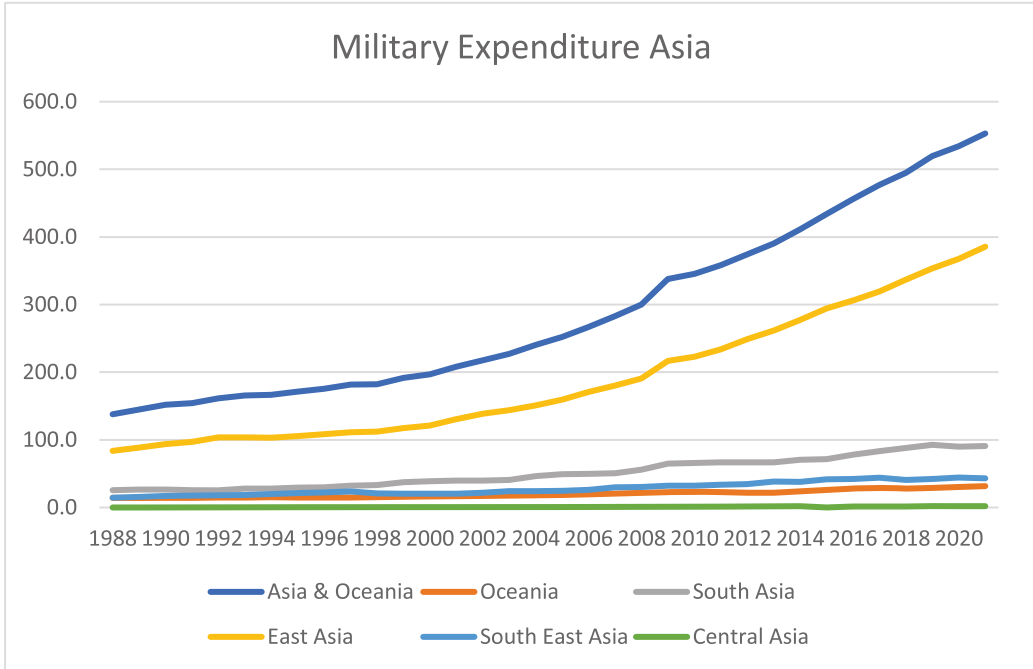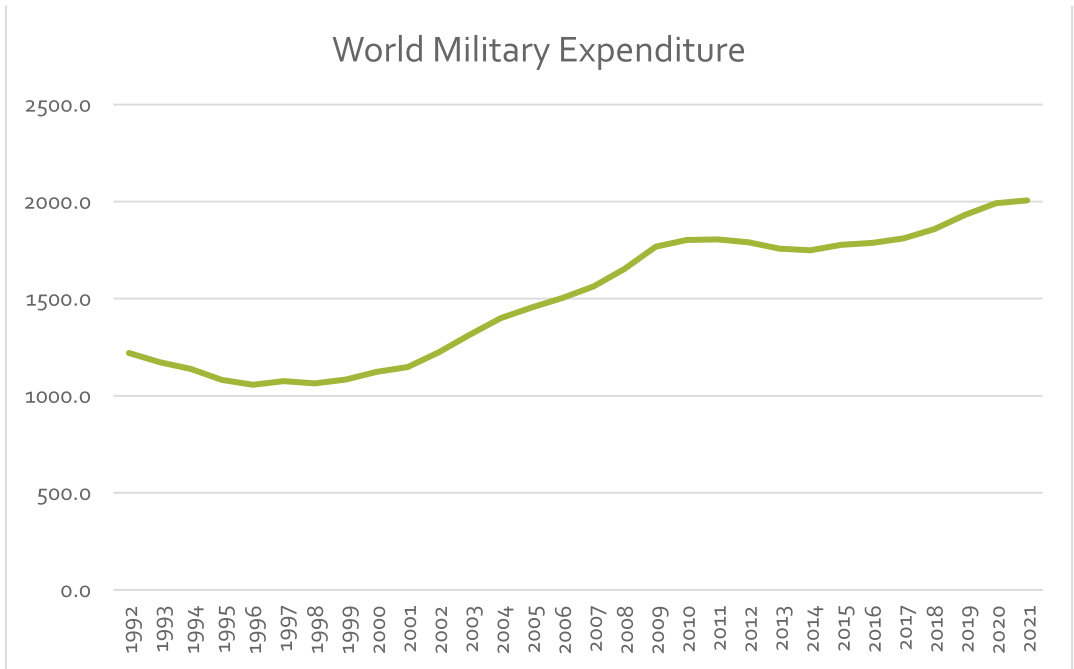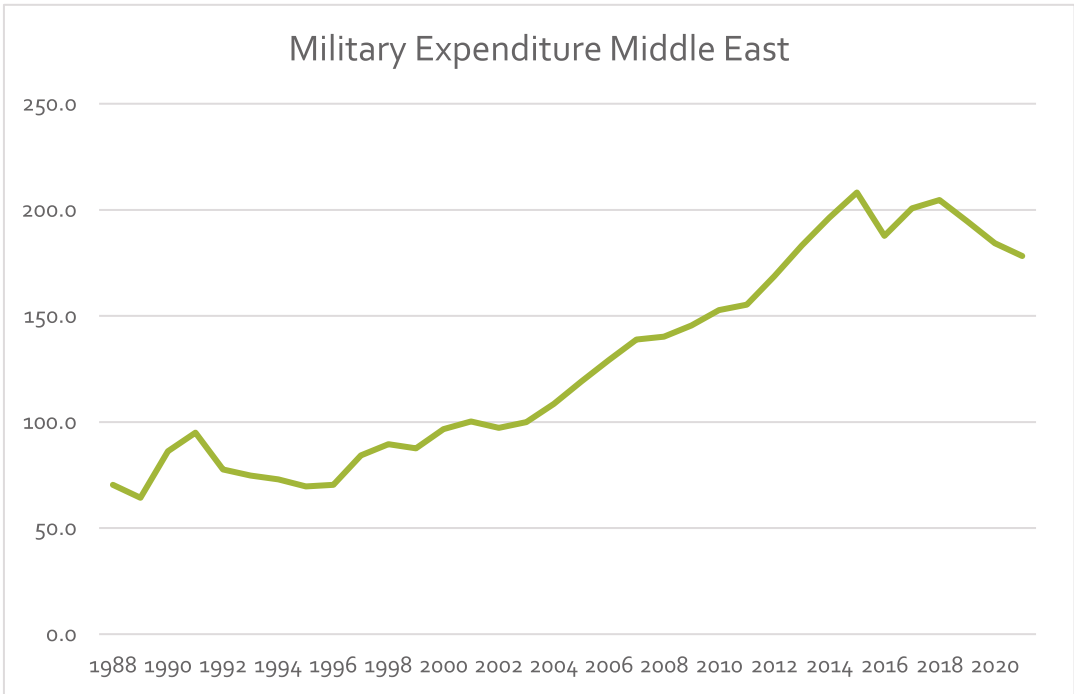
Source: compiled from SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 2021 (*SIPRI Milex*)

Figure 1 denotes that military expenditure of the regions in the world has different patterns. In Africa, military expenditure is higher in Sub–Saharan Africa. In the Asia region, it is highest in East Asia. In the USA military expenditure increased rapidly from the years 2003 to 2010, it dropped till 2014 and further, it increased. In USA military expenditure is higher in North America, almost the entire military expenditure of the USA is from North America. Since 1988, military expenditure in Europe is growing. Western Europe has larger contributions in total military expenditure than European countries taken together. Since 2000 military expenditure of Saudi Arabia is growing rapidly. (SIPRI Milex)

There are different reasons for the expansion of military expenditure. The causes are economic, political, technical, and security related. Russia's military expenditure grew because of the ease of spending due to economic reasons and because of expenditure on war equipment. In North America and Europe, it is because of new military tasks to maintain peace. In Asia, the reasons are economic and political, and external security factors. In Saudi Arabia, military expenditure increased due to external security issues. But in Africa, it was due to internal conflicts and the restructuring of armed forces. (Elisabeth S., et.al. Diego Lopes Da Silva, et.al.)

The analysis of the regional growth of military expenditure suggests that the military expenditure of all countries in all regions is expanding. It is growing in western countries as well as in third-world countries.

Military Expenditure and Imports of Arms in India

Global military expenditure is rising. It was US$ 2113 billion in 2021, which was 2 percent of the global GDP. It has surpassed the mark of two trillion. United States, China, India, the United Kingdom, and Russia were the top five nations in terms of military expenditure. They together accounted for 62 percent of the total military expenditure of the world. India's military spending - $76.6 billion -ranked third highest in the world.

(Perlo-Freeman et al.) Since 1992, India's military expenditure is continuously growing. (See figure 2)

Figure 2: Military Expenditure in India since 1988 (constant USD 2020)
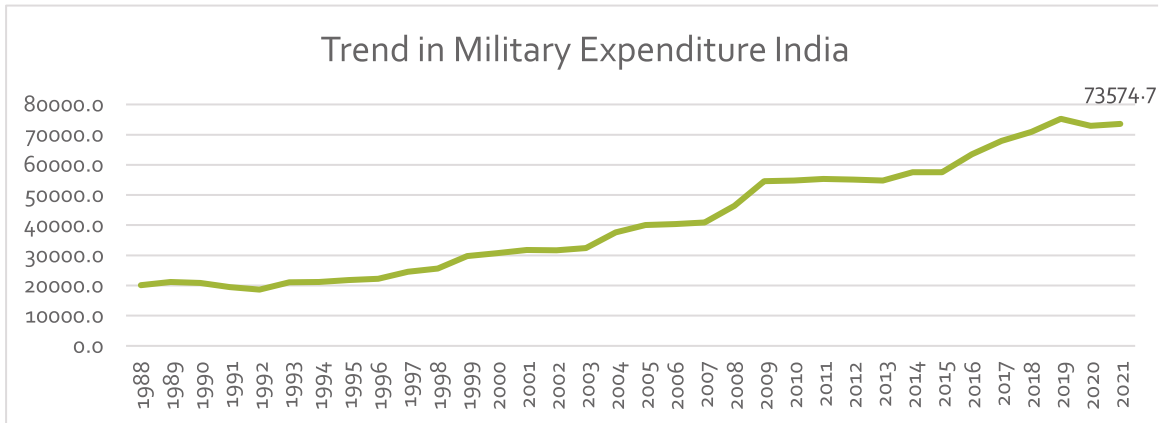
Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 2021

It increased from 18651.1 US $ in 1992 to US $ 73574.7 in 2020. Figure 2 shows a steady increase in India's military expenditure. Recently even during the covid-19 period, India spent US $ 73574.7 (at 2020 constant prices). In 2019 India's military expenditure was the highest, it was US$ 75248.7. (SPIRI military database 2021) The causes of such high military spending are mostly geopolitical and related to domestic policy. India has disputes with China and Pakistan. Due to frequent tensions on the borders, India has decided to modernize its armed forces. India also decided to strengthen its domestic arms industry for self-reliance. (Business Standard, 11th Sept 2022)

Many countries import arms and armaments. The top five largest arms importers were India, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Australia, and China, which together accounted for 38 percent of total arms imports. (Ahlenius Hugo)

Figure 3: The percentage share of Arms imports by top importers in 2021
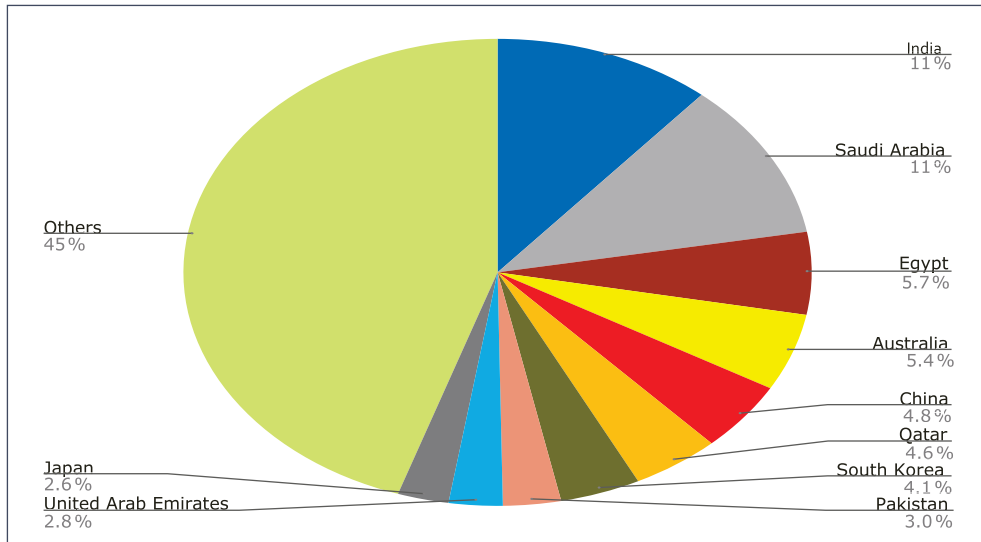
Source: Pieter d. Wezeman et. al. SIPRI -Trends in International Arms Transfer 2021

Its total imports were 11% of the world's total imports. Other prominent importers of arms were Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Australia, China, South Korea, Pakistan, and UAE. India's value of total arms imports was 1.49 billion US $ in 2018, it increased to 3.08 billion US $ in 2019. The reasons for high imports of arms are delays in own production of arms and rising pressures from China and Pakistan border conflicts. (Pieter D. W. et.al)

Table 2: India's arms imports, 2018-2021 (Millions)

Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total
Russia	1322	1562	1241	1392	5517
France	192	712	749	2134	3787
United States	23	752	411	425	1611
Israel	108	118	108	225	559

South Korea	26	190	190	26	432
United Kingdom	4	13	28	137	182
Germany	5	71	67	36	179
South Africa	11	16	15	2	44
Ukraine	14	------	-----	20	34
Brazil	----	10	-----	-- ---	10
Netherlands	----	------	------	10	10
Italy	-----	------	3	3	6
Denmark	------	-----	------	5	5
Total	1705	3444	2813	4414	12376
Value of total imports In Billion US $	1.49	3.08	2.8	- -----	

Source: SIPRI *Importer/Exporter TIV Tables* and SIPRI Trend Indicator

Table 2 suggests that India's largest weapon supplier was Russia, followed by France in 2018. Since 2019, India's imports of arms from Russia have dropped. But its purchase from France has increased.

India's External Public Debt

External debt is the loans raised by governments from foreign sources like foreign individuals, institutions, or governments. As the government's expenses exceed its revenue, its internal and external borrowings increase. Higher external borrowing may affect investment for the development of social infrastructure needs[3] as the proportion of external debt to GDP rises, interest payments on total debt increase, and savings and investments decline. (See Enrique Casares)

The external debt situation of India is illustrated in table 3. There was a sharp increase in the external borrowing of the Government of India. As per the provisional estimates,

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[3] Like education or healthcare facilities.

India's external debt was USD 617.1 billion, which was 19.4% of the GDP. (Reserve Bank of India)

Table 3: India's External Public Debt from 2001

Year (March End)	External Debt (US$ billion)	Ratio of External Debt to GDP	Year (March-End)	External Debt (US$ billion)	Ratio of External Debt to GDP
2001	101.3	22.1	2014	446.2	23.9
2006	139.1	17.1	2015	474.7	23.8
2007	172.4	17.7	2016	484.8	23.4
2008	224.4	18.3	2017	471.0	19.8
2009	224.5	20.7	2018	529.3	20.1
2010	260.9	18.5	2019	543.1	19.9
2011	317.9	18.6	2020 R	558.4	20.9
2012	360.8	21.1	2021 PR	573.7	21.2
2013	409.4	22.4	2022 P	617.1	19.4
R- Revised PR- Partially Revised P- Provisional					
Source: RBI Press Release Sept. 29, 2022,					

India's external borrowings increased from 101.3 billion USD to 617.1 billion USD from 2001 to 2022. Arm expenditure and imports also indicate the tendency of growth in recent years.

Figure 4 denotes the tendency of movement of military expenditure and external public debt.

