# THE
**RNI No. DELENG/2012/48509**

# DISCUSSANT

## Journal of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice

International Day of Yoga

21 June

Yoga for Harmony & Peace

Centre for Reforms, Development & Justice

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# THE DISCUSSANT

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## Journal of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice

# content

# KEEP THE SONG FREE OF DISPUTE

*"Vandemãtaram; sujalãm suphalãm; malayajasítalãm; sasya syãmalãm mãtaram; vande mãtaram" - Bankim Chandra Chatterjee*

The national song is back in news. A few Muslim members of the Meerut Municipal Corporation refused to sing the song some months back, putting Bankim Chandra's timeless creation once again in the news bulletins. The matter received further attention with Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Adityanath Yogi speaking on the matter. Addressing the launch of the book 'A Governor's Guide: Role and Duties of the Governor under the Constitution of India' at the Raj Bhawan in Lucknow, Yogi said that an objection to singing the national song by some people was a "matter of grave concern".

By saying so Yogi signalled the intelligentsia on either side of the ideological divide to make a dash and create a cacophony. However, to understand how unnecessary the controversy around the song is, it would be worthwhile to examine it from a historical perspective.

The 'official' history of the country, written in the pre-NDA period makes specific references to 'Vande Mataram' as a tool employed by the freedom fighters to stir the nation against British imperialism.

Modern India authored by Bipan Chandra for the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), which then had on the editorial board eminent names from the non-saffron strand -- S Gopal, S Nurul Hasan, Satish Chandra, and Romila Thapar as members, mentions that "The partition (of Bengal) took effect on 16 October 1905. The leaders of the movement declared it to be a day of mourning. There was a 'hartal' in Calcutta. …The streets of Calcutta were full of the cries of 'Bande Mataram' which overnight became national song of Bengal and which was soon to become the theme song of national movement." In an analysis of the role played by Bankim Chandra's 'Anandnmath' and the hymn "Vande Mataram", Sumit Sarkar in his critically acclaimed book "Modern India - 1885-1947" writes: "The initial and natural form of expression of the patriotism of the intelligentsia was through literature in regional language… The greatest single influence was Bankim Chandra, with his historical novels climaxed by Anandmath (1882) with its Vande Mataram hymn."

Rabindranath Tagore sang Vande Mataram at the Congress session in 1896. More than 100 years later, and evaluating the contribution of the hymn towards motivating masses in the several agitations which followed, there is enough evidence that "Vande Mataram" was adopted as an expression of Indian nationalism from Day One. In this context, it would be fascinating to trace the instances of expressions of Indian Nationalism.

First such recorded event is the unfurling of the Indian Flag at Parsee Bagan Square (Green Park) in Kolkata on August 7, 1906, to mark a year of the launch of anti-partition movement. The flag had Vande Mataram inscribed on it. On August 22, 1907, Madame Bhikaji Cama and her band of exiled revolutionaries hoisted the Indian flag at the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart in Germany. The flag again had Vande Mataram written on it.

This flag was smuggled into India by the socialist leader from Gujarat, Indulal Yagnik and later

displayed in the library of 'Mahratha' and 'Kesari' (the publications started by Bal Gangadhar Tilak) in Pune. The portrait of Madame Cama displayed in Parliament has her holding this flag. The song also became the binding factor for the Indians overseas.

In July 1909 Madan Lal Dhingra assassinated an India Office bureaucrat Curzon-Wyllie in London and went to the scaffold. He kissed the noose with cries of Vande Mataram. "Dhingra's pistol shot has been heard by the Irish cottier in his forlorn hut, by the Egyptian fellah in the field, by the Zulu labourer in his dark mine…' (Bande Mataram, London, 1909). "The Bande Mataram" was an Indian nationalist publication from Paris begun in September 1909 by the Paris Indian Society. Founded by Madam Bhikaji Cama, the paper along with the later publication of 'Talvar' was aimed at inspiring an anti-imperialist movement.

Vande Mataram, as the expression of Indian Nationhood, was soon to travel to the Pacific coast of the United States of America. By early 1920s, a substantive colony of Indian Punjabis had come into existence, which suffered various forms of racial discrimination about which the British Indian government did nothing. In protest, the famous Ghadr Movement began in the US in 1913 with Sohan Singh Bhakna as its founder and later Lala Hardayal as its most famous leader.

Back home in India, it became a practice to sing Vande Mataram at the Congress sessions. However, first murmurs against it rose when Mahatma Gandhi committed the mistake of reaching out to the Khilafists following the Caliph being thrown out from Turkey at the end of World War I. Celebrated historian KM Ashraf had dubbed the Khilafat movement as its leaders Mohammed Ali's and Shaukat Ali's "Mazhab ki siyasi dukan", meaning a political trading house founded on religious lines. In 1923 at Kakinada session of the Congress, the first virulent opposition to 'Vande Mataram' arose from Mohammed Ali, who was felicitated at the session after release from incarceration. Thereafter, it was to become an integral part of 'Muslim grievance'. Later, Jinnah, in 1937, was to ask for abandoning the national flag and the national song in his discussions with Jawaharlal Nehru. Thankfully the Congress Working Committee managed to salvage the situation by adopting the first two stanzas of the song, which in fact was written as a hymn much before Bankim wrote 'Anandamath'.

The issue stood fairly settled as "Vande Mataram" reverberated on the midnight of August 14-15, 1947 when the Constituent Assembly met to declare the nation's Independence. As the first item on the agenda, Sucheta Kriplani led the August House in singing the first two stanzas of the song. Thereafter, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru moved the famous resolution, which gave us Independence; "Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom."

**30 June 2017**                                                                                                          **Sidharth Mishra**

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# secretary's desk

The Discussant has come to be recognized as journal of honest endevour. It gives me great pride to present before you the April-June 2017 issue, which is special without being a special edition because it covers diverse issues varying from security affairs to yoga. Our last edition, which was on the issue of Gender & Popular Culture, was very well received. It's no small achievement that in the past six quarters we have brought out four special editions.

It's with great humility and also sense of achievement that we have entered into the fifth year of unbroken publication of The Discussant, which has been an asset in promoting research among young scholars across the universities. In this time and era when publication industry is increasingly coming to be controlled by corporate bodies, I reiterate, it's no mean achievement for a think tank like the Centre for Reforms, Development & Justice, to have managed to publish the journal regularly. We have completed four years of unbroken publication of The Discussant as an RNI registered quarterly periodical. We had received the ISSN accreditation a year earlier.

I am happy to share with you that our online edition too is crossing new frontiers and getting accessed from new territories, which gives our writers a global exposure unthinkable for any journal of our vintage.

As I we have repeatedly mentioned in reports at the beginning of the various past editions, the members of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice including Centre president, self and other members have taken up academic activities in the right earnest participating in seminars and deliberations of national importance. We have also been invited prestigious BP Koirala Foundation to publish a commemorative volume on the seven decades of India-Nepal Relationship.

We have also entered into a partnership with Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML) to hold a national conference on the Life and Times of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. We are looking forward to continuing with our avowed aim of consolidating the nation's intellectual capital.