Figure 4: Military expenditure and Public Debt
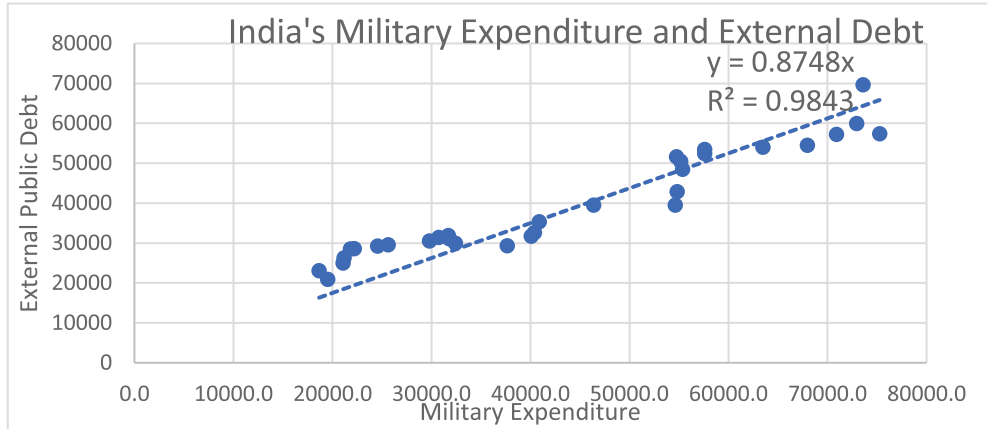
Source: Compiled from RBI and World Bank data

The scatter diagram for India's military expenditure and External Public debt reveals a positive relationship between military expenditure and public debt. (See figure 4) the X-axis denotes India's military expenditure, and the Y-axis indicates India's external debt. Both variables move in the same direction. Diagram 4 suggests that India's military expenditure and external debt move in the same direction. The dotted trend line shows an increasing trend. It indicates that both variables move in an upward direction over time.

Covariance statistics for India's military expenditure and external public debt suggested a high covariance between military expenditure and external debt for India. (see table 4)

Table 4: Covariance between Military Expenditure and External Debt in India

	Column 1	*Column 2*
Military Expenditure (USD billion)	328862202.3	
External Debt US $	224516619.3	166217790.3

Source: Own calculations based on data

Further, the correlation between military expenditure and public debt was calculated. The correlation statistics between the two variables was 0.96029. It indicated a greater degree of correlation between them.

Discussion

Although it is difficult to verify the causal relationship between military expenditure and public debt, India's external debts and military expenditure indicate growth in recent years. The scatter diagram suggested the tendency of growth of military expenditure and public debt. Both the variables, military expenditure, and public debt, moved in the same direction. The data points in the scatter diagram (diagram 4) fall near the trend line. It suggests that there is a degree of correlation between military expenditure and external debt. Robert Looney's study[4] of developing countries in 1982 suggests that military expansion was the reason for the high percentage of external debt. The countries that rely on external debt to finance their military expenditure are resource-crunched countries or countries that did not have a native arms industry. Although India produces arms, its share of imports in the total world imports of arms is the highest.[5]

The covariance between the two variables, the military expenditure and external public debt are positive. (Table 4) It suggests that military expenditure and external public debt move in the same direction. Also, the variables move together. It suggests that if military expenditure expands the external public debt increases. The findings are supported by a study by Lubna Khan et.al. (2020) They studied the relationship between military expenditure and external public debt in thirty-five arms-importing and developing countries. They found that military expenditure increases external public debt. The

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[4] See Impact of Military Expenditures on Third World Debt (Looney)
[5] India and Saudi Arabia have highest share in arm imports as a percentage of total world imports of arms. (see SIPRI 2021)

study suggests that military expenditure has a positive and significant impact on external debt.

Further, Pearson's correlation was used to discover the correlation between the two variables. The correlation between military expenditure and external debt is 0.96. There is a higher correlation between the two variables suggesting that there is a greater degree of relationship between military expenditure and public debt.

Conclusion

In recent years there is a growth in military expenditure in the world. It is growing in all the regions of the world. It has grown in developed countries as well as in the developing countries. Developing countries like India need to focus on the issues of security as well as economic development in the country. Higher expenditure on defense may reduce the amount of expenditure available for the economic development. Therefore, military expenditure is associated with opportunity costs in developing countries.

India's military expenditure is growing because of geopolitical reasons and, its plans for self-reliance in the field of arms production. It reached 76.6 billion US dollars in 2021. India is the biggest importer of arms in the world. Its imports of arms are 11% of the total world imports. India depends on Russia, France, and USA for the purchase of arms. This suggests that India is not self-sufficient in the production of arms. Further, India spends foreign currency on buying arms. It may reduce the chance of imports of necessary goods.

Like military expenditure, India's external public debt is growing over the years. It was 620.7 billion US dollars which consisted of 20% of the GDP in 2021. (RBI) Both military expenditure and external public debt of India are growing.

The relationship between military expenditure and external public debt was analyzed with the covariance matrix, correlation statistics, and a scatter diagram. The scattered diagram, covariance statistics, and correlation suggested that both the variables move together and move in the same direction. It implied that military expenditure may contribute to external debt.

Although India decided to strengthen its domestic military industry to achieve self-reliance, higher military imports till 2021, imply India's dependency on other countries. Further, external debt suggests financial dependency. Therefore, the study advocates that India needs to reduce military expenditure so that it can reduce its dependency on other countries for the purchase of arms. It may also help to reduce financial dependency on other countries.

India can reduce its military expenditure by improving its relations with neighboring countries. Good and peaceful relations would help all Asian countries to reduce military expenditure in general. As military expenditure and public debt indicate a high degree of correlation, the reduction in military expenditure may help to reduce external debt. It may release more funds for development, capital formation, and economic growth.

The analysis of data suggests that there is a growth in military expenditure in Asian countries. Efforts to keep peace in the Asian region will help to reduce tensions. Most Asian nations are developing nations, if they could reduce military expenditure, they will be able to utilize the funds for economic development. Studies indicated that expenditure on defense reduces economic growth, it affects capital formation or investment. Recently, studies have been undertaken to understand the relationship between expenditure on defense and external public debt. Studies point out that the small level of public debt as a percentage of GDP may promote economic growth. But if the level of public debt as a percentage of GDP is higher, it may harm economic growth. (Jack Salmon; Enrique Casares)

The study has a limitation that it could not establish a causal relationship between military expenditure and public debt. There is further scope to extend this research to understand the causal relationship between external public expenditure and public debt.

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ECONOMIC COST OF CONFLICT AND PEACE

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Abstract: The world was slowly recovering from the disastrous economic impact of Covid19 pandemic in 2022, when global peace and economic recovery became threatened by the Russian attack on Ukraine. The revival of the economies from the global contraction was challenged by war induced supply shortages and rising inflation. As a consequence of increased globalization, war and conflicts not only impact the host country but also the neighboring countries and trading partners. Conflicts have both direct and indirect impact on country and its people. This paper is an attempt to study the general economic impact of conflict on nations. An attempt would also be made to look at the various indicators like GDP and Human Development of few conflicting nations to better understand the economic and social cost of conflict on the people and nations. The benefit of peace in economic growth would be discussed.

Introduction:

Conflict and peace are two opposing states of affair and hence there is a cost and benefit that a nation bears, which is reflected in its economic growth and development. Conflict has been defined in several ways by different people. I would like to take two very basic dictionary definition of conflict for the purpose of this paper. The first definition is from Oxford dictionary which defines conflict as *'a situation in which people, groups or countries disagree strongly or are involved in a serious argument'*. Secondly according to Britannica dictionary, conflicts are *'a struggle for power, property, etc.'*. These two definitions bring out both the reason and types of conflict that we see around the world. In my view and for the purpose of this paper, I consider conflict as an economic phenomenon which arises mainly when people or countries disagree over issues related to either use of resources or expand one's territory to gain control over *'Others'* resources. I would like to define conflict as a situation which is a struggle to gain power to control resources

amongst conflicting goals. We all are aware that resources are scarce and as demand keeps rising, the need to procure more resources to satisfy the insatiable human demand creates situations of conflicts to have possession of resources. History is replete with examples that most of the conflict in the world which although were inherently political had economic motives and dimension. Nations or people fight to acquire power to control resources which are economically valuable. Conflicts often bring about changes in the established political and institutional arrangements of a country and so it has an impact on the economy.

Objective of the paper: This paper is an attempt to inquire into the economic cost that conflicts have on economic growth and development. Further the paper also discusses aspects of peace on economic growth. The paper concludes with a discussion on challenges of a post-conflict nation rebuilding.

Research Methodology: The paper is entirely based on secondary sources of data and information available to draw an analogy between the economic cost of conflict and peace on economic growth and development.

The paper is divided into four parts- Part I describes in general the nature and trends of conflicts in the present global scenario Part II describes the impact of conflict on economic growth and development. Part III draws an analogy between peace and economic growth. Part IV elaborates the challenges which would be faced by a nation in rebuilding itself after the conflict ends.

Part I - Nature and Trends of Conflicts in Present Global Scenario

Conflict can be in several forms and not all conflicts are the same. **The nature of conflict and violence has transformed substantially, since the UN was founded in 1945.** Each conflict situation differs in nature and is characterized by numerous criteria, such as the root causes, duration and the intensity. Internal conflicts in form of civil wars, terrorism or rebel groups within the state are often long drawn and difficult to end. In today's

time, trade wars between countries and the race to be the world super power[1] is giving a totally different dimension to conflict. For example, the Russia- Ukraine crisis is a consequence of differences in political ideology. The covid19 pandemic exposed the world to a different kind of conflict situation and hints at the possibilities of a biological warfare that could be the next threat to world peace. Thus, the face of conflicts has drastically changed since World War II.

According to the report published by the Institute for Economic and Peace (IEP)[2] 2021, the following trends are seen in terms of conflict across the world:

- According to the GPI[3] ranking of 2020, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region remains the world's least peaceful region. Amongst the ten least peaceful countries of the world, five are located in this region. Only Qatar, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) are ranked in the top 50 most peaceful countries.
- Iceland remains the most peaceful country in the world, since 2008.
- Afghanistan remains the least peaceful country globally; a position it has held for the last two years, followed by Syria, Iraq, South Sudan and Yemen.
- South Asia is the second least peaceful region after MENA and has one of the widest disparities between its most and least peaceful countries.
- As per the 2020 GPI, South Asia deteriorated in peace owing to fall in peacefulness in countries like Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Afghanistan.

Conflicts now tend to be less deadly and often waged between domestic groups rather than states. For example, the number of armed groups involved in the Syrian civil war mushroomed from eight to several thousand since the outbreak of the conflict. **Globally** there are

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[1] Acquiring the most sophisticated defense technology.
[2] Founded by IT entrepreneur & philanthropist Steve Killelea in 2007. Headquartered in Sydney it is data driven and publishes reports on the topics of peace and conflict. The abbreviation IEP will be used in the paper to denote the organization.
[3] Global Peace Index measures peace in the world; report published in Global Peace Index by IEP. This will be denoted as GPI in the entire paper.

several conflict affected countries like Syria, Yemen, Mexico, Libya, India, Afghanistan and Iran where the tension seems to be never ending. Such conflict affected countries display the failure of both the state and global machinery in resolving the tension and brings forth the fact that the changed forms of conflict have become less responsive to traditional forms of resolution.

Part II- Impact of Conflict on Economic Growth and Development

Do conflict affect economic growth and development adversely? The answer is 'yes' and this will be more apparent in the foregoing paragraphs. The impact that a conflict has on the economy, depends on two key dimensions: its duration and intensity. The economic effects of a conflict last even after the end of the conflict period. The intensity of the conflict will decide how long will the economy take to recover from the damages caused by it. Also, the insecurities created may forever create an environment of fear, lack of trust and confidence amongst the people. The impact of conflict is seen not only on the conflict-stricken region but also neighboring regions or countries, for e.g., the fleeing Afghans or the Rohingyas from their conflict affected nation had to be sheltered by other nations. The economic impact of refugees or the internally displaced population can be extremely destabilizing for the economies, straining the economic and natural resources of the countries.

The Institute for Economics & Peace in its report (*June 2020*) has estimated the economic impact of violence and conflict on the global economy. Estimates are provided for 163 countries and independent territories, covering over 99.5 per cent of the global population[4]. In 2019, the economic impact of violence on the global economy was estimated to be $14.4 trillion in constant purchasing power parity *(PPP)* terms. This is equivalent to 10.5 per cent of the global gross domestic product or $1,895 per person. Mueller and Julia Tobias in their study had estimated that by 2016, Syria's economy had

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[4] It uses the best available data to calculate the overall impact. (however, not all categories of violence have reliable data, therefore preventing their inclusion)

lost 19 – 36% of its productive capacity as a result of conflict. In absolute terms, this means that the Syrian economy produces 20–38 billion USD less in value added each year. There are many channels through which the impact of conflict on economic growth can be assessed. Conflicts can affect the following dimensions of the economy:

1) *Effects on GDP*[5]: The economic effect of conflicts on GDP is not easy to estimate because of the national accounting systems that countries have. Availability and utilization of natural resources, physical infrastructure, capital investment are a few pre-requisites for growth of GDP. Conflict results in destroying the existing physical infrastructure of the region and also creates an inconducive and unviable investment climate. The onset of conflict causes the shutting of all private production and investment activities. Conflict affected regions may suffer from flight of capital and businesses permanently. Managing the conflict requires an increase in military expenditure by the government which leads to the diversion of capital resources from productive investment to conflict management. Rebuilding a conflict affected region is extremely difficult particularly if the area becomes a conflict trap. Countries like Afghanistan, Libya, Syria and South Sudan are few examples of countries which have been constantly targeted by warring groups. These countries not only have lower average growth rates but have also failed to restrict recurrence of conflict, as a result capital formation have remained low and unfavorable. Many a times construction of destroyed infrastructure may never occur or may take years to get re- built. Presence of conflict also leads to un-utilization of precious natural resources as seen in the case of the conflict affected Democratic Republic of Congo *(DRC)*, the largest country in Sub-Saharan Africa. DRC is endowed with exceptional natural resources, minerals, hydropower potential and has the world's second-largest rainforest. But the people in DRC have not gained much from this wealth due to a long history of conflict and instability. Even after the end of the Congo War in 2003, things have not changed over there significantly and DRC remains one of the 5

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[5] Gross Domestic Product of the economy an indicator of economic growth.

poorest nations in the world. Thus, conflict reduces the growth possibilities for a nation thereby adversely impacting the GDP of the nation.

2) *Distortion in labor markets*: Conflict leads to distortion in labor market in two ways, one where occurrence of conflict directly leads to loss of lives thereby reducing the supply of labor. Secondly people often migrate away to safer place for protecting their lives and to find a source of livelihood. Whether it is forced displacement of people like Kashmiri pandits or Afghan refugees, labor markets get distorted both at the place of conflict area and where the people migrate. Internally displaced population is not as destabilizing as external refugees. Refugees are a burden on the country's exchequer as they have to be sheltered and rehabilitated. They also add to the country's labor force thus ballooning the labor market. These migrant or refugee laborers are often willing to work in the labor market at any wage rate, thereby distorting the wages in the labor market.

3) *Effects on trade*: Conflict affected areas witness the closing down of trade and businesses and very often even after the end of conflict they remain shut down. Conflict often destroys internal as well as external trade increasing poverty amongst the people. The worst affected states are those whose economies are completely tourism dependent. For instance, the economy of Kashmir was completely dependent on tourism. Since 1980s, rise of terrorism in this area has not just killed tourism but has led to displacement of people and their livelihoods. Restoring peace and creating business confidence is not easy. Conflict destroys both physical and human capital. Lack of inputs and inadequacy of local demand[6] plus impoverishment of people and fear of the resurgence of conflict are the reasons for businesses to remain low even in post- conflict period.

Any kind of conflict in the country is not good for the GDP, it results in not only loss of physical and human capital but also a permanent loss of confidence which forever takes

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[6] Either because people have fled due to conflict or poverty reduces demand for non-essential goods.

time to rebuild. Rebuilding investors' confidence even after the end of conflict is very difficult. In a conflict affected country the government has to divert its resources in fighting and maintaining peace which otherwise, could have been used for generating employment, income and other welfare activities.

Impact of Conflict on Human Development

Conflict affects the various dimensions of development measured by Human Development Index *(HDI)*[7]. The impact of conflicts be it inter-state or external, affects the lives of civilians. The conflicts in Iraq, Libya, Syria, Yemen and likewise in several such conflict scarred regions of the world, thousands of people have lost their lives or have been displaced. The devastating impact of conflicts is felt on HDI and human security. Conflicts cause a deterioration in all human development achievements which are irreversible. The HDR 2020 highlighted major deficiencies in well-being and life opportunities in countries and territories where human security was threatened. The varying threat levels were clearly illustrated by comparing the lives of people in countries which ranked the highest and lowest on the HDI. The five countries which ranked at the bottom of the HDI ranking, were Niger, the Central African Republic, South Sudan, Chad and Burundi. Vastly different levels of deficiency in well-being and life opportunities are experienced between an average person living in Norway *(at the top of the HDI)*, when compared with an average person living in countries such as Niger *(at the bottom)*. The life expectancy in Norway was 82.3 years, GNI per-capita[8] was $68,012. Contrasting this, the life expectancy in Niger was 60.4 years, GNI per capita was $906 (*UNDP, 2020*).

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[7] Human development report annually published by the UN ranks the countries (188) of the world in terms of their human achievement measured by Human Development Index in 3 dimensions- life expectancy, Education and Per-Capita Income. Countries are ranked from the highest HDI to the lowest HDI.

[8] Measured at constant rate of 2011, in US$ in terms of purchasing power parity.

Conflicts always have a negative impact on the socio-economic fabric of the nation, and on general well-being of the citizens. The table given below shows the HDI rankings and dimensions for a select few conflict affected countries *(2019 UNDP report)*:

Table: 1

COUNTRY	HDI Ranking	Life Expectancy at Birth *(years)*	Mean years of schooling *(years)*	Gross National Income Per-Capita *(2017 PPP $)*
Afghanistan	169	64.8	3.9	2,229
Syrian Arab Republic	151	72.7	5.1	3,613
Yemen	179	66.1	3.2	1,594
Central African Republic	188	53.3	4.3	993
Democratic Republic of Congo	175	60.7	6.8	1.063
South Sudan	185	57.9	4.8	2,003

Source: https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/documentation-and-downloads

From the above table 1, it can be said that the nations affected by any form of conflict, ranks low on HDI and its dimensions. Conflict adversely affects the GNI and mean years of schooling as reflected in the above table. Destruction of physical infrastructure such as schools and colleges, diminishes the opportunity of education. Also, in a conflict situation, parents are more concerned about the safety of children's lives and so education is not a priority. Further, the youth may be forced to join the warring groups[9]

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[9] In case of armed conflict affected nations.

to survive. Countries suffering from Internal conflicts have witnessed teenagers been forced into militarism at a very young age depriving them of education. In the uncertainty surrounding the faith of conflict, economic and social incentives of learning and earning both are vanquished. Post conflict the country is left with a large number of uneducated masses and an inefficient labor force who may continue to live in a vicious circle of poverty.

According to the Global Peace report of 2020[10], the accumulated cost of conflict in Syria and Yemen amounts to nearly 24% and 17.4% loss in their respective HDI values. If these two countries were not affected by conflict then, Syria would have been approaching the high HDI group while Yemen would have established its position within the medium HDI group.

For a country such as Somalia, the impact of political instability and ongoing conflict for years has been so devastating that there is no official recording or collection of any demographic data. Hence in the absence of any official data Somalia, does not even have an *HDI* score, in the Human Development Report. There is no way to find the levels of human deprivation there. Few independent studies conducted[11] have inferred that due to insecurity, threat and impoverished living conditions every year large number of people from Somalia migrate to Kenya, Ethiopia and Yemen.

Conflicts and their repercussions are not only confined to the origin country but multiple spillover effects have been recorded across the region. Countries affected by any form of external or internal strife, generally have large numbers of refugees and displaced persons. One such effect is the massive cross-border movement of refugees. In some countries, like Lebanon and Jordan, these movements put enormous pressures on the host country's economic and social infrastructure. Refugees often live under poverty

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[10] Published by IEP
[11] By UN independently.

condition and are at the mercy of the state and are often discriminated in the local job market. Also, the psychological impact of isolation, identity crisis, insecurity, alienation and a threat of future displacement are most commonly felt by the refugees. It is also possible that the locals may feel threatened by the presence of the refugees which may lead to social boycott or conflicts with them. Refugees or displaced people suffer from low human development achievements due to their poverty condition.

Women and children are more severely affected by a conflict situation as they are the most vulnerable and easy targets. World over we find that the atrocities suffered by women and children have a life lasting psychological impact and they continue to live a life of insecurity and trauma. Conflict affected children are deprived of education, suffer from starvation and diseases. Children are often forced to witness horrifying acts of violence and many a times are forced to even participate or commit them. For example, in Cambodia, half the population is under 15 years old, the war has deprived children of adult caregivers. As a result, problems of delinquency, child prostitution, drug abuse and other crimes are rampant.

Various studies and Human Development data indicate that conflicts not only adversely affect the human development achievements, but may also reverse many of the human development gains achieved in the earlier days of peacefulness. For instance, in conflict affected Arab countries the human development gains achieved in early 2000's has been reversed. The horrors suffered during conflict leads to severe mental health problems which persists even after the end of conflict. The impact of conflict on children is particularly worrisome as they constitute the future human resource of the country and children of conflict affected regions, can seldom contribute positively towards nation building.

Part III- Peace and Economic Growth

For economic growth to occur it is necessary that a conducive climate for investment is created so as to attract private investment. Physical and human capital creation both play a predominant role in determining and sustaining both short term and long-term growth. But all this requires a stable economic and socio-political condition which creates investors' confidence and enhances capital formation in the economy. Conflicts in any form be it internal or external generates disturbances, negatively affecting the long run sources of economic growth in all kinds of economies. A peaceful country, frees government resources for utilization in productive and constructive manner for nation building. According to the report published in IEP 2021, the economic cost of violence incurred by the ten most affected countries, range from 23.5 to 59.1 percent of their GDP. In comparison, the ten most peaceful countries average economic cost on violence amounts to a mere 3.9 percent of their GDP. These differences highlight the large economic benefits that countries can gain by maintaining higher levels of peace.

The report by IEP, entitled '*Economic Value of Peace 2021*' throws some interesting light on the relationship between Peace and GDP and other economic indicators which is presented through the following points:

- As measured by the *GPI* since 2000, countries that have improved in peacefulness have seen an average 1.4 percentage points higher GDP per capita growth in comparison to countries that have become less peaceful. This differential is significant and represents a GDP per capita that is 30 percent larger when compounded over a 20-year period.
- Iceland followed by New Zealand, Portugal, Austria, Denmark and Canada are the examples of most peaceful countries which ranked highest in the *GPI 2020*. These countries also enjoy a high HDI ranking which establishes the positive impact of peace on economic growth and human achievements.

- Some of the countries like Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Central African Republic, Somalia, etc. which are the least peaceful countries not only rank lowest in *GPI*, but have incurred highest economic cost of conflict, as percentage of their GDP in 2020. In Syria and Afghanistan, the economic cost of conflict exceeded 50 percent of their GDP. These countries also suffer from low HDI ranking.

- The average economic cost of violence in the ten most peaceful countries is nine times smaller as compared to the most conflict affected countries.

- The average inflation and unemployment rate (4.9 and 5.8 percent respectively) for the countries with the largest improvements on the *GPI* was substantially lower than those with the largest deteriorations in *GPI*.

- The data shows that since 2000, the average inflation and unemployment rate of 163 countries in the *GPI* ranking is 6.3 per cent and 7.8 per cent respectively. Of these, the ten countries that recorded the largest deteriorations in the *GPI* ranking had an average inflation rate of 11% and an unemployment rate of 9.9% since 2000 — far exceeding the global average.

- Higher unemployment and inflation can have a serious impact on the levels of peace. Unemployment, particularly in youth population, can lead to social unrest and instability. Inflation can be both a cause and a stressor for instability, violence and unrest amongst people.

 The report[12] introduces the concept of Positive Peace. Positive Peace is a *transformational* concept. It is defined as the *attitudes, institutions and structures* that create and sustain peaceful societies. There is a close relationship between Positive Peace and violence as measured by the internal peace score of the *GPI*. The greater the improvements in Positive Peace, the greater the economic performance and higher is the average rate of economic growth per capita. The data on Positive Peace Index (PPI) shows that, in the last 20 years, the countries with the largest improvements on the PPI have consistently

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[12] Report by Institute for Economics and Peace, Global Peace Index.

outperformed the countries with the largest deteriorations on the PPI in GDP growth. The countries with the largest deteriorations in Positive Peace have seen periods of negative growth in the last 20 years. By contrast, countries with the largest improvements have averaged consistent positive growth.

Peace dividend a concept coined by the report, indicates the economic cost of conflict. Peace dividend can be defined as the economic benefits accrued from reducing violence. A peaceful economy is likely to flourish as it provides a fearless atmosphere for capital investments to take place and encourages productive activities and initiatives in the economy. Several studies affirm that a peaceful environment fosters economic growth by creating a conducive environment which provides economic incentives for growth drivers.

Part IV - Post- Conflict Nation Rebuilding

Conflicts have a devastating effect on the economy. But a major challenge for any country is rebuilding the nation once the conflict is over. Bringing an end to a conflict situation and ensuring peace, requires relentless effort. At the same time, it is important to ensure that it never recurs or becomes a vicious cycle. Often countries may need help and assistance from external agencies like the UN or World Bank to provide economic aid for reconstructing the economy. The following efforts can be undertaken for rebuilding of a nation in a post-conflict scenario:

- Undertaking of Humanitarian relief work focusing on children and women who are the worst victims of conflict should be prioritized. Rehabilitation of the vulnerable groups includes fighting malnutrition, illiteracy and disabilities (if any). Providing psychological help to deal with the scars of the conflict is a daunting task, particularly young children who may take a very long time to forget the pain and violence inflicted on them. It is important to provide a safe and secure living

condition to the people. Protecting human rights would be necessary in a post-conflict scenario.

- Donor agencies like the UN or World Bank must consider the dynamics of conflict and provide relief work which is development oriented. Reconstruction of both economic and social infrastructure would be imperative.

- It is important to know the root cause of the conflicting situation so that such situations are avoided in future. Post conflict, economic policies must focus more on social re-construction rather than macroeconomic imbalances. Conflicts often stem from economic reasons like poverty, glaring inequality, rising inflation, shortages of food and other essentials (Sri Lankan crisis[13]). Therefore, economic policies must be targeted to deal with the root causes so that the chances of future conflict are avoided.

- Post conflict the problem of refugees or those internally displaced is a big challenge as the government has to provide appropriate relief package to the affected people for their rehabilitation.

- A conflict torn country needs to create political institutions which implements inclusive economic growth policies for all. Also, the state machinery must strive to provide economic and political stability to ensure long-lasting peaceful environment in the state.

- Post-conflict the economy being financially weak, lacks resources for rebuilding the economy. The end of conflict can be used to attract foreign investment in the nation building process. Foreign direct investment can speed up the process of recovery and simultaneously force the state to maintain a peaceful environment and undertake all steps to mitigate any conflicting situation in future.

The above points make it clear that rebuilding a conflict torn nation is a daunting task. It requires financial, physical and human capital planning to reconstruct the country. In

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[13] People's agitation against the government due to economic distress in 2022.

the process of reconstruction, the nation may encounter several unanticipated problems which may require immediate resolution. Moreover, the challenge of sustaining peace requires a relentless effort in recognizing the dangers of any situation which may trigger the conflict again.

Conclusion:

The nature of conflicts faced by nations is changing. According to the UN, the most common causes of conflicts today are regional tensions, breakdown of the rule of law and forcibly taking control of natural resources of the country for vested personal interest. Currently world's 80% of all conflict is concentrated in Asia and Africa and the most prevalent forms of conflict are civil wars and territorial disputes. In some cases, it is even difficult to conclude whether a conflict is over or a new kind has emerged; for example, in case of Afghanistan where the Taliban has taken control and declared itself as the government of the nation, it's difficult to call it as an end of conflict because people continue to suffer from great misery and women particularly are denied of their basic rights. Similarly, some conflicts seem never ending like tension between India and Pakistan or India and China. Such ongoing conflict environment forces the government to keeping increasing their defense expenditures thereby diverting financial resources away from social capital building. It is rightly conceived that in future, the nature of conflict and conflict resolution between nations is bound to change as new global challenges start threatening and creating tensions. Issues such as Climate change would create conflicts requiring novel methods of conflict management. Further, technological and cyber warfare will be the new threats affecting the safety and security of nations in future.

In conclusion, it can be said that, development policies need to find linkages between policy goals and conflicts. Policies need to focus more on prevention of conflicts. Policies which encourage economic ties internally as well as between nations will aid in

promoting peace. Peace requires efforts but has long-term positive pay-off. A peaceful environment can lead to sustainable development of all nations globally.

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BRICS: STRENGTHENING THE NEW WORLD ORDER?

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Abstract: The formation of BRICS was a result of varied factors that emanated from the changed world order after the end of Cold War. However, economically less privileged countries with colonized history had raised concerns about the western dominance over various international organizations and policy decisions in the post-World War II period. In the new millennium the altered dynamics of the world economy suggested the BRICS countries as the largest growing economies of the world. Formed as a group, the BRICS is an economic alliance. However, it is equally sensitive to global concerns on climate change, education and has ventured into establishing a bank to aid international financial system. The paper traces the journey of BRICS and comments on its possibility to strengthen the world order.

Introduction

The world order is characterized by the dynamics of relations between great powers; the issues and preferences of other nations with reference to these powers; and the fulfillment of objectives and strengths of regional associations. A nation's political status is often defined by its military might and defence capabilities as much as its economic growth rate which is good for the country and its people and is also closely linked to its rise as a power to reckon with. For more than half a century now, nations have focused on improving their economic growth though few economists continue to believe that focus should be on well-being measures than growth alone.[1] After the Second World War, for half a century, the western nations dominated the world economic front.

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[1] Semuels, Alana Semuels, "Does the Economy Really Need to Keep Growing Quite So Much?" *The Atlantic*, www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/11/economic-growth/506423/

However, the unfolding of financial crisis in the late 2000, raised many questions about the dominant role of the United States and the European Union both for political developments and as drivers of economic growth. By the beginning of the new millennium dynamics of world economies had changed to include the non-European nations. It is in this context that the Goldman Sachs Economist Jim O' Neill, first used the acronym BRICs in 2001 to suggest the domination of global economy by the few Asian and African countries namely Brazil, Russia, India and China in his paper "Building Better Global Economic BRICs".[2] These countries had their large domestic markets and were the fastest growing economies. The exercise was a part of Goldman Sachs' economic modeling exercise to forecast global economic trends over the next half century.

This was a different grouping suggested than the existing and the much stronger G7, an informal grouping of the then world's most advanced economies that could influence global trends and shape global progress on broad range of issues. These included the western countries of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States, the European Union and Japan as the only Asian country. G7 emerged from G5 which itself was formed owing a breakdown of the Bretton Woods System in 1971.[3]

Back then, Jim O'Neill had claimed that global economy will be dominated by the four BRIC economies, by 2050. For this he offered four scenarios for how each country could develop over the next decade, and made the case as to why global governance needed to become more representative and include these four rising powers.[4] In his paper he reflected on the GDP for the 20 leading economies of the world, based on both

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[2] Neill, Jim O' "Building Better Global Economic BRICs", *Global Economics Paper,* No. 66, Goldman Sachs Economic Research Group, 30th November, 2001.

[3] Russia had been invited to the G7, eventually joining it, thus resulting in the Group of Eight, G8 from 1997-2014. Following its annexation of Crimea, Russia's membership was suspended, thereby the group returning to its G7 status.

[4] Jim O' Neill, "Building Better Global Economic BRICs". Global Economics Paper no. 66, Goldman Sachs, 2001.

Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) and current prices at the end of 2000 showing the actual share of world GDP on either estimate, or the difference between them, as well as the size of the population and GDP per capita.[5] The four BRIC countries showed more promise over the others as the fastest growing and emerging economies of the world thus with a potential of becoming a larger force in the world economy and a powerful economic bloc even more prominent than G7. It was suggested that the BRICs would play a significant role in the global economic milieu for years to come. This was also the time when major structural changes were taking place within the BRIC countries.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, the BRICS countries had witnessed sweeping economic reforms and had initiated strategic changes for rebuilding economies. This had the desired impact and within two decades they were on the path of becoming the world's fastest growing economies. With total combined area of 29.3% of the total land surface, 41% of the world population, 24% of the world GDP and over 16% share in the world trade, as per the World Bank data 2019, BRICS countries are now seen as the main engines of global economic growth and backbones of the new emerging global order. Over the past 16 years the countries have embarked on a course of mutual support and cooperation. Few other countries- Argentina, Indonesia, Turkey have shown interest in joining the group. The paper aims to explore the potentialities for the objectives set by the group. It also poses a question as to whether the BRICS nations can develop capability to define the global order. Here it is important to understand the shaping of the current world order.