With Warm Regards,

**30 June 2017**

**Dr Sanjeev Kumar Tiwari**

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# HOW DAVID CAME UP TRUMPS:
# THE NIRF AND THE RISE OF OFF CAMPUS COLLEGES

MAITRAYEE ROY CHOUDHURY *
DR PRIYANKA KULHARI**

## INTRODUCTION

The HRD Minister's announcement of college rankings under the National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF) on 3 April 2017 signalled a paradigm shift in terms of perception and reputation. Six of the University of Delhi's affiliated colleges were among the top 10 in the country. The real surprise, however, came in the form of 3 of its lesser-known institutions performing exceptionally well. While Atma Ram Sanatan Dharma (ARSD) College placed 5th overall, Dyal Singh College and Deen Dayal Upadhyaya (DDU) College came in 8th and 9th positions, respectively. This paper will focus on the reasons behind the meteoric rise of these off campus colleges while also examining the rationale behind the establishment of the NIRF and the ramifications of developing a pan-India ranking system.

It is crucial to understand the vision and mission underlying the foundation of the NIRF. Approved by the MHRD and launched in 2015, it was conceptualized as a framework that would outline a "methodology" to rank educational institutions across the country. Based on the recommendations of a Core Committee appointed by the MHRD, broad ranking parameters would be arrived at. While still evolving and having undergone significant changes over the last two years, the five parameters identified include Teaching, Learning and Resources (TLR), Research and Professional Practices (RPC), Graduation Outcome (GO), Outreach and Inclusivity (OI), and Perception (PR). The image below outlines the marks and weightage assigned to each.

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## Summary of Ranking Parameters and Weightages- 2017

| Sr. No. | Parameter | Marks | Weightage |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Teaching, Learning & Resources | 100 | 0.30 |
| 2 | Research and Professional Practice | 100 | 0.30 |
| 3 | Graduation Outcomes | 100 | 0.20 |
| 4 | Outreach and Inclusivity | 100 | 0.10 |
| 5 | Perception | 100 | 0.10 |

**Fig. 1.Summary of Ranking Parameters and Weightages 2017.**                    *Source: www.nirfindia.org*

The rankings were grouped into 5 categories: Overall, Engineering, Management, Pharmacy, and Colleges. Provided the institution under consideration has at least 1000 enrolled students and is a "centrally funded institution/university of the Government of India," it is eligible to participate in the survey. While this is a voluntary exercise (which may account for the absence of more prominent University of Delhi colleges), the rules of participation are fairly stringent.

In the interest of transparency and accountability, the NIRF relies heavily on data uploaded by participating institutions on the NIRF portal, subject to third party verification and possible physical inspections. As stipulated, the data must be publicly visible on the institution's website and accessible for three years. Feedback is an essential part of the system and correction of data is possible within a specified timeframe. The National Board of Accreditation functions as the ranking agency on the behalf of NIRF and the authentication of data is carried out by partner agencies. The computation of data through suitable software takes around 3 months.

It is necessary to distinguish the NIRF from the grading system established by the National Assessment And Accreditation Council (NAAC), an exercise in which many University of Delhi colleges are also participating for the first time. NAAC is "an autonomous body established by the University Grants Commission (UGC) of India to assess and accredit institutions of higher education in the country." Based on self and peer review, the NAAC accreditation ensures uniform standards of excellence and grades an institution in terms of its performance related to "covering the curriculum, teaching-learning, evaluation, faculty, research, infrastructure, learning resources, organisation, governance, financial well being and student service."  NAAC inspections occur at 5-year intervals and the institution is required to submit an Annual Quality Assurance Report (AQAR) post accreditation. Both NIRF and NAAC are thus modes of assessment, yet the modalities of evaluation are significantly different. A lack of clarity on the differences between NAAC and NIRF may explain the low participation of University of Delhi colleges in the latter. These variations could also explain why institutions such as DDU (which received a B Grade in its first NAAC cycle in 2014), or ARSD and Dyal Singh (both A grade colleges yet with relatively lower CGPAs) did considerably better within the NIRF.

It is also important to differentiate the NIRF from magazine surveys such as the popular India Today rankings that are based on a "perceptual" model. According to the magazine website, the survey that takes place over three phases depends on panels of experts as well as data provided by individual colleges. As the survey methodology states:

In the first phase, secondary research was done to generate a comprehensive list of over 2,850 colleges. After the final list in each stream came through, senior faculty in each city were sent a structured questionnaire. They were asked to distribute 100 points across five parameters-Reputation of College, Quality of Academic Input, Student Care, Infrastructure and Job Prospects. After collating their individual responses, weightages for each of these parameters were derived. The experts were then asked to rate the colleges…To eliminate bias, they were asked to

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not rate their own college. Following this, a different panel of experts was asked to rate the colleges in their respective streams, with a national perspective. The overall perceptual score of a college was calculated on the basis of the ratings given by two sets of experts…. To determine the final rankings, colleges … were contacted for factual data.

Yet, a system based predominantly on peer review and perception is subject to glaring discrepancies. There were also allegations of flawed methodology and sponsored content leveled at the magazines. As Legally India reported in 2014, "National magazines' law school rankings have proven controversial and been heavily criticised in recent years by graduates and students as bearing a correlation to advertisement or other more opaque factors. And while India Today has outsourced the heavy lifting in its survey to Nielsen, there is little transparency as to how precisely the rankings are arrived at." These inconsistencies and obfuscations have led the West Bengal National University of Juridical Sciences (NUJS), one of the oldest and most reputed National Law Universities in India, to boycott the Outlook rankings since 2011. As Bar and Bench reported in May 2016 on the year's India Today lists, "NALSAR, Hyderabad and GNLU Gandhinagar are the only other national law universities that find mention in the top 10 law schools, at 3rd and 4th positions respectively. … Even stranger is the fact that some of the oldest NLUs, like NUJS Kolkata, NLIU Bhopal and NLU Jodhpur, once again do not feature in the list."  In contrast and keeping in mind that no system is foolproof, the NIRF appears to have more checks and balances in place.

This section will break the NIRF scores down parameter-wise in the context of ARSD, Dyal Singh and DDU, with particular emphasis on the three in which they excelled: Teaching, Learning and Resources (TLR), Graduation Outcome (GO), and Outreach and Inclusivity (OI). It is significant that the TLR scores of ARSD, Dyal Singh and DDU were among the highest. Dyal Singh, at 87.03, is in fact the top scorer in the country in this regard. Given their importance in the overall scheme of things, Research and Professional Practice (RPC) scores will also merit careful consideration.

**Teaching, Learning and Resources:**

It is our contention that the rise in the profiles of these colleges is a factor of

A) the investment these institutions have made in developing top-notch facilities to best supplement the teaching-learning process
B) the recruitment drives held and the concerted effort to create a stable workforce within the college
C) the conscious effort to cultivate a culture of undergraduate research and induct the student body as early stage researchers as far as feasible

To understand the mathematics of success, it becomes essential to look at the larger narrative underlying the numbers and statistical tables.

**Atma Ram Sanatan Dharma College** has come a long way since its establishment in August 1959 by Shri Sanatan Dharma Sabhain a rented building in the Anand Parbat area. Now housed in a sprawling 12-acre campus in Dhaula Kuan at the heart of Dehi, the College exemplifies its founders' belief in holistic and equitable education for all. In the last four years, the institution has deepened its commitment to its stakeholders and augmented its facilities to offer the best possible opportunities to the students in its care and discharge its duty to the larger community. It is well on its way to become a Green Campus. It has undergone a Green Audit with favourable results and has also been recognized as a clean and green campus by WAGE as well as at the SAVE Summit held in the Capital recently. There is a paper recycling facility on campus along with a water harvesting unit and a compost pit. A tree census was recently held. The College also has MoUs for recycling initiatives with the NGO Jaagruti and the start-up Pom Pom.

The campus is large and diverse. ARSD has on offer 13 undergraduate courses covering Arts, Commerce, Humanities and Science and it is one of the few colleges in the University to do so. Apart from these, ARSD also conducts tutorials

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for 4 PG courses and 11 faculty members serve as M.Phil./Ph.D. guides with students working under them. In terms of new courses, the College has a self-financed course in place-Bachelor of Computer Science (Honours), a step forward in creating courses that cater to the new generation of students eager to acquire specialized skills. The emphasis on quality education is sustained by the high number of Ph.D. holders among faculty members (100 of 193) as well as by the large number of permanent faculty recruited in 2015-16 (around 65 new members). It is significant that 140 faculty members are permanent (72.5% of the workforce), providing stability to the teaching-learning environment on campus.

To cater to growing student demand, in recent years, the College has scaled up its infrastructural capabilities considerably. The University of Delhi awarded a grant of Rs. 9.21 crores to the College for infrastructure expansion in 2015-16. Subsequently, a new floor was added to the existing building with minimum energy classrooms, a new seminar hall was developed in addition to the modernization of the existing one and a new multi-purpose hall was created. The old building was retrofitted and earthquake-proofed in its entirety. Library space was amplified and a new mezzanine floor was added as reading space for the faculty. Research facilities include 5 University-recognized laboratories for M.Phil. and Ph.D. students, 4 dedicated to Star and Star Innovation projects, 8 undergraduate ones, and 4 under construction. Additionally, campus-wide Wi-Fi connectivity, 100 networked computers in 3 computer laboratories and ICT capabilities in over 25 classrooms were added to the amenities already on offer. A new basketball court, an atrium with capacity for over 500 students, indoor sports facilities, an open-air gymnasium were also developed.

With suitable infrastructure in place, the College is in a position to prioritizere search and innovation. ARSD has an RPC score of 30.54 (All-India RPC Rank 9 and 2nd among Delhi University colleges) that is in excess of Miranda House's 27.44. LSR and SRCC's All-India ranks were 113 and 193, respectively. While the parameter only takes into account publications, patents filed and project work, a closer look at ARSD's burgeoning research capabilities may provide a clearer understanding of the opportunities on offer. Over the last five years, ARSD's grant corpus from various funding agencies has exceeded Rs. 5 crores, with new grants being awarded every year. In 2016-17 alone, Rs. 1.7 crore in fresh grants were awarded to the Science departments. From 2013 to 2016, the University of Delhi approved 15 innovation projects. Additionally, five of the College departments are under the Star College Scheme and are working towards the dissemination of scientific knowledge under the auspices of a newly developed DBT Science Centre. As of 2015-16, over 280 undergraduate students were/are involved in various research projects under faculty mentors and 6 students from the Physics department have received INSPIRE Fellowships. ARSD was also the only college to be awarded 7 Star Innovation projects with a sanctioned grant of Rs. 1.95 crore by the University of Delhi. In all, 40 research projects have been undertaken in the last 5 years and are in various stages of completion.

Capacity building is at the heart of the initiatives the institution has spearheaded over the last few years, refining skills and developing resources, attracting the best talent in terms of faculty as well as students. As part of this project of continuous improvement, ARSD is home to a unique Technology Business Incubator that functions as a start-up advisory to GoI-the Centre for Innovation and Entrepreneurial Leadership (CIEL), established in collaboration with M/o MSME. The Centre invites and screens proposals from prospective incubatees interested in the MSME Support Grant for Technology Entrepreneurship and, subsequently, offers laboratory and workshop facilities as well as mentorship. Significantly, 4 ARSD student proposals were approved and recommended to the Ministry for further action, underlining the Centre's value in terms of student enrichment. A Skill Development and Entrepreneurial Cell was also recently established and is currently running a short-term course in tandem with the Bombay Stock Exchange.The College is thus well equipped to provide a rich learning atmosphere for its students and a challenging workspace for its faculty members.

ARSD also provides an immersive experience in terms of its extracurricular activities. Rangayan, the Dramatics Society is part of the best practices of the College and is a much-awarded student body. Its uniqueness lies in the month-long workshop it conducts annually, in collaboration with its alumni and premier institutes such as the National School of

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Drama and the Sahitya Kala Parishad,to provide hands-on training to students on various aspects of drama such as acting, direction, playwriting, and costumes. It also organizes a three-day theatre festival (now in its third year) in collaboration with its alumni-Rangsheersh Jaidev Natyotsav-that has cemented its position within the Delhi theatre circuit. In 2016-17, the Natsamrat theatre group recognized the College in its role as a promoter of theatre culture in the city. ARSD's high TLR scores may, consequently, be clearly explained in the light of the significant advantages and opportunities it offers to prospective candidates. It is evident from available data that the College seeks to move far beyond the curriculum, imparting to its students professional and vocational skills as well as developing their research aptitude, a pressing need if India is to keep pace with the fast-changing global scenario.

**Dyal Singh College** was established in 1910 by Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia in Lahore. It moved to its present location on Lodhi Road post Partition, and was taken over by the University of Delhi in 1978. The 11-acre campus is located in a prime area neighbouring many institutions of national/international significance. Its metro connectivity makes it convenient for its stakeholders. The institution's commitment to the highest standards of integrity and good governance may be discerned by the Certificate of Commitment awarded to the College by the Central Vigilance Commission. To make it a green campus many initiatives have been taken in the form of an Effluent Treatment Plant, Grit-connected Solar Power Panel, a water harvesting system, and IGL gas connectivity. Efforts are on to generate organic manure along with a tie-up with Hindustan Times to recycle waste paper.

The College is among the largest in the University and offers an exciting array of 19 undergraduate courses in a campus comprising 59 classrooms, 22 laboratories, seminar hall, an open air Amphitheatre, an auditorium, and a well-equipped library. In addition to these, Dyal Singh also offers skill-based courses in collaboration with NSDC in the areas of IT, Telcom, Entertainment, and Media, equipping students with employable skills. The College has also initiated a self-financed "Faculty Development Programme" for Commerce teachers since 2015.

One of the strengths of the College is its highly active, qualified and research-oriented faculty which enthusiastically participates in conferences, seminars, workshops, orientation and refresher courses and publishes articles and research papers in reputed journals. 72% of the faculty are Ph.D. holders (194 of 269) which foregrounds the College's commitment to cultivate a culture of excellence. 8 faculty members function as Ph.D./M.Phil. research guides, under whose supervision 28 scholars are currently pursuing their research work. A large number of permanent recruitments have also been made recently, lending constancy and strength to the teaching-learning process of the College. Additionally, the teaching staff has been lauded and recognized for its contribution to academics. In 2015, Dr. Abu Zahir Rabbani, Department of Urdu, received the Government of Delhi and Uttar pradesh Urdu Academy Award for his recent publication and Dr. Vaibhav Singh, Department of Hindi, received the prestigious "Devi Shankar Awasthi Aalochna Samman."