Global Economic System

Trade deals between nations are a norm. They are an outcome of many factors let alone economic interests. Today's multilateral economic systems are led by policy interests of various nations and the circumstances they are led by. The present economic system is

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[5] Ibid.

a direct reaction to the Second World War. It was the desire for peace and security that contributed to the creation of global economic system. Reconstructing the world's financial order, encouraging economic reconstruction, and boosting open markets remained a priority after World War II. At the height of the Second World War**,** it was made clear that a peaceful and secure world will contribute towards a greater global economic collaboration. The Atlantic Charter of 1941, was, "the springboard" of remarkable achievements of multilateral international economic rule- making, including the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and Bretton Woods institutions.[6] In July 1944, at an international conference held at Bretton Woods in the United States, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) later the World Bank were created. These two institutions established a framework for economic cooperation aimed at creating a more stable and prosperous global economy.[7] The negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were formally concluded on 30 October 1947. Twenty-three nations signed the agreement at the Palais des Nations in Geneva. From 1948 to 1994, the GATT defined the rules for much of world trade, though it was a provisional agreement and organization. This period also witnessed some of the highest growth rates in international commerce. The Kennedy Round of the 1960s, the Tokyo Round of the 1970s and the Uruguay Round of 1980s added to new set of agreements. However**,** the growing complexity of the world trade, expansion in international investment and service trade among other factors called for further reforms. This led to the Uruguay Round the Marrakesh Declaration and the creation of the World Trade Organization.

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[6] Nottage, Hunter, "Trade in War's darkest hour" *History of Trade* www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/history_e/tradewardarkhour41_e.htm

[7] The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank https://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2022/IMF-World-Bank New#:~:text=The%20IMF%20and%20the%20World%20Bank%20were%20created%20in%20July ,stable%20and%20prosperous%20global%20economy.

With 164 members representing 98 per cent of world trade and 24 countries seeking to join the WTO in 2022, it is "the only global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between nations".[8] India has been a WTO member since January 1995. It was a GATT member since 8 July 1948. However, in spite of the strong support of dominant countries, the role of the WTO in recent times is much undermined mainly due to trade wars, unilateral decisions on tariff and non-tariff restrictive measures. Therefore, the formation of BRICS reflected a change in the global economic narrative. Mapping the trajectory of the world's growing economies helps in the understanding of significant issues about the global economic policies at the same time underscoring the possible cooperation between nations.

The BRICS Journey

BRICS is an economic and geo-political alliance. BRICS includes Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. After the release of the Jim O' Neill's research findings in 2001, the governments of the BRIC nations showed interest to form a group which could co-operate politically to address the great challenges of global governance. In 2006, Russia took the initiative and Russian President Vladimir Putin proposed for a BRICs ministerial meeting. Rachel S. Salzman in the book *Russia, BRICS, and the Disruption of Global Order* offers the reasons for the Russian initiative. Following Russia's search for non-Western partners, Russian leaders framed the idea of BRICS.[9] Many wondered if the world was in the midst

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[8] World Trade Organisation www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/thewto_e.htm

[9] Rachel S. Salzman , *Russia, BRICS, and the Disruption of Global Order,* Georgetown University Press, 2019. Salzman argues, "being named a BRIC country by Goldman Sachs in 2001 could not have come at a timelier moment for Russia. The country was beginning to recover from nearly a decade of economic instability that culminated in the August 1998 default. Being included in the list of likely future leaders of the global economy by one of the world's premier investment banks, provided external validation that others had noticed Russia's revival".

of global power realignment. These countries also seemed to have the political, economic and military resources to influence the international order through their own regions.

The leaders of the BRIC countries met for the first time in St. Petersburg, Russia, on the margins of G8 Outreach Summit in July 2006, to discuss the possibility of the formation of such a group. In September 2006, the group was formalized as BRIC during the first BRIC Foreign Ministers' Meeting, a little before the UN General Assembly session in New York.

The 2008 "epic financial and economic collapse" had raised doubts about the existing monetary system and the waning economic leadership of the US and the EU and the dollar-dominated monetary system. Around the same time the BRIC economies had shown considerable resilience. On 9th July 2008, on the Russian initiative, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev met with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, and Chinese President Hu Jintao on the margins of the G8 Summit in Toyako, Japan. The BRIC finance ministers and central bankers met on 7 November, 2008 in Sao Paulo, Brazil. After a series of highlevel meetings, the 1st BRIC summit was held in Yekaterinburg, Russia on 16 June 2009.[10] The purpose of the group is to cooperate towards a sustainable, equitable and mutually beneficial development for all countries.

BRIC group was renamed as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) after South Africa was accepted as a full member at the BRIC Foreign Ministers' meeting in New York in September 2010. Accordingly, South Africa attended the 3rd BRICS

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[10] After this summit, the BRIC leaders issued a joint statement which set forth the goals of BRIC "to promote dialogue and cooperation among our countries in an incremental, proactive, pragmatic, open and transparent way. The dialogue and cooperation of the BRIC countries is conducive not only to serving common interests of emerging market economies and developing countries, but also to building a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity." The document outlined a common perception of ways to cope with the global financial and economic crisis. See History of BRICS, https://infobrics.org/page/history-of-brics/

Summit in Sanya, China on 14 April 2011. In the same year the BRICS Forum was formed. The forum is an independent international organization that aims at encouraging commercial, political and cultural cooperation between the BRICS nations. The BRICS mechanism aims to promote peace, security, development and cooperation. It also aims at contributing significantly to the development of humanity and establishing a more equitable and fairer world.[11] In 2013 with the fifth summit held in Durban, South Africa the BRICS completed the first cycle of summits, one in each of the five member countries.

The BRICS has so far conducted fourteen summits the last one being in June 2022, one of the last three held through video conferencing due to COVID-19 restrictions. It is important to note that the BRICS countries are prominent members of leading international organisations and forums, such as the G20, the Group of 77, and the Non-Aligned Movement apart from the UN. They are also members of various influential regional associations such as the CSTO, SCO, SAARC among others. The BRICS Outreach Dialogue aims to involve the neighbours of the host country in various BRICS activities thereby aiming for a wider circle for engagement and cooperation. Apart from the routine diplomatic engagements between the governments BRICs has also encouraged engagements among business councils and civil society meetings opportunities. Over the past more than two decades, BRICS has diversified to set up people to people mechanism which includes BRICS Academic Forum and Think Tank Council; Women's Business Alliance; Young Scientists Forum; Young Diplomats Forum; Civil Forum; Film festivals and Games.

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[11] Fifth BRICS summit- general background, Republic of South Africa, https://www.gov.za/events/fifth-brics-summit-general-background#:~:text=The%20BRICS%20mechanism%20aims%20to,more%20equitable%20and%20fair%20world.

BRIC challenges: 'Famously different'

The BRICS countries, all federal states, share commonalities and at the same time they are also disparate or 'famously different'. BRICS as a group, are geographically relatively isolated from each other except for China who shares boundaries with India and Russia. They are politically diverse - India and Brazil has democracies, parliamentary and presidential respectively, Russia is a declared democracy but tilts more towards authoritarianism and China a Marxist people's republic. They have varying levels of economic development; are differently situated in terms of resources and energy intensity; have divergent demographic trends; besides, Russia and China are established global powers with permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council whereas India, Brazil and South Africa aspire to acquire a prominent position in the UN; all four have distinct cultural and linguistic traditions. In terms of trade China alone seems to have strong economic ties with other BRICS countries, but within the group there is much left to be desired. For e.g., Brazil-India trade stands at $ 8 million; South Africa may be the 2nd largest economy on the African continent, however in 2017-2018 India-South Africa trade was at USD 9.380 billion;[12] India shared good trade dynamics with China as the bilateral trade between the two countries crossed **125 billion USD** in 2021[13]. Russian exports are largely concentrated in natural gas and energy products, the other three in comparison have a more diversified export trade profile.[14]

While China and Russia are tough against the US and the west, India is not likely to openly take a stand against the west and retain its independent strategic policy. India

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[12] "India South Africa Bilateral Economic Engagement", Consulate General of India, Johannesburg (South Africa) www.cgijoburg.gov.in/india-south-africa-bilateral-economic-engagement.php
[13] "Bilateral trade between India-China crosses 125 billion USD in 2021", newsonair.gov.in/News?title=Bilateral-trade-between-India%2c-China-crosses-125-billion-USD-in-2021&id=433506, Jan 14, 2022
[14] Sarkar, A. N. *BRICS New Development Bank, A Game Changer for the Emerging Economies*, Avon Publications, New Delhi, 2016, p. 8.

and China have had more occasion of skirmishes lately and stand on disputed borders. Notwithstanding these differences and disparities, there is an innate reason why these countries see themselves on a common platform and invest much in the group. As rising economies and non-western powers they hope to gain from the BRICS. The platform provides generous opportunities; fosters solidarities; and as far as investment rules are concerned, accords equal status.

BRICS Achievements:

Though the formation of BRICS was based on the size of the economies, the group has turned out to become a major actor on the international scene. After its formation in 2009, the very next year the BRIC countries pushed for reforms to correct the global economic governance and challenge the western legitimacy on IMF and the World Bank. This led to the IMF quota and governance reform in 2010 which eventually resulted in, "a doubling of IMF quotas (under the 14th General Review of Quotas) and a major shift in quota shares toward dynamic emerging market and developing countries".[15] BRICS along with its bank is seen to have "provided a space for an alternative discourse on global governance that in some instance may not be in normative agreement with western discourse".[16] In 2015, the BRICS countries set up a Contingent Reserve Arrangement to provide support to the BRICS countries through additional liquidity and other means in times of economic crisis. One of the groups' major achievements so far is the BRICS development bank.

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[15] "Press Release: Historic Quota and Governance Reforms Become Effective", Press Release No. 16/25
January 27, 2016, International Monetary Fund, https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/14/01/49/pr1625a
[16] Sarkar, A. N. *BRICS New Development Bank, A Game Changer for the Emerging Economies*, Avon Publications, New Delhi, 2016, p. 6.

New Development Bank (NDB)

The establishment of a BRICS development bank was initiated by India and discussed in the fourth BRICS summit in 2012 in New Delhi and followed in July 2013 Durban summit. The final agreement to launch, what is known as, the New Development Bank took place in Fortaleza (Brazil) on 15th July 2014 where the leaders agreed to take a step forward in setting up a new international financial system with the launch of the New Development Bank (NDB). This agreement came into force in July 2015, 7th BRICS summit in Ufa, Russia.

The bank's headquarters are now based in Shanghai. This is not the world's first attempt though. The world has witnessed the setting up of various multilateral development banks such as Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), 1959, European Investment Bank (EIB), 1958, with so far the largest lending ability, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) 1966, Islamic Development Bank (IsdB), 1975, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), 1991, African Development Bank established in the same year as NDB among others.

Yet the formation of NDB is indeed historic for many reasons. With the NDB, the focus shifted from the established western dominated financial and monetary institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank set up by the Bretton Woods system of 1944, to the emerging economies of the world. The main aim of the bank is to finance joint development projects. One of its aims remains to be a platform to nurture cooperation in infrastructure and sustainable development. [17] As declared in the Agreement on the New Development Bank at Fortaleza on 15 July, 2014, "the purpose of the Bank shall be to mobilize resources for infrastructure and sustainable

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[17] Address by New Development Bank President, Marcos Troyjo, to the leaders of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa during the 14th BRICS summit, June 23, 2022, www.ndb.int/president_desk/address-by-ndb-president-to-brics-leaders-during-the-14th-brics-summit-june-23-2022/

development projects in BRICS and other emerging market economies and developing countries to complement the existing efforts of multilateral and regional financial institutions for global growth and development".[18]

In 2021, Bangladesh, UAE, Egypt and Uruguay joined the NDB thereby adding another 280 million people. Adding of these new members and future expected additions "in a gradual and balanced manner",[19] are a NDB strategy to "increase our voice and our contribution to global economic governance". [20] NDB has so far approved 70 infrastructure and sustainable development projects worth USD 25.07 billion (including loans under NDB Emergency Assistance Facility) across all the member countries in the past five years. This includes 18 projects of India worth USD 6.9 billion. NDB funds projects in areas such as sustainable infrastructure, clean energy, social safety, public health, education, water, sanitation and flood protection, renewable and green energy, transport, infrastructure, irrigation, agriculture, smart cities etc.[21] NDB is the BRICS's so far most ambitious and successful initiative although few criticisms which have come in its way is the heavy weight of China; limited pool of funding capacity due to few members and unexplored avenues for co-financing.

Will they stand up to the challenge?

Much of BRICS' future and role in strengthening the global order depends on the respective countries' economic status and their collective global potential. At the time of its formation, the group was expected to reshape the global economy and create a new financial order to help the developing world. The rise of these countries had also suggested a significant shift in the world order, as many believed, perhaps even a new order in the making. However, much is left to be desired. By Jim O' Neill's own

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[18] Check the Agreement on the New Development Bank – Fortaleza, July 15, www.ndb.int/wp-content/themes/ndb/pdf/Agreement-on-the-New-Development-Bank.pdf
[19] Address by New Development Bank President, Marcos Troyjo.
[20] Ibid.
[21] New Development Bank, brics2021.gov.in/ndb

admission, "the bloc's ongoing failure to develop substantive policies through its annual summitry has become increasingly glaring".[22] He believes that "(I)f it weren't for China and India, to some degree- there wouldn't be much of a BRIC story to tell".[23] The 'lofty statements' of the leaders are accompanied by 'scanty political moves'.

If the BRICS wants to be recognized as a force, Jim O' Neill offers some advice. The countries need to strengthen trade amongst them, particularly India and China need to engage in robust and open trade that could benefit the region and boost global trade. The other relevant aspect is related to health considering that these countries have large populations that can be vulnerable to global infectious diseases, they should equip themselves to future pandemics to realize their complete economic potential; the narrative of healthcare is placed center and front in the economic discussions.[24] Apart from these a dynamic leadership can offer the much-needed push to the BRICS efforts. Selfish interest that determines a more inward approach will be detrimental.[25]

While, positioning BRICS with the WTO, it can be deduced that though big economies, including the US, have reiterated their commitment to the WTO, the organisation needs more to sustain its defined glory. Earlier the BRICS played a significant role in mobilising developing nations at the WTO, to safeguard their collective interest. However, China and Russia have become preoccupied with self-defined trade and military wars. In the matter of Ukraine crisis some believe that the issue of Ukraine can serve as an opportunity for the group to convince the world that it can be a viable financial option

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[22] Jim O' Neill, "Will the BRICS ever grow up?" *Project Syndicate*, September 16, 2021, https://www2.project-syndicate.org/commentary/brics-20-years-of-disappointment-by-jim-o-neill-2021-09?barrier=accesspaylog
[23] Ibid
[24] Ibid.
[25] Russian attack on Ukraine in March 2022 received a comment from the BRICS countries in the summit held in June 2022. They issued a declaration on 23 June, 2022 stating that they called for a peaceful resolution of the dispute between Russia and Ukraine.

against Western-led institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.[26]

It is important to see BRICS beyond its economic profile alone. Starting essentially with economic issues of mutual interest, the agenda of BRICS meetings has considerably widened over the years to encompass topical global issues such as climate change and sustainable development, food and energy security, health, the global trading order.[27] Indian initiatives include a BRICS Report released at the Delhi Summit in March 2012 focusing on synergies and complementarities between the BRICS economies and highlighting their role as growth drivers of the world economy. India also added the Urbanization Forum to BRICS cooperation mechanisms to bring greater focus on intra-BRICS cooperation India institutionalized the practice of holding BRICS Academic Forum meetings as preparatory meetings feeding into the Summit agenda. At the 6th BRICS Summit in Brazil in July 2014, India has proposed important initiatives in order to strengthen intra-BRICS cooperation. These initiatives relate to online education, an affordable health care platform, a virtual BRICS university, BRICS language schools, cooperation in small and medium enterprises, tourism, youth exchanges, a Young Scientists Forum and disaster management.[28]

Conclusion

BRICS has evolved in its journey of about one and half decades. The significance of BRICS as an influential forum will be determined by the financial and economic status of its five members. These are influential countries with great civilizational links, galloping economies and well connected with multiple important regional and

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[26] BRICS Summit: Members push for global clout amid Ukraine War www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-61894760

[27] "India and BRICS", Reference Note, for the use of Members of Parliament,Reference no. No.50/RN/Ref./November/2016, http://164.100.47.193/Refinput/New_Reference_Notes/English/INDIA_BRICS.pdf

[28] Ibid.

international organisations. The group plays a critical role in the global processes that can determine a distinct world order away from the western dominated interests. Its focus on the developing nations and a collective leadership can offer much in terms of consolidating global efforts towards a more inclusive world. Beyond its economic profile the group has often taken a collective stand in voicing its opinions of international civil-political issues. During the 'Arab Spring' the group had issued collective statements about the democratic upheaval in the West Asia-North Africa region, in the annual declarations.[29] Through its various initiatives the group has taken efforts to reach out to the developing countries beyond the five and involved them in joint efforts. As the geo-political order stands affected, due to the Russia-Ukraine war, multilateral groups such as BRICS can promote international security, cooperation, in more specific areas such as conflict resolution, combating terrorism, drug trafficking, piracy, money laundering etc. As mentioned earlier, India has proposed initiatives for strengthening the intra-BRICS cooperation through online-education, BRICS University, BRICS Language schools. This opens up more opportunities of fruitful engagement within and beyond the group.