Dyal Singh has also been honing its research capabilities. The College has work permission to use laboratory facilities at AIIMS, IIT Delhi and at different departments of the University of Delhi. In the last four years, the College has been awarded 38 research projects including 18 University-funded Innovation Projects involving 170 students and 51 faculty members. The College has received grants of Rs. 1.67 crore for research programmes from funding agencies such as UGC (50 lakhs), DBT (25 lakhs), and the University of Delhi (31 lakhs), among others. In addition, 15 patents (filed and obtained) further substantiate the College's growing reputation as a centre for innovation and validate its 4th position in RPC scores among the University of Delhi colleges.Teaching-learning is not limited to the classroom and the syllabus but is augmented with seminars, lectures, discussions, exhibitions and education trips which provide hands-on experience to the students, enabling them to move beyond the prescribed curriculum, interact with experts and be in touch with contemporary events. Remarkably, the BA English (Hons) second year batch saw a 100% passout result, ratifying the efficacy of methods adopted.

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Along with academics the students are also doing remarkably well in sports and extra-curricular activities. The College has been winning the inter-college Boxing Champion from last 12 years. The college has opened a chapter of the Confederation of Indian Industry Young India Yuva (CII YI YUVA), a body that seeks to develop the leadership abilities of its students and which actively participates in and organizes programmes such as "Vision of India," "Noida Deaf Society," and "Delhi Youth Conclave." The Chapter was recognized as the "Most Active Chaupal" across the country at the Young Indian National Summit-Take Pride 2016. Recently the College has signed an MoU with the National Institute of Immunology(NII) under which the faculty as well as the students of the departments of Science can participate in the "Science-Setu Programme" where they get to interact with scientists. 177 students completed training programme under the STAR Programme Skill Development of NSDC. Dyal Singh's high TLR score (87.03) that supplants those of Miranda (75.76) and LSR (68.35)is thus a result of its highly qualified and research-oriented faculty, committed governance, the development of new amenities, the novelty of opportunities afforded and the resultant upward movement in student progression.

**Deen Dayal Upadhyaya College** has also made significant inroads into creating state-of-the-art infrastructural facilities in order to facilitate an environment conducive to teaching and learning since its inception in 1990. The College has recently relocated to a new campus courtesy of the Government of NCT of Delhi. The 7.7-acre, multi-storeyed building in Dwarka is environment-friendly and equipped with the latest technology to best serve the stakeholders. It is a green building in many ways with rainwater harvesting and water recycling capabilities. The classrooms are minimum energy. It has 2 seminar halls, a centrally air conditioned auditorium, and 11 Science laboratories. The College has 3 computer laboratories with over 140 computers of the latest configuration and internet facility. These laboratories are furnished with the latest multimedia equipment including LCD projectors and will also have facilities for Video-Editing, Image Editing, Animation, Auto-Editing and Authoring Tools. There are dedicated, well-appointed laboratories for each Science department, 2 Life Science museums and an Analytical Technique Laboratory that is part of the Chemistry lab complex. Each Science department has a research facility for faculty members. Bachelor in Management Studies, a highly sought after course, is part of the repertoire of the 15 undergraduate courses the College has on offer.

The College is among the few in the University to provide hostel facilities to over 190 boys and girls, with an air-conditioned dining area. The cafeteria is fully air-conditioned. There are residential flats for faculty and a guesthouse for visiting parents as well. The College also has an indoor sports complex with provision for various games as well as a gymnasium. There is an archery range among the outdoor sports facilities and the College team includes an international-level athlete. The availability of such rare and cutting edge facilities possibly account for DDU's high TLR scores (80.06, All-India rank 4).

DDU's RPC score of 32.26 places it at the top of University of Delhi colleges and 7th in the country, and is due in part to the excellent research facilities it has developed. The College has set up a Rs. 3-crore Endowment Fund for research projects and offers in-house seed money for research to faculty members. The College also encourages faculty members to apply for funding from external agencies and to involve students in their research projects. The College library is spread out over three storeys and provides remote access to information from anywhere within the campus. Of the 163 faculty members, 103 are PhD holders and 94 are permanent members of staff. The College has also recruited 11 new members over the past few years. 18 teachers along with 60 students are involved in Innovation Projects sanctioned by the University of Delhi in the last two years. 28 post graduate students are enrolled for Ph.D., M.Phil. and summer projects under the guidance of faculty members.

Student satisfaction is a priority at DDU. Along with the usual run of extracurricular activities, DDU offers students the opportunity to participate in student clubs such as the Science Foundation, the Robotics Club and ENACTUS (Entrepreneurial Action for others creates a better world for US all-a global community of students), enabling hands-on

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workshop experience and arranging lectures in the field of Science. The College has introduced add-on courses in French and Russian language and in ECPDT (Effective Communication and Personality Development through Theatre-a life-skills based course inspired by and based on UNICEF and WHO guidelines).DDU has thus shown itself to be in touch with the needs of a new breed of students eager to gain vocational skills and insistent on a holistic and well-rounded education.

A survey of these three top ranking colleges has clarified their innovations in the field of teaching and learning and thrown light on the possibilities that open up on exposure to these resources and facilities. An examination of the Graduation Outcome of these institutions further corroborate our assertion.

## GRADUATION OUTCOME

While SRCC and Miranda House are ranked as All-India 1 and 2, respectively, in terms of Graduation Outcome, ARSD comes in 5th place while DDU and Dyal Singh are ranked 84th and 86th. When we look at the number of students enrolled in the first year versus the number graduating within the minimum stipulated time in 2015-16, however, ARSD at 97.45% emerges ahead of SRCC (96.55%), Miranda House (91.22%), LSR (78%) and Loyola (47.14%). A good pass percentage of 82 in the University Examination held in April-May 2015 with 64% passing in first division speaks of DDU's commendable efforts in this area. Additionally, 13 of their students were among the top 3 in the examinations held during 2014-15.Dyal Singh'S UG pass percentage in 2015-16 was 85.4, illustrating a positive trend in the quality of incoming students and its effect on University results.

Although in campus placements SRCC is in the lead, these three colleges are rapidly gaining ground. Placement Cells in these colleges are striving to improve their statistics in placements and the upward graph is a testament to their efforts in this regard. In 2015-16, SRCC placed 352 and 357 of its students opted for higher studies. Miranda House placed 122 undergraduate students while 839 were selected for higher studies. In ARSD's case, the numbers stand at 108 (placed) and 707 (higher studies), speaking to its efforts at student progression. Over the last three years, ARSD has been consistently placing over 100 students per year, rivalling Miranda House's figures. In 2016-17, the number is closer to 150. In 2015-16,over 35 reputed companies visited the Dyal Singh campus and made 205 campus placements with a median salary of Rs. 2.5 lakhs. In combination with the constantly improving examination results and distinguished alumni that have emerged in almost every field from these colleges, the future prospects of these colleges look very bright.

## OUTREACH AND INCLUSIVITY

ARSD, Dyal Singh and DDU's scores in the Outreach and Inclusivity (OI) Category were striking. It is worth keeping in mind that all three colleges have a very diverse student body. Between the three of them, they cater to more than 12,000 students, over 4000 of who are outstation/international candidates. While most Delhi University colleges have fairly representative student bodies, other top-ranked colleges such as Bishop Heber and Loyola are comparatively insular, with over 95% of students inducted from within the state. Significantly, ARSD, Dyal Singh and DDU are also among colleges that offer a percentage benefit to women aspirants at the time of admission. While the male-female ratio in all three spaces could be better, it is notable that there are mechanisms in place to ensure a healthy gender ratio. In terms of faculty members as well, the gender ratio is respectable.