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[29] In the 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014 summits the BRICS jointly commented on the upheavals in the West Asian North African region in 2010 and 2011.

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World Trade Organization, www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/thewto_e.htm

RETERRITORIALISING THE NATION-SPACE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SPATIAL AND CORPOREAL CONFLICT AGAINST THE 'NATION' IN SAADAT HASAN MANTO'S "TOBA TEK SINGH" AND ISMAT CHUGHTAI'S "HOMEMAKER"

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Abstract: This paper interrogates the category of the postcolonial nation and dominant Indian nationalist discourses from spatial and corporeal lenses in Saadat Hasan Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Ismat Chughtai's "The Homemaker". Both short-stories foreground characters existing at the margins of the ideal Indian national citizen. The paper examines the manner in which the characters unveil the fissures in the conventional narratives of the postcolonial Indian nation. The paper further probes into the spatial arrangements foregrounded in the stories, a mental asylum and a middle-class home, both of which are placed in relation to the outside world. The probe entails an analysis of the concepts of inside/ outside and private/public in relation to the nation, and dominant nationalist ideologies. The paper follows a theoretical and analytical methodology; the theories pertaining to nation, citizenship, and spatiality are explored with the help of a close textual analysis of the stories.

Keywords: *spatiality, corporeality, nation, citizen, conflict*

An independent nation may be seen as an anxious entity, after decolonisation, especially at the moment of its birthing. As an "imagined political community" (Anderson 6), it needs to assert its autonomy and difference, both of which are affirmed with the help of spatial boundaries that are secure, representable, and "that separate the people 'within' from other people outside" (McLeod 61). This quest toward fixity, however, entails a perpetual struggle against "marginal voices or minority discourse" (Bhabha 301) that may challenge all attempts towards homogeneity or closure. Moreover, while nations are meant to "evoke powerful feelings of identity, belonging, home and community for

the people" (McLeod 61), the desire of a nation for homogeneity or standardisation may lead to a steady denial of heterogeneous modes of belonging to the nation-space, for instance, nomadic lifestyle that is fundamentally opposed to fixity. Furthermore, the creation of the category of the national citizen is another important feature of a nation-state to consolidate its sense of self. Anupama Roy notes, "citizenship was, and continues to be associated with 'dominant' concepts like state, nation-state, democracy, rights, and equality" (n.p.).

This paper places Saadat Hasan Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Ismat Chughtai's "The Homemaker" in the above context. The paper compares the protagonists of the two stories against the category of the national citizen, and interrogates the nature of their respective conflict against dominant nationalist discourses as well as the collective imagination of the nation. The paper further examines the spatial arrangements foregrounded in both the short stories, and the relationship of these spaces, the mental asylum of "Toba Tek Singh" and the middle-class household of "The Homemaker", with the outside world. This assists in examining the spatial nuances of dominant nationalist discourses as well as the conventional spatial conception of the nation.

LAJO AND BISHAN SINGH AS CONFLICTED CITIZENS

This section focusses on the characters of Lajo (from Chughtai's "The Homemaker") and Bishan Singh (from Manto's "Toba Tek Singh") to analyse the corporeal and spatial nuances of their respective conflict against the dominant conception of the nation-state, and the nationalist ideologies that have contributed to creating the category of the Indian citizen. Concerns of gender, class, and community form a significant part of the analysis.

Citizenship is inextricably linked with the formation of nation-states because the nationalist discourse is solidified with the help of the people of a nation. McLeod claims while explaining Bhabha's analysis that if the nationalist discourse has a pedagogic component that "claims a fixed origin for the nation and asserts a sense of a *continuous* history which links the nation's people in the present to previous generations of national

subjects" (87), it also contains a performative component, which "refers to the ways in which nationalist icons and popular signs … must be *continually rehearsed* by the people in order to keep secure the sense of 'deep, horizontal comradeship'" (87). Both these aspects, according to Bhabha, rely on the people of a nation, thereby making the category of the national citizen extremely important for the nation to sustain its sense of self: "There must also be a tribe of interpreters of such metaphors [of the nation] – the translators of the dissemination of texts and discourses across cultures – who can perform what Said describes as the act of secular interpretation" (295).

While the category of the national citizen is assumed to be inclusive and all-encompassing, there are limitations to the inclusivity as there may be fissures within the dominant nationalist discourse that grapples with "the heterogenous histories of contending peoples" (Bhabha 299). As Anupama Roy commends, "citizenship oscillates ambivalently between encompassment and closure. Yet, it is also these ambivalences which provide the 'disturbed zones of citizenship'" (n.p.).

In order to illustrate the above, one considers Lajo, the protagonist of Chughtai's "The Homemaker". Lajo is introduced as a housemaid, newly appointed in the middle-class protagonist, Mirza's house. Chughtai outlines her marginalisation on account of class and gender at the outset – "left on the street to fend for herself" (79); "grew up on the leftovers of others" (79); "reached an age when she could snatch away things from others" (79); "[w]hen she grew up, her body proved to be her only asset" (79). Her physical as well as sexual candour, however, are of particular notice, for these not only ironically misalign with her name, that implies "the coy one" (79), but also reflect her resistance against sexual exploitation, for Chughtai enables her to assert a certain control over her body and sexuality both of which Lajo considers as means to be used for sustaining herself economically and/ or for indulging in pleasure: "She didn't haggle. It was wonderful if it was a cash-down proposition, if not, it was sex on credit, and if someone could not pay even on credit, it was sex on charity" (79). By not belonging to a

specific religious community, and by possessing traits such as raw sensuality, tactfulness to survive on the street until employed, and making morally questionable choices with respect to indulging in sexual pleasure, Lajo conflicts with the dominant prototype available for Indian women as citizens of the newly-independent nation – the 'Mother India' – the epitome of morality, who was "over time imagined as the substantial embodiment of national territory – its inviolable essence, its shining beacon of hope and liberation – and also as a powerful rallying symbol in its long hard struggle for independence…" (Ramaswamy 1).

However, a noticeable fissure in this supposedly universal prototype for Indian women, in post-independence India, "a nation striving to be secular, diverse, and modern" (2), emerges in its religious specificity in that Mother India is necessarily Hindu, and in most interpretations, a Goddess. She is conceived of as desexualised or chaste, and thereby, the moral force of the newly independent nation. The deliberate desexualisation of Mother India makes her an aspirational image of hegemonic femininity especially for the middle-class woman in the post-independence period, for while the upper-caste-middle-class women were 'allowed' to step out, on the street, during the freedom struggle, in order to participate in the nationalist movement, they necessarily had to be segregated from the women of the lower classes on the basis of their moral superiority and repressed sexuality. As one of the characters, a middle-class female teacher, from Chughtai's "Vocation", laments, "Respectability, chastity – if you kept these eggs warm under your wings, would a peacock hatch out of them? And the irony is, no one gives you any credit for hatching those eggs. The nation does not give a damn – that a Devi has kept herself chaste!" (168). Thus, the moral superiority of an Indian middle-class woman is determined by stringent controls on her physical movement as well as sexual involvement outside of the domestic sphere. Suruchi Thapar-Björkert mentions, "In Indian nationalist history [....] the management of female sexuality has been important since 'unruly' female sexuality could discredit the nation" (98).

Lajo's physical freedom and sexual candour, thus, become means to unpack an opposition, within the nationalist discourse, between the middle-class women 'on the street' and the lower-class women 'of the street', an opposition maintained on the basis of controlling the physical movement and sexuality of middle-class women. Thapar-Björkert notes in relation to the Indian nationalist movement:

> The women 'of the street', a label that distinguished these women from the respectable middle-class women, were working class women, low-caste women and other 'inferior' characters. The latter were seen as a threat to the morality and respectability of the movement. […] The necessity of drawing distinctions between the 'nationalist woman' and other social groups such as prostitutes and untouchables became an integral feature of defining national character and setting cultural boundaries" (97-98).

While Lajo seems to be a 'woman of the street' as per the aforementioned dichotomy, Chughtai posits her in the liminal space between the seemingly dichotomous figures of the mother/wife and the prostitute, thereby problematising the very dichotomy. The lack of specificity pertaining to Lajo's religion adds to her liminality. However, Lajo's conflict as well as resistance against conventional dichotomisation of the mother/wife and the prostitute are situated in her autonomy over her physical movement and sexuality. For instance, Lajo's interest in working at Mirza's house lies in her attachment to the house, much like a housewife, and a desire to establish a sense of belonging or connection with the house, thereby justifying the title of the story, "The Homemaker": "For Lajo it was love at first sight. She was in love – not with Mirza but with the house. […] A house does not belong to a man. He is more like a guest. […] Here at Mirza's house, she was the queen. […] Lajo kept herself busy throughout the day fixing up things in the house and bathing in the courtyard" (Chughtai 82). Ironically, for Mirza too, Lajo becomes reminiscent of his mother in the way she performs conventional middle-class gender roles designated for women such as cooking or cleaning the house: "Spinach

mixed with potato, moong dal laced with onion and cumin seeds – just the way Amma prepared it" (81). Through Lajo, Chughtai rearticulates the concept of a homemaker, who is defined, in the story, on a literal or practical basis of home-management and not on a ritualistic or ideological basis of marriage.

In fact, unlike a typical middle-class wife, Lajo is a nomad, who does not wish to be confined to the house, and retains autonomy over physical movement much to the displeasure of Mirza, who wants to control her: "The day she didn't bring lunch to the shop, Mirza's mind would be assailed by suspicions. […] He began to drop in at odd hours to spy on her" (86). Moreover, unlike a conventional middle-class wife/ mother, Lajo displays an active sexuality, and her desire to indulge in sexual pleasure is not restricted to Mirza. Later in the story, when Mirza marries Lajo in order to discipline her into becoming a typical middle-class wife, she brings to crisis the façade of middle-class marriage that sustains its supposed moral superiority on the basis of restricted movement and repressed sexuality of the wife: "Lajo's coquetry that had seemed enchanting before marriage now seemed objectionable in a wife. Such sluttish ways did not become decent women" (89). Thus, Lajo helps unpack the contradictions pertaining to class and gender within the dominant narratives of Indian citizenship for women. Her conflict against patriarchal biases inherent in the nationalist discourses for Indian women is enabled through corporeal and spatial means as she struggles for physical and sexual freedom while avoiding the trap of dichotomisations.

Bishan Singh from Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" is introduced to the readers as an old inmate of Lahore lunatic asylum. Unlike Lajo, Singh has been in confinement for a period of fifteen years. His continued spatial confinement after decolonisation becomes a discomforting reminder of the continuing legacy of colonial practices in post-independence India (and, perhaps, Pakistan). Smita Das observes, "Like the asylums in Europe, the British Indian asylums had many functions one of which was to incarcerate subjects considered to be a future threat to public order. The colonizers imagined the

Indian population to have a capacity for sudden, irrational, and unpredictable physical violence" (205-206). Moreover, as Smita Das contends in her analysis of Foucault's theorisation of madness, the emergence of insane asylums in the West too was meant to "reduce differences, repress vice, and eliminate all irrationalities through the homogeneous rule of morality" (205). Foucault, in fact, questions the very validity of the dichotomy between reason and non-reason, which initiates the action of confining those displaying the latter, for, the states of both madness and non-madness are always already implicated and imbricated in one another: "madness and non-madness, reason and non-reason are inextricably involved; inseparable at the moment when they do not yet exist, and existing for each other, in relation to each other…" (XII).

It is significant to note that while Lajo is bereft of family, Bishan Singh's family gradually forsakes him in the asylum, reducing their visits, so much so that he is eventually unable to recognise his own daughter: "In the strange world he inhabited, hers was just another face" (Manto 15). For Bishan Singh, the confinement signals his slow and steady erasure as a family-man, and perhaps, an active member of the village-community, given that his old friend, Fazal Din, continues to visit him. Bishan Singh's spatial confinement, thus, exposes the irrationality of confining a supposedly insane individual on the assumption that he/ she shall recuperate if isolated from the family and community, a questionable colonial practice that both nations, India and Pakistan, have continued to follow unquestioningly. As Foucault argues, "[W]e have yet to write the history of that other form of madness, by which men, in an act of sovereign reason, confine their neighbours, and communicate and recognize each other through the merciless language of non-madness" (XI). Moreover, the anxiety pertaining to confinement of the irrational, supposedly dangerous 'other', as seen in Bishan Singh's continued confinement, in spite of him being a "harmless fellow [who was] never known to get into fights" (Manto 15), may symbolically refer to a nation-state's anxiety in crafting the category of the national citizen, which necessarily involves the constitution of the 'other' or the 'outsider', who needs to be constantly disavowed in order for the ideal citizen to be validated. Anupama

Roy explains, "As a constant referent, the outsider is indispensable for the identification of the citizen" (n.p.). Thus, even though Bishan Singh, in comparison to Lajo, comes from a wealthy background, being a "fairly prosperous landlord from Toba Tek Singh" (Manto 15), in the asylum, he is as much a counterpoint to the ideal Indian citizen, as is Lajo, his otherness accentuated by his odd physical appearance: "he was always found to be standing […] his legs were permanently swollen […] The old man's hair was almost gone and whatever little was left had become a part of his beard, giving him a strange, even frightening, appearance" (14-15). For Smita Das, the 'otherness' of Bishan Singh alludes to his cultural and linguistic hybridity, for, while he only speaks a mysterious gibberish, "upon closer inspection, his gibberish is actually a conglomerate of three different languages-Punjabi, Urdu, and English […] Because of the use of the language of the colonized, Punjabi and Urdu, as well as the language of the colonizer, English, he can be seen as a culturally hybridized subject." (206). This cultural and linguistic hybridity, for Das, would have little space in the homogenised nation-states of India and Pakistan meant to be formed on communal lines after partition, which renders Bishan Singh a "conflicted subject" (210), who "would oppose the narrative progress of modernization through Partition and the simultaneous emergence of two nation-states" (213). Thus, for Das, the story has to end with "Bishan Singh collaps[ing] to the ground" (213).

Incidentally, Bishan Singh has more specific identity markers in comparison to Lajo, for he is known by the name of his village, Toba Tek Singh, the fate of which, after the partition of British India, is of utmost concern to him: "His real name was Bishan Singh, but everybody called him Toba Tek Singh […] Since the start of this India-Pakistan caboodle, he had got into the habit of asking fellow inmates where exactly Toba Tek Singh was…" (Manto 15). By having his identity distinctly connected to a village, Bishan Singh brings to surface the forged quality of a nation, an imagined community in which a "variety of people [are gathered] into one collective body, but it is highly unlikely that one person will ever meet all of his or her fellow nationals" (McLeod 59). Bishan Singh

becomes a means to not only interrogate the foundation of a nation-state, but also whether it is worth having a geo-political entity that is created on the basis of violent erasure of vast amounts of heterogenous histories in favour of a forced singular, homogenous, and collective identity. For instance, the fact that the village of Toba Tek Singh was historically named after a real person performing a routine practice, "Tek Singh who used to help travellers and passersby who frequented the area […] [serving] them water from a pond in a *garha* pot – called *toba* in Urdu" (Mittal *Wire.com*), is reflective of the immediacy of a smaller geographical entity in comparison to a nation-state, which may often be seen as an inconvenient "lid on an immense and equally unacknowledged subaltern heterogeneity" (Spivak 79).