There is a conscious effort to include students from economically backward classes as well as socially challenged groups. Both DDU (65.85%) and ARSD (54.9%) have a more socio-economically diverse student body than Miranda House (54.58%) and LSR (48.2%).Apart from the reservation policies of the Government of India, these colleges also endeavour to create an equal-access campus for all its stakeholders. Like Miranda, SRCC and LSR, DDU and ARSD have lifts and ramps, walking aids, and specially designed bathrooms for differenty-abled students in all of their buildings while Dyal Singh has customized some of the buildings so far. However, Dyal Singh also has a unique "buddy system" to help

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differently-abled students.ARSD College ensures that ground floor seating arrangement and special reading software as well as equipment are in place to ensure equitable access.

To support the cause of national integration, ARSD College has also introduced an annual Rainbow Festival, the cultural festival of the North East, to celebrate not only the cultural richness of the Seven Sisters but also showcase the varied traditions that make up India. The Festival sees participation from colleges across Delhi University, highlighting the need to assert the cultural uniqueness of the region as well as the desire to come together to celebrate this diversity. The North East Welfare Committee, that organizes the Festival, works throughout the year to counsel, mentor, and create opportunities for students from the North Eastern states. In 2016-17, the Committee held talks, a panel discussion on Irom Sharmila, an interactive session on health and fitness, and formed a running group to promote a healthy body image as well as promote worthy causes.  Dr. Achingliu Kamei, the Nodal Officer, has made it her mission to foster dialogic exchange and enable harmonious co-existence within the larger college community. The desire to safeguard the plurality of voices and identities within the larger narrative of progress and excellence is enshrined in the founding principles of the College and may be part of what makes ARSD such an attractive choice for prospective students.

In terms of community outreach, all three colleges take their social and environmental responsibilities seriously. Their NSS units, NCC troops, and the WDC work tirelessly to raise awareness about social issues and involve students and staff in community drives. Under the aegis of NCC (both girls' and boys' wings in the case of Dyal Singh) the students participate in various camp activities, blood donation, tree plantation, anti-drug rallies, Civil Defence and Disaster Management programmes and Election Awareness campaigns. Through their outreach programmes, the NSS units in these colleges attempt to bring students closer to society and sensitize them towards the hardships of the downtrodden and the issues of socio-political importance and inculcate in them the spirit of social service through various extension activities. Participation of NCC and NSS students of Dyal Singh College in relief operations during the Uttrakhand earthquake is one such example. Dyal Singh won 193 awards  for various extension activities in 2014-15 and the organization of 'UNISON 2014 - Beyond the Boundaries,' which  brought together representatives from 10 embassies, showcases the kind of extension opportunities the College offers its students.The ARSD College Mission statement lays emphasis on the creation a "joyful ecosystem," where students are encouraged "to maximize their potential while cultivating their conscience." The College NSS team, through various competitions, street plays and talks, has been working to convert this vision into reality. Recently, the unit organized a talk on transgenders, which was a step to draw attention towards this section of society and to normalize their existence. The team also participated in various awareness campaigns, held preventive health screens and ran a cancer awareness programme in collaboration with Can Support. To impart value-based education, DDU arranges lectures/workshops on moral and ethical values from organizations such as Art of Living, World Peace Foundation, Gandhi Bhawan, Vivekananda Kendra, among others. Here, students are also exposed to Indian art and culture through Spic Macay and Yoga camps. Keeping women's safety in focus, all three colleges arrange a self-defense training programme in association with Delhi Police every year.

Despite their low Perception scores, it is clear to see why these hitherto nondescript colleges have done well in the recent rankings. Furthermore, given Delhi University's popularity and the rise in cut-offs in recent years, the parity in the student pool across colleges of the University may be seen as pertinent factors. The extension of metro services and increased connectivity has also drastically changed the landscape of the city and shortened travel time considerably. Off campus colleges are now attracting students from all over the city instead of merely catering to their particular localities. The resultant diversity has only contributed to their success.

Yet while we join in the victory chants of the underdogs, it is also imperative to take a step back and look critically at the framework itself. What does it mean for a government to rate its institutions? Is it a measure of its self-reflexivity, a desire to hold publically funded institutions accountable? What do these university ranking systems actually attempt to

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accomplish? As JNU Vice Chancellor, M. Jagadesh Kumar indicates in his editorial in *Economic Times* in April 2016, there are over 50 world ranking systems for universities, and Indian universities are conspicuous by their absence. Given that these rankings are dependent on high-level publications, research grants, presence of Nobel Prize winners, campus diversity and online popularity polls, this non-appearance is not entirely unexpected. However, for Kumar, this makes it all the more important to evolve metrics that factor in the uniqueness of the Indian situation. These rankings can only draw attention to the need to craft self-learning mechanisms, create disabled-friendly campuses, ensure gender, caste, and class parity, and assure the adoption of green practices. According to Kumar, "as the Indian system of evaluation evolves and when the Indian educational institutes excel by competing with each other to become role models for the rest of the society for their teaching, research and social commitment, the world is going to take note of it. That is better than getting into the ugly contest of university hegemony promoted by the elite clubs of universities." As the ranking of ARSD, Dyal Singh and DDU demonstrates, the introspection and emphasis on research and overall improvement compelled by NAAC and NIRF have focused public attention on the achievements of lesser-known institutions in these areas.

Conversely, K. Ramachandran in his article in The News Minute is deeply critical of a rating system that fails to acknowledge the constraints and limitations many institutions labour under. He perceives the NIRF as a marketing idea applied inexpertly to the complex arena that is higher education in India. Taking into account the fact that "public funding of higher education in India is less than 2% of the GDP," that elite institutions such as IITs, IIMs and NITs receive a majority of the available funding, and that designing new curricula or exploring collaborations requires the permission of the Ministry and UGC, the idea of an "All-India" rank appears fraught with difficulty. When taken in consideration with the fact that funding and enhanced autonomy may soon become dependent on these rankings, it becomes important to ensure that all modalities are carefully considered and issues such as high teacher shortage, unequal access, and funds crunch are adequately resolved before we pat ourselves on the back.

With admission season looming, however, and all its attendant madness, the NIRF provides an alternative to privatized ranking systems for anxious students and parents. A careful scrutiny of the data breakup and an examination of the methodology may assure candidates that their choices are not limited to a few elite colleges and that their future is not jeopardized should that coveted seat not materialize. Even within the University of Delhi, let alone within the country, there are plenty of options available for the discerning scholar willing to look beyond the footlights.