Thus, both Lajo and Bishan Singh may be contrapuntal to the ideal Indian citizen, but by the virtue of their respective physical confinement to or movement in different spatial arrangements, they continue to render the Indian nation state as well as the category of the Indian citizen conflicted and fissured, thereby dismantling the "attempted nationalist resolution of the question of collective selfhood and belonging" (Mufti 3).

PROBING THE SPATIAL ARRANGEMENTS OF HOME AND THE INSANE ASYLUM

This section analyses the significance of the prominent spatial arrangements in the short stories – the middle-class home in "The Homemaker", and the insane asylum in "Toba Tek Singh" – in order to underline the material nuances of resistance against the dominant conception of the nation, and conventional ways of belonging to a nation-space.

Mirza's home in "The Homemaker" underlines the patriarchal-nationalist distinction between the public and the private sphere for women in India. This spatial segregation, as discussed earlier, is created in order to supposedly maintain the moral superiority of women belonging to the upper or middle-class. In the garb of morality, however, there is an intention to control the movement, and sexual involvement of upper/ middle-class

women, and thereby retain the exclusivity of the upper/ middle-class. Another strand to this distinction between the private and public sphere lies in the ideology of protectionism or the patriarchal-nationalist assertion that the outside is necessarily a dangerous space for women of the privileged stratum. For instance, in "The Homemaker" after Mirza feels sufficiently attracted to Lajo, he does not like her being outdoors: "When she brought Mirza's lunch, she would get the entire bazaar crashing down on her […] Mirza's blood would begin to boil" (Chughtai 85). Lajo, being the liminal figure between the conventional dichotomy of the middle-class wife/mother and the prostitute, however, renders the ideology of protectionism conflicted; having had enough experience of surviving on the street, she does not need to be protected, and, in fact, renders Mirza helpless in the event of any altercation she has on the street: "Lowering his head in shame, Mirza passed by silently" (86).

Moreover, even inside the house, there are suggestions of violence against Lajo, when Ramu's grandma suggests that she be given a "good thrashing" (87) if she "[throws] tantrums" (87), which exposes the private sphere to be an equally unsafe space for the woman, and unpacks the power relations inherent within a middle-class marriage that places the husband's will above that of the wife. For instance, once married to Lajo, Mirza becomes complacent: "A man can do anything to please his mistress, but the wife is altogether a different kettle of fish […] [Lajo] knew that mian visited courtesans… […] Having installed her in the house, Mirza seemed to have forgotten about her existence" (89-90). This behaviour of Mirza's compels Lajo to look for other sources of companionship, which she finds in Mithwa, the mason's son, who continues to woo her. While Mirza's transgression in terms of complacency in marriage, and infidelity is considered sanctioned by the patriarchal ideology for men, Lajo's transgression is seen as a punishable offence deserving a beating "so [severe] that she would have died had she not been made of sterner stuff" (91). Lajo, thus, becomes a means to establish the helplessness of middle-class women even within the private sphere that neither guarantees them protection from violence nor equips them to deal with it.

Furthermore, Lajo's punishment for transgression reveals a contradiction or hypocrisy in the sexual dynamics of a typical middle-class marriage, where the wife is expected to be both coy and sexually active depending on the husband's mood or requirement. As Shoba Venkatesh Ghosh outlines, "[t]he contradiction latent in familial sexual ideology is that while it seeks to fashion the wife into the husband's sexual slave, it cannot always prevent the awakening of independent sexual desire and appetite in the woman" (13). However, the wife's sexual awakening or desire carries no importance of its own, and is meant to be repressed unless the husband wishes to indulge in sexual pleasure. Additionally, while the husband has social sanction to indulge in sexual pleasure outside, the wife has no such avenues available to her. The home, in "The Homemaker", thus, unveils the gendered and classist biases of the patriarchal-nationalist dichotomy between the private-sphere and the public-sphere, rendering the upper-middle class women perpetually secondary to, and in control of their male relatives. Madhu Kishwar elaborates on the auxiliary nature of the participation of the upper-middle-class women even in the nationalist movement due to this conventional spatial binary:

> Most of the urban women activists and leaders came to be involved through the involvement of their male relatives. When a household was mobilised, the extent of women's involvement was likely to be decided by that of the men. And the fervour of even leading nationalist leaders did not go so far as to encourage wives, mothers, daughters to abandon hearth and home, and go off to work in villages (53).

As for the women belonging to the lower stratum, the binary between the public and private sphere marginalises them further on account of their supposedly threatening, and immoral presence as 'women of the street'. For instance, in "The Homemaker", even though Lajo is not a courtesan or sex-worker by profession, she is often casually spoken of as a "whore" (Chughtai 86) before marriage. Additionally, despite exercising sufficient sexual freedom, Lajo was often physically and sexually exploited by her previous masters, which renders her a conflicted subject with respect to feminist agency:

"All her masters would fall for her, and when they had had their fill, they would throw her out after a good thrashing" (87). Chughtai, thus, skilfully uses the spatial arrangement of Mirza's home to unravel the patriarchal and classist prejudices inherent in the nationalist discourse for women.

One attempts to view the insane asylum in Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" in the light of Foucault's concept of Heterotopia or "real places […] which are something like counter-sites, […] in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (24). One may argue that the asylum in the story functions as a heterotopia in relation to the space of the decolonised nation. For instance, at various points in the story, the interactions of the inmates in the asylum directly, implicitly, and/ or satirically hint toward the communal conflict in the post-partition nation-states of India and Pakistan. For example, there is a mention of "cut-throat razors" (Manto 11) being manufactured in India and Pakistan hinting at the communal violence in the wake of partition; there are instances of inmates donning the personas of Mohamed Ali Jinnah and Master Tara Singh and satirically replicating the political conflict pertaining to the partition; and there is another instance of an inmate "declar[ing] himself God" (15), who alludes to the bureaucratic aspect of the partition by not being able to take a decision regarding the village, Toba Tek Singh. However, the asylum is also a space that resists or inverts the two decolonised nations formed on communal lines, and their respective nationalist discourses. Smita Das posits the insane asylum in "Toba Tek Singh" as a space of resistance,

> …where the marginalized subaltern can voice the logical and rational concerns of Partition in contrast to the illogical rhetoric of nationalism resulting in craziness constructed outside the walls of the asylum. The asylum as a place of resistance or refuge from the illogical atrocities committed by Partition becomes an inversion of the nation as an actual place of craziness (205).

The insane asylum aligns with a number of other principles of heterotopia outlined by Foucault, such as "juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (Foucault 25). For instance, the asylum, almost in a manner of a temporal parallel, contains three seemingly incompatible life-worlds that are otherwise separated by time or space, and that display different modes of belonging to a space – the European ward of the Anglo-Indian lunatics signifying the gradually diminishing space-time of the coloniser; the neutral space or no-man's land between the two conflicting nation-states, such as the tree, on which one inmate, who wishes to be in neither India nor Pakistan, climbs, foreshadowing Bishan Singh's choice of wanting to perpetually be in the no-man's land at the end of the story; and the dominant space of the asylum, somewhat microcosmic of the nation, displaying serious and non-serious instances of both communal harmony and disharmony from time to time. The asylum, thus, reveals the nation to be an anxious entity perpetually grappling with varied modes of belonging that may not always align with one another.

The insane asylum further displays the Heterotopian principle of crisis or deviation, which implies specific places "reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis" (24) or "those in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed" (25). The asylum adheres to both these criteria, for not only are the inmates conventionally deemed deviant with respect to their lunacy or them being "murderers" (Manto 12) trying to escape the "hangman's noose" (12), but are also in a state of crisis given their mental health, the context of partition, and their impending transfer from one asylum and country to another. As Jokinen and Assadullah note,

> "Toba Tek Singh" and the character of Bishan Singh is a symbolic commentary on the psychological trauma of the human displacement brought about by partition; perhaps also the author's own displacement and uncertainty about

identity. The specific subcontinental context was important in terms of attitudes towards, and treatment of, the mentally ill around the time of partition (5).

Thus, the asylum in "Toba Tek Singh" works as a Heterotopia "[having] a function in relation to all the space [of the nation] that remains" (Foucault 27). As a Heterotopia, the asylum unpacks the postcolonial conflicts pertaining to the formation of the nation as well as the concept of nationalist belonging.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this paper interrogates the conception of the Indian nation-state, and dominant nationalist discourses with the help of Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Chughtai's "The Homemaker". A comparison of the protagonists of the two stories against the category of the ideal Indian citizen, and the respective coordinates of their marginalisation and/ or resistance has enabled in comprehending the fissures within varied Indian nationalist discourses pertaining to gender, class, and community. The paper has further unpacked the spatial and corporeal nuances of Lajo and Bishan Singh's conflict against dominant nationalist discourses. Additionally, a spatial analysis of the predominant spatial arrangements in both the stories has been crucial in problematising the concept of belonging with respect to a nation, and the conventional conception of a nation.

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COVID 19 – AN OVERVIEW

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Abstract: Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID 19) originated in Wuhan, China, at the end of 2019 and spread all over the world leading to a pandemic. Soon all countries started vaccine preparation. From the survey across many countries, initial unwillingness towards COVID 19 vaccine was observed and thus a hurdle in achieving community immunity. Initial clinical trials and laboratory research demonstrated adverse effects of the vaccine. Mild adverse effects like pain, redness and swelling at the site of vaccine shot, fever, fatigue, headache, muscle pain, nausea, vomiting, itching, chills, and joint pain are some of the vaccine induced complications observed post vaccination among people of varying age groups Severe consequences like thrombocytopenia, anaphylaxis, small fiber neuropathy and myocarditis have been reported in rare cases. This article compares the biological preparation, adverse effects, efficacy and effectiveness of various COVID 19 vaccines tried worldwide and the impact of new variants of COVID-19 on the vaccines.

Key words: COVID 19 vaccine, Immunity, Types, adverse effects, efficacy, effectiveness and prevention.

Introduction

Corona virus is a member of the virus family called *Coronaviridae,* which consists of large, enveloped, positive stranded RNA (+ss RNA) viruses. The genome size ranges from 25-

32 Kb and the size is 118-136 nm diameter. It has a crown-like appearance under an electron microscope (Figure 1)
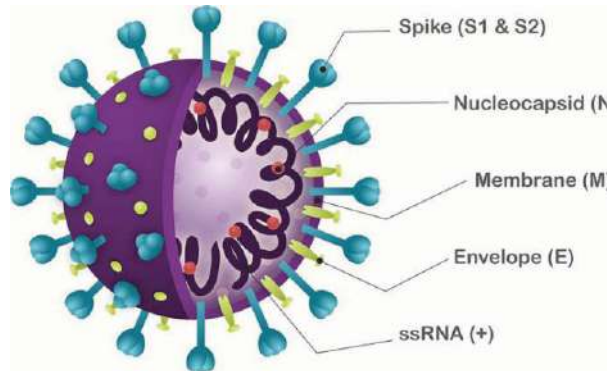
(Source: Santos et al, 2020, Frontiers Microbiology)

Figure 1: Structure of SARS-CoV-2

The crown-like appearance is contributed by the infectious glycoprotein spikes (1). *Coronaviridae* has two subfamilies, *Coronavirinae* and *Torovirinae.* Torovirus infections have rarely been reported from humans (2). However, coronavirus infections are widespread among mammals including the humans. This virus infects the respiratory and the gastroenteric tract. The four genera of the *Coronavirinae* sub family include:

- Alphacoronavirus,
- Betacoronavirus,
- Deltacoronavirus
- Gammacoronavirus.

Bats act as a potential reservoir of coronaviruses of the genus betacoronaviruses. Several coronaviruses (CoV) have been isolated from different species of bats (BtCoV), suggesting an evolution of this virus in this host.

Coronavirus infections were detected in 1930s as infectious bronchitis virus (IBV) in chickens, and then a vast host range was identified such as chickens, rats, bovine, swine,

porcine, turkey, canine, feline and rabbits. However, in mid-1960s this virus was found to have crossed the species barrier and caused mild to severe infections in humans. So far, seven human CoVs (HCoVs) have been identified (3).

Common HCoVs causes flu like symptoms and upper respiratory tract infections. However, in aged people and those with low immunity, pneumonia, or acute bronchitis have also been reported. The other group of HCoVs includes SARS-CoV and MERS-CoV, which are more virulent and cause epidemics. They infect the respiratory system and other organs, causing diseases of varying complexities.

SARS-CoV-2 is from the betaCoV genus, which includes SARS-CoV and MERS-CoV. Until 2002, CoV was considered a mild pathogen causing minor upper respiratory tract and enteric infections in humans, however, three types have caused more infections: (i) SARS corona virus (SARS-CoV), reported in late 2002, causes severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS); (ii) MERS coronavirus (MERS-CoV), reported in 2012, causes Middle East respiratory syndrome (MERS); and (iii) SARS-CoV-2, emerged in 2019, causes the corona virus disease 2019 (COVID-19).

COVID-19 turned out to be the most infectious viral illness caused by SARS-CoV-2. The first case was detected in Wuhan, Central China in December 2019. It rapidly spread throughout the world and the World Health Organization declared it as a global pandemic on March 11, 2020. This pandemic has sent ripples through the global economy and overwhelmed the health care system of many countries.

As the virus adapts to the human host easily, it can evolve genetically resulting in many mutant variants. This has affected the management and control of the virus spread. Only a few variants are of concern out of all the variants identified since the beginning of the pandemic. The transmission of the virus primarily is through the infected droplets carrying virus from pre-symptomatic, asymptomatic or symptomatic individuals. Some reports suggest airborne transmission of the virus through aerosols. Fomite transmission

from contaminated surface is also well-characterized. The virus remains active up to 28 days at 20 °C on surfaces like glass and stainless steel (4).

Emerging viral outbreaks such as Ebola, Zika, Chikungunya, SARS, MERS and the most recent COVID-19 pandemic have raised concerns about the pandemic potential of the RNA viruses. Globalization, trade and habitat fragmentation have been linked to increased exposure of the human population to the wild environment. In the process of interspecies transmission, RNA viruses have become potential zoonotic agents (5). RNA viruses have can infect new host easily because of their faster replication cycles and mutation rates (6). Moreover, their mutation rates have been found to be higher than some DNA viruses (7). Some viral traits help in determining the capacity of any virus to infect and spread in the human population. These traits include reservoir-host relatedness, virus-host range, mutability, transmission route, virulence, host restriction factors and host-virus coevolution (8).

Outbreak stories

Corona virus outbreaks are often seasonal. 15-30% of cold in humans during winters are attributed to corona virus. Outbreaks of human corona virus alternate every 2-3 years intervals (9). However, in December 2019, reports of multiple cases of pneumonia of an unknown cause started pouring in from the Chinese city of Wuhan. On January 7, 2020, WHO confirmed this to be a novel corona virus. Later, it exploded into a global pandemic, with the outbreaks reported from Japan, South Korea and Thailand within a week. On January 21st, 2020, US confirmed its first case of the viral infection. As the infection spread, human-to-human transmissions were identified and reports of deaths due to corona virus were confirmed.

World Health Organization (WHO) named this corona virus as COVID-19 following more outbreaks in other countries. Following this, the outbreak in Europe and Africa occurred. Amid lockdowns of the cities, the number of deaths due to corona virus kept

on increasing. The deadliest outbreaks were seen in Iran and Italy, sending the whole country into lockdown with other countries also declaring an emergency and lockdown. The healthcare systems of several countries became overwhelmed as soon as this was declared as a pandemic.

By June 2020, US surpassed 2 million confirmed cases of the virus. At the same time, China and New Zealand reported no new active cases. However, the virus kept on spreading in the developing countries. According to the most recent report by WHO, there were 6.5 million deaths and 590 million recoveries. After the US, India, France, Brazil and Germany reported very high mortality. According to WHO, the development and fast release of the vaccine has dropped the spread of the virus by 12% in the week of September 29 to August 4, 2022, though it continues to fester in several countries. However, due to reduced surveillance, testing and sequencing it has become difficult to assess the impact of variant transmission, disease symptoms and treatment.

According to the recent report, five SARS-CoV-2 variants have been identified from the outset of COVID-19 (3):

- **Alpha (B.1.1.7):** in the United Kingdom (UK) in December 2020.
- **Beta (B.1.351)**: in South Africa in December 2020.
- **Delta (B.1.617.2):** in India in December 2020.
- **Gamma (P.1)**: in Brazil in early January 2021.
- **Omicron (B.1.1.529):** in South Africa in November 2021.

Despite the respiratory system being the primary target of SARS-CoV-2, it affects other vital organs of the body such as the cardiovascular system, central nervous system, renal and hepatobiliary system. The pathogenesis of the virus is unknown in these organs. The typical symptoms of COVID-19 include fever, cough, sore throat, loss of smell/taste and myalgias. Diagnosis requires RT-PCR and serological testing. The imaging methods, such as Chest X-ray and CT scan, also help in right diagnosis.

The urgent need for the cure of COVID-19 led the FDA to approve the emergency use of remdesivir. Thereafter, Oxford scientists announced that the low dose of dexamethasone is also useful in reducing mortality due to COVID-19. Combination therapy of the antivirals is also used depending on the severity of the infection. The pandemic situation and the rising death toll pushed many countries to join the race of vaccine development against this virus. A vaccine is a preparation that is administered to generate acquired immunity against any pathogen. It could be inactivated or attenuated virus/bacteria or purified macromolecules, its toxin, synthetic peptides and nucleic acids or vector vaccines.

Some of the COVID-19 vaccines strategies were used and taken for clinical trial include:

1. **Whole virus vaccine:** This is a conventional method of vaccine design. Either live attenuated or inactivated virus is used to generate the immune response. Live attenuated has a risk of reverting back to active forms if not stored carefully. Both generate good immune response by activating B and T cells. Existing vaccines of this type are yellow fever and measles vaccine, hepatitis A vaccine, and BCG vaccines.

2. **Protein subunit vaccine:** Design involves the use of purified antigenic protein to trigger the immune response. This type of vaccine generates a weaker immune response and hence requires adjuvants to enhance the response. Hepatitis B vaccine is a common protein subunit vaccine being used.

3. **Nucleic acid vaccine:** This vaccine used the genetic material—DNA or mRNA— to make the protein inside the host (spike protein of SARS-CoV-2). It is expected to produce a strong immune response as the antigen is synthesized in our cells. This strategy is used to develop vaccines against HIV, Zika and COVID-19. Earlier, DNA vaccines were approved for animal use but not licensed for human use.

4. **Viral vector vaccine:** In this type, a viral carrier is used to carry the genetic material of the antigen into the body. A harmless virus is used, like adenovirus, which causes common colds. This produces similar but lower intensity symptoms as the original viral infection and initiates a strong immune response by activating B and T cells. An existing vector vaccine is against Ebola virus.

5. **Virus-like particle or nanoparticle vaccine:** These are non-infectious particles which express viral structural proteins. They are similar to the original virion but without genetic material.
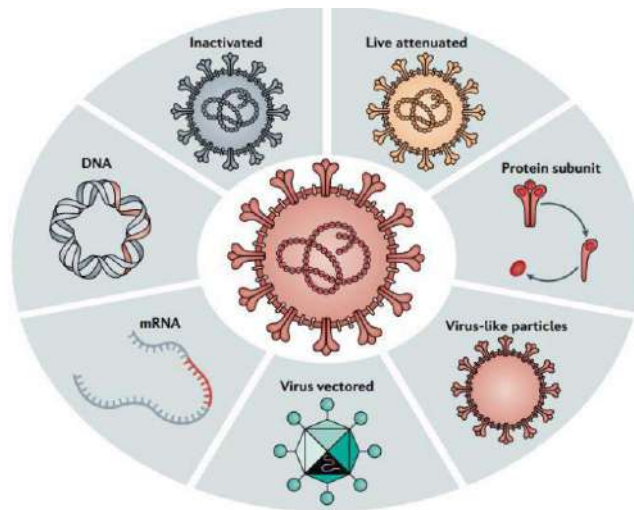
(Source: L. Dai, G. F. Gao, Nature Reviews Immunology, 2020)
Figure 21: Strategies explored for COVID-19 vaccine design (Ref # 9)

Breakthrough research by Drew Weissman and Kataline Kariko developed the mRNA technology in vaccine design. Vaccine developed by the Vaccine Research Center at the National Institutes of Health's National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases along with a biotech company, Moderna, entered Phase 3 trials with 30,000 adult volunteers to assess the safety of the vaccine. This vaccine is a mRNA vaccine. After entry into the body, the mRNA synthesizes the spike protein of the virus which expresses on the surface and helps generate antibodies against it. The advantage of

mRNA vaccines over other vaccines is that it does not use the live attenuated virus rather uses the mRNA of the spike protein of the virus. Hence, the chance of getting the infection with the virus is greatly reduced. A two-dose regimen conferred 95% protection against the virus. The vaccine meets the rigorous safety and effectiveness standards according to FDA and granted EUA to this vaccine. Pfizer also produced mRNA vaccine with 94.1% efficacy and approved for emergency use by FDA (11, 12).

A recombinant SARS-CoV-2 vaccine, Novavax, was taken for phase 2 trial in South Africa. This vaccine demonstrated an efficacy of 92.6% in a random trial of 29,000 people in United Stated and Mexico (13). Two other vaccines, Ad26.COV2.S and ChAdOx1 nCoV-19, were produced with a lower efficacy of 73.1% and 70.4%. Ad26.COV2.S has received EUA by the FDA, however, ChAdOx1 nCoV-19 received emergency use authorization in many countries except U.S (14, 15).

An indigenous vaccine developed in Russia, Sputnik V with an efficacy of 97.6% is based on adenovirus vector, which uses heterogenous boosting approach based on two different vectors for each dose. This vaccine is reported to have fewer side effects and effective against new strains of corona virus such as Alpha B.1.1.7, Beta B.1.351, Gamma P.1, Delta B.1.617.2 and B.1.617.3 and B.1.1.141 and B.1.1.317. (16). Other protein based and inactivated vaccines were developed in India (Covaxin) and China (Corona Vac).
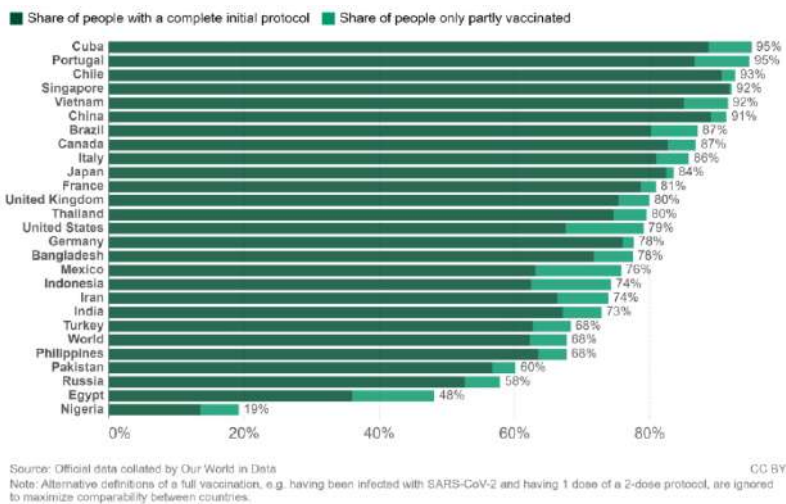
Further approval of the Pfizer and Moderna vaccine for the younger age group and immediate roll out to other nations helped in increasing the immunity against this virus. Soon, the boosters were also made available to lower age groups in one year. The latest modified booster of this vaccine is a bivalent vaccine that combines the original vaccine with one that targets the BA strains of Omicron.

However, some vaccines demonstrated unknown illnesses characterized by thrombosis with thrombocytopenia at some atypical sites after vaccination with Ad26.COV2.S and ChAdOx1 nCoV-19 (17) and Guillain-Barr syndrome in some cases have been reported.

Myocarditis and pericarditis, facial paralysis/Bell's palsy are reported after vaccination with mRNA vaccine. Serious adverse effects are rare but do occur. A few deaths following vaccination have also been reported by the Public Health Agency of Canada. A booster dose is recommended to make up for the waning immunity after two doses of the vaccine.

Global leaders committed $3.1 billion to fund the pandemic response including the immediate response as well as the new pandemic preparedness and health security. The Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations in agreement with Bharat Biotech International Ltd, University of Sydney and ExcellGene SA announced a $19.3 million project to develop vaccine against SARS-CoV-2 variants.

Since 2020 until 2022, 12.6 billion COVID-19 vaccines have been administered globally, at a rate of 8.48 million doses daily. The developed countries have 21.2% of the vaccines, whereas the underdeveloped countries have 9.4% of the vaccine. 68.7% of the population worldwide has received at least one dose of the vaccine. Below chart displays the worldwide vaccination status of many countries until September 2022 (18). The percentage of vaccination depends on the country size, population, and the degree of spread of COVID-19.

Source: Official data collated by Our World in Data
Note: Alternative definitions of a full vaccination, e.g. having been infected with SARS-CoV-2 and having 1 dose of a 2-dose protocol, are ignored to maximize comparability between countries.

Global COVID-19 vaccine comparison

With the development of vaccine for SARS-CoV by different countries, they were studied for their efficacy and effectiveness in the real world. Below table compares the efficacy of some major vaccines.

Table 1: Comparison of COVID-19 vaccine

S.No.	Vaccine source	Vaccine type	Efficacy	Effectiveness
1.	Astra Zeneca	Viral vector vaccine	90%	90%
2.	Moderna	mRNA vaccine	100%	85%-90%
3.	Pfizer-BioNTech	mRNA vaccine	94.1%	85%-90%
4.	Novavax	Protein aduvant	92.6%	n/a[*]
5.	Janssen / Johnson & Johnson	Viral vector vaccine	77%	66%
6.	Bharat Biotech (Covaxin)	Whole virion inactivated vaccine	77.8%	69%

o   n/a not available

Efficacy of any vaccine after clinical trials is different from the real-world effectiveness. The effectiveness of Moderna, AstraZeneca and Pfizer-BioNTech was studied in Israel, US, Sweden, and UK. These vaccines are found to be more than 80% effective in

preventing the spread, severity, and hospitalizations. They also protected against the new variants.

The effectiveness of the vaccine in the real-world keeps changing and is being closely monitored as it is affected by the section of population under study (which excludes the elderly and immune compromised individuals) and the new variants which arise in different regions.

COVID-19 has claimed millions of lives, the loss is incalculable and sadly many could be avoided if the world was prepared for such a pandemic. This pandemic is not yet over and is still infecting people at a higher rate. Although many countries and states have suspended the testing, reporting and precautions related to COVID-19, this does not imply the end of the pandemic! The World Health Organization has already warned about the higher transmission rate of the Omicron BA.5 variant. There are 228 countries and territories that still report new cases, and 68 countries with more than 1 million active cases. Japan reports the highest number of new cases followed by South Korea, U.S and Russia. Currently, the highest death rate is reported from Japan, U.S, Brazil, Russia and Germany, according to the Center for Disaster Philanthropy.

As of now, as the science learns about the virus, the virus learns to mutate to become more virulent and bypass the efficacy of the treatment and the vaccines. The pandemic has clearly taught us a few lessons. Health and healthcare systems remain a foremost priority for any individual and a country, and any material possessions and developments are secondary. An accelerated transition to the digital world was seen and we became more dependent on digital technologies. The impact of the virus was different in all countries, with the most developed countries experiencing the biggest impact. The factors behind different results globally depend on the population density, early interventions and the timing of social distancing measures. In a nutshell, there is a correlation between the level of development and the effective public policy under crisis.

The crisis has also highlighted the role of WHO and UN agencies for the poor developing and underdeveloped countries with a fragile healthcare system. These organizations can play a vital role and save many more lives. The race for scientific discoveries and development of technologies throughout the world came to a halt suddenly due to the pandemic. This could be an indication from the highest authority up there to rethink about the damage we have done to the planet in course of technological development and put humanity first. As the pandemic has brought the communities closer globally, we have learnt that we are all in this together.

Henceforth, we cannot continue to play with nature, because when it responds in full, none of our discoveries and technologies can help. After all, we are God's beautiful creations, and it is our duty to help and save humanity beyond borders.

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ENERGY DISCOURSE AND THE NUCLEAR PROJECTS: COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NUCLEAR ENERGY & OTHER ENERGY SOURCES

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Abstract: Energy can be divided into three categories – 1. Conventional 2. Non-conventional 3. Nuclear. While conventional energy sources with the exception of hydropower create a big carbon footprint, non-conventional energy sources though have a low carbon footprint, have flattered to deceive and still fulfill a very small portion of our energy needs(even with subsidies thrown around). Nuclear energy is both reliable and has a low carbon footprint, however, there are other challenges associated with it. The main opposition comes due to catastrophic results of any accidents that may happen and the disposal of nuclear waste. World over scientists had tried to generate energy by nuclear fusion but success still looks like science fiction. In theory, the energy created by nuclear fusion should be cheap, pollution-free, waste-free, and reliable. The aim of this article is to compare the advantages & disadvantages of nuclear energy with other sources of energy. We will compare this on the basis of cost, reliability of supply, adjustment of supply with demand, size of carbon footprint and effect on the environment, scalability, future prospects, and hazards associated with it.

Introduction:

Energy plays a major role in our everyday life. In other words, it drives our life cycle. It is the key model for improving human development, economic growth, and industrialization. Basically, it is a precious gift of nature to humans for its betterment. Energy fulfills society's basic needs such as communication, mobility, power supply, health care (Edenhofer et al 2011)

With increasing population demands an increase in the consumption of energy. India is one of the fastest economically growing countries in the world. So, energy utilization is expected to increase in near future. This wide gap between energy production and

energy consumption calls for the need to increase energy production (Ali Reja Osmani, 2014). Currently, the high demand for energy is satisfied mainly by coal, foreign oil, and petroleum products which apart from being a non–renewable, and therefore not a permanent solution to the energy crisis; is also detrimental to the environment. It is well known that electric-power generation usage is the key factor for advances in the industry, agriculture, and the socioeconomic level of living (I.L, 2016, Pioro, et al, 2015, Pioro, I et al (2017).

Conventional energy (non-renewable energy sources) includes petroleum products and coal which is reliable but highly polluting. The world is trying to get rid of it. Conventional energy sources are fossil fuel, hydroelectric, and thermoelectric energy. Hydroelectric energy is a conventional, cheap, and non-polluting energy source; however, it depends on the availability of water in the source and is severely affected by droughts. Also building dams results in the displacement of citizens, which is a tricky and deeply political issue.

Non-conventional energy sources (renewable energy sources) include solar, wind, geothermal, ocean wave energy, etc. The main disadvantage of these sources is that supply is not reliable and scalable at this point in time. Though in some cases production of these energies may not require subsidies, still by and large non-conventional energy sources run-on subsidies. Though they are non-polluting the main source of energy has to be run without subsidy to succeed.

Hydrogen fuel technology is another source, which has promised pollution-free unlimited source of energy with pure water as a by-product. As hydrogen & oxygen are abundant in our atmosphere, however, a chemical reaction is highly combustible, and we have not been able to master it safely. Lots of research is going on for safe Hydrogen fuel. A cost-effective breakthrough will completely change the energy scenario.

On the other hand, nuclear energy is sustainable, and low cost with minimal impact on the environment such as a reduction in carbon emissions. This article focuses on the comparison of conventional (nonrenewable energy sources), nonconventional (renewable energy sources), and nuclear energy sources, their impact on the environment, sustainability, and fulfillment of energy demand.

Conventional energy sources (nonrenewable energy sources):

Conventional energy is energy which cannot be renewed on a human time – scale. Due to the large population, the consumption of conventional energy is increasing day by day. It is an exhaustible energy resource and is depleting at an alarming rate (Pratibha Singh1, 2011).

Fossil energy sources include oil, coal, and natural gases. These energy resources formed when ancient plants and animals died and were buried in a layer of rock. After millions of years, different fossil fuels were formed based on the combination of organic matter present, time duration of burial, temperature as well as pressure conditions.