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# EVOLUTION OF PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR DOCTRINE

BRIGADIER KULDIP SINGH (RETD)*

## INTRODUCTION

1.    Largely spurred by the loss of East Pakistan, and a perception of a hostile, bigger and better-armed India, Pakistan had achieved a capability "to rapidly assemble a nuclear device if necessary" around the late-1980s. During this period, the Cold War was at its peak and Pakistan imbibed an important lesson : that from 1945 onwards, the two nuclear-weapons armed adversaries, USSR/Warsaw Pact and NATO, have confronted each other through proxies in distant parts of the world - but never fought each other directly. Simultaneously, Pakistan experienced first-hand the methods used by the US-Saudi combine (i.e. the use of mujahideen) to defeat the Soviets in Afghanistan and concluded that such irregular forces served two vital purposes; one - they provided a low-cost, asymmetric and disruptive option against superior conventional forces of the USSR; and two - they made the Soviet Union spend disproportionate amounts of resources on countering the asymmetric threat with little or no damage to the sponsoring states. It is thus no coincidence that Pakistan's 'proxy war' against India coincided with it having attained nuclear capability and the Soviet preparations for a final withdrawal from Afghanistan. Pakistan then began using two primary tools to have its way in the sub-continent, (i) using terrorism and 'proxy war' to bleed India; and (ii) brandishing its nuclear arsenal to thwart punitive actions by India. Evidently, for Pakistan, nuclear weapons are:-

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\* Commissioned in the Indian Army (Armoured Corps) in 1976, has, apart from regimental, staff, technical, instructional and command appointments in the military, also served (i) in India's Defence Research & Development Organisation on two national level projects; (ii) as the Director Coordination of the Defence Intelligence Agency during its formative years; and (iii) for about ten years as the Principal Defence Specialist / Head of the Defence Wing in the National Security Council Secretariat, Government of India. In the latter appointment, he was the senior military and geo-political expert, with experience in military issues, intelligence and information handling; advanced technologies, nuclear, CBRN, space and cyber issues; and in identifying and communicating risks and opportunities of possible political, security, diplomatic, technical and economic developments. He also has extensive international experience.

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● An instrument that allows it to wage offensive proxy war, but provide it a defence against retaliatory punitive action.

● A strategic equalizer of power asymmetry, i.e. they balance India's conventional military superiority.

● A strategic lever for extracting maximum aid from the USA, Europe, China and some countries in the Middle-East.

2.      The initial period saw Pakistan drop subtle hints about possessing nuclear weapons (e.g. Operation Brass Tacks, 1987). It's blatant 'sabre-rattling' of nuclear weapons however, began astride the 1999 Kargil Conflict and Operation Parakaram (December 2001-2002). This was followed by a periodic 'lowering of the nuclear threshold '. No nuclear-weapons State evolves a nuclear deterrence strategy in isolation. Hence, Pakistan too seems to have analysed other doctrines and evidently, Russia's April 2000 strategic military doctrine, which espoused the concept of 'De-escalation', seems to have influenced Pakistan. However, the threat scenario, the Indian nuclear response strategy and the international environment possibly led to a perception in Pakistan that its nuclear deterrence doctrine was perhaps not being taken too seriously by India. It then tweaked that doctrine by co-opting Tactical Nuclear Weapons (TNWs).  However, even such a 'full-spectrum' response has loopholes. This range of issues is analysed below.

## RUSSIA'S STRATEGIC MILITARY DOCTRINE

3.      As the USSR was breaking up, the Russian leaders saw how the US-led coalition defeated (1991) the Soviet-equipped and Soviet-trained Iraqi forces of Saddam Hussein in just a few days. In November 1993, the nascent Russian government under Boris Yeltsin outlined the "Main Provisions of the Military Doctrine". This advocated use of nuclear weapons only in a global war. Between 1997 and 1999, Moscow saw the NATO wage an intelligence-led precision military campaign in Yugoslavia. By now, the Russian armed forces were a pale shadow of its predecessor, the Soviet war machine. It was thus evident to Moscow that the conventional forces capabilities of the US were far beyond Russia's own capacities at that juncture. Since the fundamental causes of the Kosovo conflict seemed quite akin to the reasons for the Chechen conflict, the Russian leadership apprehended that the US may also interfere in Chechnya, where the second Chechen war was building up.

4.      The Russian government hence commenced work on a new military doctrine under Vladimir Putin, then-Secretary of Russia's National Security Council (March 1999-August 1999). This doctrine, signed in April 2000 by Acting President Vladimir Putin, replaced the November 1993 document. The new doctrine propounded that if Russia was faced with a large-scale conventional attack that exceeded its capacity for defence, it may respond with a limited nuclear strike, which would then act as a motivation for the adversary to 'De-escalate' the conflict. In October 2004, President Putin unveiled the "Immediate Tasks of Development of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation". This report formally developed the 2000 Military Doctrine and postulated two missions for Russia's nuclear weapons, i.e. (i) deterrence of a large-scale attack against Russia; and (ii) 'De-escalation' of a limited conflict in case deterrence fails.

## "DE-ESCALATION"

5.      There were clear differences between this new doctrine and the Soviet nuclear deterrence strategy during the Cold War. The latter had threatened inflicting of unacceptable damage on an enemy and 'MAD' (Mutual Assured Destruction). Under such conditions, the use of nuclear weapons was unthinkable as it entailed "rapid escalation to the exchange of massive nuclear strikes". Russia's new doctrine, however, held out the threat of "tailored damage" and was aimed at making an aggressor weigh the cost he will suffer versus the strategic benefit he may derive from that conflict. The unstated rationale was that while the US may like to interfere in Chechnya and assist the rebels, the strategic gains that may accrue to the US from such a venture were not worth risking a nuclear exchange with Russia, because for Moscow, retaining territorial control over

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Chechnya was of core national interest. Besides, Russia's new doctrine favoured striking adversarial military targets stretching outwards from the battlefield itself, rather than the population or economic centres that were typical targets in the Cold War. The new doctrine also underscored a close linkage between the concept of 'De-escalation' and 'Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons' / TNWs.

6.      The Russian doctrine is however, not entirely new.  At a conceptual level, it borrows from Thomas Schelling's seminal books entitled 'The Strategy of Conflict' (1960) and 'Arms and Influence' (1966). At the operational level, it mirrors the 1960s era US policy, which had contemplated limited use of nuclear weapons (including TNWs and 'neutron bombs') to oppose Soviet aggression in Europe (as expressed, e.g. in the 1963 document produced by the US National Security Council entitled "The Management and Termination of War with the Soviet Union").

## EVOLUTION OF PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR STRATEGY

7.      A dispassionate analysis of the outcomes of the 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pak Wars suggests that insofar as the India's Western front was concerned, there was a kind of strategic stalemate albeit in favour of India, with both India and Pakistan capturing some amounts of territory. Pakistan however lost the erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), which was located across the Indian sub-continent. In sum: the Indo-Pak conventional forces asymmetry was not overwhelmingly against Pakistan.

8.      However, in 1979, the USA, one of Pakistan's main military backers, suspended most aid to Pakistan under the Symington Amendment in response to Pakistan's covert construction of a uranium enrichment facility. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan few months later (December 1979) heralded a fresh era in US-Pakistan relations. The US waived the months-old Symington sanctions for six years (till 1985), gave a US$3.2 billion economic and military aid package to Pakistan, and along with Saudi Arabia, financed the 'jihad' in Afghanistan. To continue aid to Pakistan beyond 1985, the US Congress then approved the 'Pressler Amendment'. This required the US President to annually certify that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear device. Presidents Reagan and Bush certified the same till the Soviets withdrew (1989) from Afghanistan. In October 1990, after President Bush declined to furnish the Pressler certification, the US administration cut off all aid to Pakistan. The Pressler sanctions were followed by Commonwealth sanctions after General Musharraf's coup in October 1999. Together, they ensured there was very little supply of Western military equipment to Pakistan from 1990 onwards. Although Pakistan had aligned itself with the US in September 2001 and was given MNNA status in 2004, major arms transfers from the US commenced only after 2008. Pakistan however had effectively utilized the window to rapidly progress its nuclear weapons program.