Coal is one of the most widely used domestic conventional energy resources for the generation of electricity from the past few decades till today but it is not environment friendly as it carries high ash contents. Conventional thermal plant like coal, oil, natural gases, is inefficient and produces greenhouse gas (CO_2) emission to the environment which is the main cause of global warming. Renewable energy sources hold the key potential to displace greenhouse gas emissions from fossil fuel-based power generating and thereby mitigating climate change (Edenhofer et al., 2011)

Non-conventional energy sources (renewable energy sources):

Non-conventional energy sources are energy sources that are continuous recharged by natural processes. Thus, most of the power is delivered by nonconventional energy sources like large hydropower, small hydropower, solar power, wind power, biomass,

etc. which try to fulfill the supply demands of electricity. Securing energy supply and curbing energy contribution to climate change are the two over-riding challenges of the energy sector on the road to a sustainable future (Abbasi & Abbasi, 2010 & Kaygusuz, 2012)

On 12 August 2021, India's grid-connected electricity generation capacity reached 100 GW from non-conventional renewable technologies (Central Electricity Authority, 2020 & Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, Govt. of India, 2021), and 46.21 GW from conventional renewable power or major hydroelectric power plants.

Installed capacity of non-conventional renewable power (Central Electricity Authority, 2020)	
Type	**Capacity (in MW)**
Wind	39,247.05
Solar	40,085.47
Small Hydro Power Projects	4,786.81
Biomass Power & Gasification and Bagasse Cogeneration	10,145.93
Waste to Power	168.64
Total non-conventional renewable Power – Grid Connected	**94,433.79**

In general electricity mainly generated by grid connection from non-conventional renewable energy sources like wind, solar, small hydro powers having a capacity in megawatt (MW).

Wind energy:

Wind energy is the kinetic energy of air in motion. In other words, wind is the movement of air across the surface of the earth driven by areas of high and low pressure (Renewable UK: Education and careers. Renewable UK, 2012). Wind power or wind energy is mostly the use of wind turbines to generate electricity. It is sustainable, renewable, popular and having less impact on the environment than fossil fuel energy. In 2021, wind supplied over 1800 TWh of electricity, which was over 6% of world electricity (Ember. 29 March 2022) and about 2% of world energy (BP p.l.c., 2020 & Our World in Data, 2021).

Solar energy

Solar technologies, converts solar energy (sunlight) into electrical energy (electricity). This energy can be stored in batteries or thermal storage. In 2020 solar energy has been the cheapest source of Electricity (World Economic Forum, 2020 &Lazard.com, 2021).

The earth receives 174 petawatts (PW) of solar radiation in the upper atmosphere. Out of which 30% are reflected back to space while 122 PW is absorbed by clouds, oceans, and land. The spectrum of solar light at the Earth's surface is mostly spread across the visible and near-infrared ranges with a small part in the near-ultraviolet (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007).

Thus, renewable energy is a clean, pollution free, environmentally friendly energy and plays a crucial role in the current energy structure. However, due to their intermittent and fluctuating characteristics, their utilization and efficiency are greatly limited. In order to improve the utilization efficiency of solar energy, wind energy, and other new energy sources, wind and solar power generation system, wind storage systems, light

storage power generation systems, and wind solar storage generation systems gradually attract people's attention (Xing Wuet al, 2013).

Nuclear energy:

Nuclear energy uses of nuclear reaction to produce electricity. Nuclear energy provides efficient, reliable and reduce carbon emission electricity. The basic definition of nuclear energy is the energy released by a chain reaction, especially by nuclear fission or by nuclear fusion. In present, most of the nuclear power is produced by nuclear fission reaction. Considering the environmental factor, nuclear energy is the only reliable source of generation of sustainable electricity.

All developing countries has a common interest of acquiring sustainable, environmentally friendly power supply which fulfills the desired demands of power. Installed capacity by source in India as on 26 September 2022 (Government of India, Ministry of Power, 2022) in which coal takes a maximum percentage of share which is 50.0 % while nuclear power contributes a share of 1.7 % only. Thus, non-conventional renewable power plants operate and generates an electricity. These power plant includes wind, solar etc. which carries a variation or fluctuation in electricity as it depends on the natural sources. On the other hand, nuclear power plant can operate with the maximum installed capacity. However, some renewable-energy sources with exception of large hydro-electric power plants can have significantly lower capacity factors compared to those of thermal- and nuclear-power plants (Ali Reja Osmani, 2014).

Nuclear Fission:

Nuclear energy originates from the splitting of Uranium atom and the process is called as nuclear fission. This process generates a huge amount of heat energy. The generation of heat produces steam, which is used by turbines to produce electricity. This entire process takes place in nuclear reactor. The nuclear power plant does not burn any fuel so they do not produce any harmful gasses or greenhouse gas emission. Thus, nuclear

fission is the process of splitting of nucleus in to two parts with a release of huge amount of energy. Uranium is the parent element in the reaction. Inside every uranium fuel pellet, there are millions of uranium nuclei. When these nuclei split, a tremendous amount of energy is released. This product energy is from radiation, but the biggest source of this energy is kinetic energy. This kinetic energy is the energy that produces heat inside a reactor, which in turn used to generate steam, and finally generates electricity. Nuclear fission energy has been cheap, reliable & scalable; however, it is hated by many due to two issues, generation of radioactive waste and chances of calamity in case of any accident.

Nuclear Fusion:

The nuclear fusion is a process that combines lighter elements together to create heavier element by release of huge amount of energy. Best example of nuclear fusion is the energy that Sun and all-stars which keep shining in the sky. The Sun is a glowing ball having million metric ton of hydrogen in its core. Due to Sun's tremendous pressure and temperature hydrogen nuclei fuses to form helium atom and generates a huge amount of energy. The energy released in nuclear fusion process is several times greater than the energy released during nuclear fission process.

But nuclear fusion energy is a proposed form of energy that generates a clean energy. Thus, nuclear fusion is one technology that is touted as a mother of all energy sources that has flattered to deceive. In theory, it is unlimited & without any radiation waste, however, no breakthrough has been achieved. There is a joke in the scientific community is that nuclear fusion is always a decade away at any point of time.

Nuclear fusion has the potential to provide almost limitless energy for mankind, as its primary fuel sources are abundant (Bradshaw AM et al, 2011), there is no risk of a runaway reaction or meltdown, and no long-lived high-level radioactive waste or harmful greenhouse emissions are produced (Ueda Y et al, 2004). As such, the possibility

of creating a star on earth and harnessing the energy from the fusion reaction is heralded as the solution to all of mankind's energy problems (Armaroli N et al, 2007). Twentieth - century fusion technology identified the most competent fusion reaction in the laboratory setting. This reaction is in between two hydrogen isotopes, deuterium (D) and tritium (T). This DT fusion reaction produces the highest energy produced at the "lowest" temperatures.

ITER (International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor, but now solely referred to as ITER, which is Latin for "the way") is the most aspiring energy project in the world. The crusade of the experiment is crucial to facilitate fusion science and preparing the way for the fusion power plants of tomorrow. Thousands of engineers and scientists all over the world have contributed to the design of ITER Tokamak from 1985. The ITER Members are —China, the European Union, India, Japan, Korea, Russia and the United States— are now engaged in a 35-years of collaboration to build and to operate the ITER experimental device, and will together bring fusion to the point where a demonstration fusion reactor can be designed. First plasma" in ITER (the start of preliminary D-D operation) is currently scheduled to begin in 2025, but the start of full power D-T operation (the reaction between deuterium and tritium), which will allow an attempt at achieving breakeven conditions, has been pushed back almost two decades from the original start date and will now begin in 2035 (Shutaro Takeda et al, 2018).

ITER Tokamak a magnetic fusion device that has been designed to prove the feasibility of fusion as a large-scale and carbon-free source of energy based on the same principle that powers our Sun and stars. Some major science, engineering and technology commercialize frontwards on the path to commercialize fusion energy (D – T reactor) are (Donne AJH et al, 2017):

- Stable operation of fusion plasmas
- Design and development of a heat exhaust system (known as the divertor)
- Development of neutron-resistant fusion materials

- Development of tritium breeding technology

For the success of any fusion device, the operation and control of a high-performance plasma is crucial. The development of reliable plasma regimes with mitigation procedures that prevent instabilities and disruptions in the plasma from causing damage to the walls of the reactor are the subject of much current research around the globe and is a primary focus on the ITER project (Donne AJH et al, 2017). Moreover, to handle the heat released from plasma and to remove helium (alpha particle) from D – T fusion reaction, a divertor (a plasma heat exhaust) is required. An integrated divertor design must be developed to be effective at handling the intense heat (10 MW/m2 is the design basis for ITER(Donne AJH et al, 2017)) and the high neutron loads over the long operational timescales that will be required for a fusion power plant (You JH et al, 2016).Although fusion power plants will release small quantities of tritium to within already defined limits, they will not produce greenhouse gases or other air pollutants (Perrault D, 2015). The fuel used in nuclear power plant are deuterium and tritium. Deuterium is an isotope of hydrogen and it is abundant in seawater and extracted easily using well established separation techniques. On the other hand, tritium does not exist in nature, it is a by – product of heavy water. So, with Tritium breeding ratio (TBR) in fusion reactor one can extract tritium produced by the interaction of neutron with lithium. On lithium and deuterium sources alone, it is estimated nuclear fusion power plants could provide the electricity needs of humanity for tens of millions of years (from 14 million (Nagoya: JSPF; 2011)to 23 million years (USGS. Lithium 2018).Thus, fuel resources for nuclear fusion are virtually unlimited. Current terrestrial deposits of lithium are estimated at 53 million tons (Pearson RJ, 2018)

The ITER project get delays due to some technical challenges and cost overruns as being the best route of fusion energy. Delays to the public fusion program, combined with novel ideas, disruptive technologies, and an injection of private funding have led to the birth of a number of private-sector start-ups, all looking for a faster route to fusion

(Bradshaw AM et al, 2011). Thus, the development of a nuclear fusion plant is subject to uncertainties, unknown obstacles to technological progression, and resource limitations in funding and manpower; all of which may limit the ability to achieve future goals in a timely manner. At the current time, however, it is expected that fusion energy will become a reality in less than 30 years. Every effort to ensure this timescale is realized should be made so that fusion can fulfil its potential and make the much-needed impact in global energy (Shutaro Takeda et al, 2018).

Nuclear Waste management:

Radioactive wastes entail radioactive materials which are usually by-products of nuclear power generation and other applications of nuclear fission or nuclear technology, used in fields such as research and medicine. (Nikunj Khelurkar et al, 2015). The radioactive materials become less radioactive in a specific period. The best way to dispose radioactive waste is to store them till they lose their radioactivity. Different radioactive materials have different half-lives period, which implies the storage times of the material. For example, cobalt-60, a radioactive isotope having a half-life of 5 years has been used widely in medical field for cancer treatment. For example, 2 pounds of radioactive cobalt-60 after five years later would decay to a one pound. Thus, in every five years the quantity decreases to half of its original quantity. So, after 10 half-lives periods, the material becomes non-radioactive. There are few conventional refined techniques like, chemical, thermal and physical treatment methods which are too costly, and causes more contamination to the environment. Internationally acclaimed phytoremediation has an over 300-year-old history of wastewater discharges, but the concept of using plants for the remediation of heavy metals and other pollutants was first reported in 1983. (Boca Raton, 2008). The concentration of a target element governs the degree to the widespread phytoremediation. Phytoremediation might be best suited for positions with the levels of radionuclide pollution which are only slightly advanced than the clean-up board levels because the subsequent sum of time for cleaning becomes

reasonable (<10 years) and as probable plant toxicity effects are avoided (Schnoor J.L. (1996).

Radioactive waste must be diligently identified, classified, stored, transported, and disposed of after appropriate treatment. With the growth in number of nuclear reactors and mass production of nuclear weapons in different parts of the world, the radioactive waste generation has seen a significant increase. It is important to reduce the radioactivity of the high-level waste which can be achieved by nuclear transmutation. Thus, by wisely following the rules and regulations of radioactive waste management, public and the environment will be safeguarded by irradiation from the deleterious radioactive waste. (Nikunj Khelurkar et al, 2015)

Conclusion:

In comparison conventional energy sources, though cheap and efficient and heavily polluting are creating havoc to environment. Climate change is happening very quickly in front of our eyes. Extreme weather has become much frequent than previous century. This is not sustainable. The affect our health is telling. Lung cancer cases are expected to rise sharply. Conventional energy with exception of hydropower will run out some time is future and we need to prepare for it. Already Oil rich countries are preparing to diversify their economy and trying to decrease dependence of Oil revenue as a percentage of total revenue. India is oil deficient and imports most of its needs. It is in our interest much more than oil producing countries to diversify our dependence from petroleum products to our energy sources. Though we have abundant coal, coal is one of the most polluting energy sources. Coal mining is also very polluting and destroys the ecosystem in and around the coal mines. Already government of India is trying not to fire power plants with coal. With climate changes, the dependency on hydroelectric will also become dangerous. Due to extreme weather events, we will be witnessing more and more draughts & floods. This will become taxing for hydropower. We have already

seen this recently in China, where rivers ran dry and hence hydropower failed to electricity. Public opinion is also turning against conventional energy sources and this is tying the hands of politicians.

The non-conventional energy sources have still to fulfil the promise of delivering the desired results yet. They are constrained by capacity. How many solar panels or wind turbines can be installed to replace conventional energy? After a while, they can't be installed without affecting us. There can't be unlimited space. Wave energy interferes with fishing and commuting. They are also dependent on the weather. Like conventional energy, production can't be increased or decreased based on demand. They are also not reliable sources of energy, as production will vary widely in a span of a short time. This will put an enormous on the power grid and failure chances will increase. However, a new concept has come up – 'Gravity Battery'. Though this is not totally new. For hydropower, water at hills is stored and released to generate electricity as per requirement, thus converting potential energy into kinetic energy. Now some start-ups are trying to use this concept by building a lift/shaft with weight, wherein excess energy is used to take weight at a height of lift, and when power is deficient, weight is brought down and this kinetic energy is converted into electrical energy, solving the problem of wild fluctuation in energy production. But this is still in the development phase. We hope that Gravity Battery will be the game changer in near future. However, many technologies have shown great promise initially to deceive later.

Nuclear energy is both reliable and cheap. The production can be done as per the requirement and the cost is comparable to conventional energy. The space taken for production is very less. The radioactive material can be disposed off using well defined SOPs. We have abundant plutonium in our mines, so raw material is not an issue. In India there are seven nuclear power plant in which 23 nuclear power reactors are operating. In India there is an advanced regulatory framework and an independent nuclear regulatory authority, the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board (AERB), which is

responsible for ensuring the safety of nuclear facilities in the country. They conduct regular inspections and safety reviews of the nuclear power plants to ensure compliance with safety standards and regulations.

Nuclear energy is generally considered to be a safe source of energy when it is produced and operated under strict safety regulations and guidelines. However, nuclear energy carries risks. The most significant risk associated with nuclear energy is the potential for a catastrophic accident, which could release harmful radiation into the environment and pose a threat to human health and the environment. This risk is both from reactors and nuclear waste. There have been nuclear accidents in history, including the Chernobyl disaster in 1986 and the Fukushima disaster in 2011. These accidents highlight the importance of strict safety regulations, emergency response planning, and ongoing risk assessments to prevent and mitigate the impact of nuclear accidents.

The recent incident in Australia, where mining company Rio Tinto reported that one of their Caesium-137 radioactive capsules have gone missing during transport on 12th January 2023(it was subsequently found after massive efforts by the government). Caesium-137 (Cs-137) capsules are commonly used in radiation gauges in mining to measure the density of certain materials. But if humans come into contact with one, it can cause severe burns and expose living beings to the equivalent of 10 x-rays per hour.

The nuclear industry has learned from these incidents and improved safety features and protocols to minimize the risks associated with nuclear energy. Furthermore next-generation reactors are safer and more efficient than traditional nuclear reactors. It's worth noting that while some scientists have raised concerns about the safety of nuclear energy, there are many other scientists who support its safety and viability as a source of clean energy. The debate over nuclear energy safety is ongoing and complex, and there are valid arguments on both sides of the issue.

In author's view If we follow & regularly improve safety protocols, the probability of loss due to nuclear plants is very less than environmental hazards caused by conventional energy sources. In our country most of the foreign reserve is used for buying oil from abroad and we have to be dependent on our country for our energy security. We should take full advantage of abundant plutonium and build many nuclear plants to replace conventional energy with nuclear energy. We also have the technology to do it.

In my view at this point of time among conventional energy, non-conventional energy and nuclear energy, nuclear energy is the most reliable, cheap & green. However safety of nuclear energy hinges on strict protocols for safety, which are implemented without any exceptions and appended periodically in line with international experience and advancement of technology. This is applicable both for running of reactors and disposing of nuclear waste. While taking all necessary steps for safety against nuclear hazards India should opt for nuclear energy to resolve its energy shortages.

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