9.      By end-1990s, the Pakistani armed forces had major equipment deficiencies, an aspect which was very apparent during Operation Parakaram (2001-2002). Nevertheless, possession of nuclear weapons had left Pakistan quite smug. The 1999 Kargil Conflict shook Pakistan's confidence on account of two reasons:-

**One:** The Indian military action proved that there is "space" between 'breakdown of diplomacy and commencement of a nuclear war', and by corollary, for a short duration conflict with limited objectives in a 'nuclear threat environment'. This issue needs to be seen in light of the fact that while a nuclear weapons state can "draw a line" and dare an adversary to cross it, the same is not a cast-iron defence. The US' nuclear arsenal did not dissuade China from moving its forces into North Korea in 1950; Israel nuclear weapons could not deter Syria and Egypt from invading Israel in 1973; Indian nuclear weapons did not discourage Pakistan from conducting an audacious military operation in 1999 (Kargil); and importantly, Pakistani nuclear weapons did not deter India from re-taking illegally occupied areas during the Kargil Conflict.

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**Two:** The international community was deeply averse to posturing of nuclear weapons by Pakistan to deter conflict, or their use for conflict resolution.

10.     The 1999 Kargil Conflict hence led Pakistan to search for a better strategic doctrine to thwart punitive action by India while it pursued its "foreign policy" with the help of terrorist and militant entities.

11.     Meanwhile in India, the persistence of terrorist attacks, lessons of the Kargil Conflict and Operation Parakaram, an examination of the India-Pakistan conventional forces balance and the international environment led the Indian military to following conclusions:-

Due to less strategic depth and shorter lines of communication, Pakistan could mobilize its forces in a shorter time frame vis-à-vis India. Consequently, the Pakistani Army was ready to handle an Indian offensive by the time India completed its protracted mobilization.

India's long mobilization period provided 'space' for intervention by major international players, especially after Pakistan started 'sabre-rattling' its nuclear weapons.

The conventional forces asymmetry between India and Pakistan is not so much that it guarantees India an outright victory in a short war. Hence, India needed to achieve surprise, and then beat in time and space the arrival of Pakistani troops, especially its reserves, in most sectors.

Any future war with Pakistan would likely be limited in scope and in time. Therefore, both sides would strive to make gains in the limited period available prior to conflict termination. In turn, this required application of maximum military force in the shortest time frame. This made management of escalation dynamics difficult.

A war with limited objectives, however, could allow India to operate below Pakistan's actual nuclear threshold(s).

12.     The above lessons and analysis by Indian planners led to the evolution of the so-called Cold Start Doctrine (CSD), (a.k.a. the "Pro-Active Doctrine"), which was enunciated around 2005. The CSD envisions the Indian Army mobilising and commencing strikes almost simultaneously, and operating without crossing thresholds which could trigger a nuclear response from Pakistan. The CSD was critically examined by Pakistan's military, who concluded that (i) the threat posed by the Indian CSD is credible and Pakistan-specific; and (ii) the main concern was an apparent lack of readiness of Pakistani armed forces to operate in the environment a CSD could generate, particularly because Pakistan's conventional war-fighting capability had been debilitated by various US and Western sanctions, and its own economic capability. Wargames by the Pakistani military also concluded that it faced difficulties in evolving a military strategy that deters conventional conflict. Soon thereafter, Pakistan initiated two parallel plans:-

A mid- to long-term plan to develop conventional capabilities to counter India's CSD.

A nuclear weapons-dependent strategy to thwart conflict with India in the interim period as it built its conventional capabilities / armed forces.

13.     Developing Conventional Capabilities to Counter India's CSD:  This had two components:-

One:  Reduce the response timings of the Pakistani Army by:-
Re-locating certain formations closer to the IB.

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Building critical infrastructure (bridges, rail links, defence canals, etc) to reduce response time and improve intra- and inter-theatre mobility, as also obstacles to impose delay on Indian offensive forces.

Updating its Mobilization Regulations.

(This is reflected in the Pakistan Army Doctrine 2011 (a.k.a. "Comprehensive Response" doctrine), which states, inter alia, that considering "the possibility of Pakistan being drawn into a war on a very short notice, all formations [should] organize ---- in a manner that effective combat potential can be generated within 24 to 48 hours from the corps to unit level and two to three days at the Army level.")

**Two: Force Development Strategy:** Pakistan replaced the 15-Year Long Term Force Modernisation Plan with a more ambitious Armed Forces Development Plan-2025. This was focused on acquisition of select "hi-tech" weapon platforms; equipment which improves the Pakistani military's strike and night-fighting capabilities; force multipliers to improve its situational awareness and ISR capabilities; Special Forces; air mobility; rapid reaction forces etc.

14. **Nuclear Weapons-Dependent Strategy to Thwart Conflict:** The problem with conventional force development is that it has a long timeline. Hence, deeply conscious of the growing conventional forces asymmetry with India and aware that there would be limits to India's patience on terrorism and 'proxy war', Pakistan came under a strategic compulsion to posture nuclear weapons. It therefore co-opted another stratagem, viz, "Lowering of its Nuclear Threshold" and began to project that 'any war with India would become a nuclear war' in order to thwart any conflict. For this, Pakistan appears to have also picked a sub-set of nuclear deterrence theory, viz, that "if there is stability at nuclear levels, then there can be instability at conventional levels (i.e. two adversaries can engage in conventional war); but if there is instability at nuclear levels (as Pakistan is posturing), then there will be stability at conventional levels" (i.e. an adversary will refrain from waging conventional war). Pakistan also enunciated five broad nuclear 'thresholds' beyond which Pakistan may be compelled to use nuclear weapons (viz, any attempt to target its nuclear assets; a territorial / space threshold; military threshold / force degradation; economic threshold; and a political threshold).

15. **Similarities: Pakistan and Russian Doctrines:** The similarities between the Russian and Pakistani doctrines are evident. Both nations faced a conventional forces asymmetry. Both doctrines are aimed at averting war by holding out the threat of "tailored damage" to an adversary through the use of nuclear weapons, but if war was imposed on it, then to try and "de-escalate" the conflict. The overall aim was to hold out the threat of a limited nuclear strike in order to compel an adversary to either accept the status quo ante (as had happened after "26/11" and other terrorist strikes including the recent killings in Uri) - or force an adversary to retract from the conflict started by him.

16. That Pakistan has been posturing nuclear weapons primarily to deter India is also evident from statements by various Pakistani leaders. In 2004, Mahmud Ali Durrani described four policy objectives for Islamabad's nuclear weapons, i.e. deter all forms of external aggression; deter through a combination of conventional and strategic forces; deter counter-force strategies by securing strategic assets and threatening nuclear retaliation; and stabilize strategic deterrence in South Asia. In 2006, Pakistani officials indicated that their nuclear posture was aimed at preserving territorial integrity against Indian attack, prevent military escalation, and counter India's conventional superiority. Air Commodore Khalid Banuri, Director of Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs in Pakistan's Strategic Plans Division, stated (December 2011) that Islamabad's nuclear arsenal is part of an effort "to deny India the space for launching any kind of aggression against Pakistan." In October 2015, Pakistani Foreign Secretary Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry asserted that its "nuclear programme is one dimensional: stopping Indian aggression before it happens. It is not for starting a war. It is for deterrence. "

17. **Difference in Applicability:** Although Pakistan seems to have been influenced by the Russian policy of 'De-escalation', there are differences in applicability which perhaps were not apparent at that time. These were:

Unlike India and Pakistan, Russia and the USA are not geographically contiguous countries. In turn, the distance limited the damage to the aggressor (in this case, the USA) to just its military assets in the battlefield and its periphery; the distance (and the time of flight) also gave both nations time to talk on a nuclear hotline to preclude an all-out nuclear war.

US intervention in Russia / Russian periphery would largely stem from geo-political interests, and not on account of mutual, acrimonious, long-standing territorial claims or dastardly, persistent terrorist actions.

Both the US and Russia possessed a complete nuclear triad and by extension, second-strike capabilities; this tended to give some stability to the nuclear regime. Additionally, both nations had long-standing nuclear treaties.

18. **Problems With the Pakistani Doctrine:** Over a period of time, therefore, Pakistan perhaps started to perceive that India was not taking its nuclear threats too seriously. Few reasons for this premise appear to be as follows:-

**One: Survivability of Nuclear Assets for Second-Strike :** India vs Pakistan. Although India yet does not have a submarine-based deterrence, it does enjoy a de-facto 'second-strike' capability because Pakistani missiles cannot cover the entire Indian peninsula (with Pakistan developing new land-based missiles like the Shaheen-III, this is set to change). The survivability of Pakistan's nuclear assets is therefore in question considering (i) its lack of strategic depth; and (ii) the absence of a sea-based deterrence to complete the nuclear 'triad'. In other words, India would be able to dominate the nuclear escalation ladder despite Pakistan's 'First Use'.

**Two: Indian Response:** The Indian nuclear doctrine espouses 'No First Use' (NFU) but 'massive retaliation' if India or its forces are targeted with a nuclear weapon. This posed a dilemma for Pakistani planners : if Pakistan uses a nuclear weapon against Indian offensive forces even inside Pakistan in order to avoid the limited punishment that the Indian Armed Forces may inflict, the Indian nuclear response could potentially annihilate Pakistan. Hence, for Pakistan, the nuclear game may not be worth the candle it is played for. This dilemma would have been partly addressed if Pakistan had the ability to deplete the Indian nuclear arsenal with a 'first' / disarming strike, or had nuclear assets that could survive an Indian retaliatory strike (i.e. a credible 'second strike' capability).

**Three:** If Pakistan used a large nuclear weapon as per its prescribed "thresholds" against an ingressed Indian strike force, Pakistan itself would sustain a lot of collateral damage, with much of the target zone being affected by fallout also.

**Four:** Pakistan and India are contiguous countries. Considering the pattern of seasonal winds, there are good chances that in some months, the fallout from a nuclear strike may be blown back over Pakistan.

**Five:** Pakistan's nuclear sabre-rattling has been drawing unwarranted attention to its nuclear programme, especially of the USA. This had the potential to affect Pakistan-China cooperation in the nuclear field, as well as Pakistan's quest for nuclear energy.

19. **Pakistan's Dual-Theme :** Use of Nuclear Weapons: Pakistan has been indirectly 'conveying" to India that it has "lowered its nuclear threshold" and "any war will be a nuclear war". To the international community, however, Pakistan has been posturing as a responsible nuclear power and stating that Pakistan 'will maintain an adequate conventional military force in order to raise its nuclear threshold''. In May 2007, Pakistan's Strategic Plans Division, in a presentation on 'Elements of Pakistan's Nuclear Policy' in France, spelt out, amongst other issues, that Pakistan's (i) nuclear capability is solely for the purpose of deterrence of aggression; (ii) will maintain an adequate conventional military force in order to raise its nuclear

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threshold; and (iii) will pursue a Strategic Restraint Regime (SRR) and other nuclear risk reduction measures in the region. A March 2012 US State Department report stated that "Pakistan ....... nuclear use would be a 'last resort' under circumstances that are unthinkable". Earlier, in 1999, former Pakistan Army Corps Commander Lt Gen Sardar FS Lodhi had outlined that Pakistan's nuclear response would be 'graduated', i.e. (i) first, it would render a warning; (ii) it would then conduct a demonstrative nuclear explosion; (iii) this would be followed by a nuclear strike over enemy troops in Pakistani territory; and (iv) the final step would be a nuclear strike against a small border cantonment in India; followed by a strike(s) against Indian counter-value / counter-force targets. This dual-theme - one for India and another for the international community - also created doubts about Pakistan may actually do.

## TWEAKING THE EXISTING DOCTRINE

20.    It thus seems that despite nuclear 'sabre-rattling', Pakistan felt that it has not been able to posture a credible strategic nuclear deterrence that will completely deter India from punitive actions. Besides, the regional security environment had evolved. Pakistan's quest for a battlefield nuclear attack capability against Indian forces and a shift towards "full-spectrum" response appears to be a tacit admission of this doubt. Pakistan hence seems to have looked at NATO's flexible response strategy with TNWs and co-opted some elements of that. Given Pakistan's limited strategic depth, it's pre-occupation with counter-insurgency operations in its western tribal regions, and its economic and internal security situation, a 'limited objectives' war by India will be a total war for Pakistan : it cannot sustain even a  20-25 kms deep ingress in the built-up areas of Punjab.  Hence, Pakistan began modifying its nuclear posture by developing new short-range nuclear-capable weapon systems to counter military threats below the strategic level, with the overall aim being to create a full-spectrum deterrent that is designed not only to respond to nuclear attacks but to also counter an Indian conventional incursion into Pakistani territory. In March 2015, Lt Gen (Retd) Khalid Ahmed Kidwai, former DG Strategic Plans Division (SPD) acknowledged that Pakistan "possesses a variety of nuclear weapons, in different categories; at the strategic level, at the operational level, and the tactical level ".

21.    The 60-km range Nasr / HATF-IX Battlefield Range Ballistic Missile (BRBM) with a TNW seem to be the resulting brainwave. With the Nasr-TNW combination, Pakistan is exploring the space for a flexible response which falls between a massive albeit suicidal nuclear response, engaging in a catastrophic conventional battle - and doing nothing. The compact size, mobility and 'shoot-and-scoot' capability of the Nasr rocket are supposed to address survivability concerns; its short range, and comparatively flatter ballistic trajectory would make it difficult for any Indian Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) to intercept it; its tactical capability would allow it to target the Indian Army's offensive 'Integrated Battle Groups' that have broken through into Pakistan; a single-digit kiloton weapon would reduce collateral damage within Pakistan; and importantly, a limited nuclear response astride the border / within Pakistan would pose a response dilemma to Indian leaders, particularly with Pakistan also posturing strategic weapons.

22.    Pakistani leaders like Lt Gen (Retd) Khalid Ahmed Kidwai, former DG SPD and Dr. Aman Rashid, Pakistan Foreign Ministry official, have stated that the development of the Nasr-TNW combination by Pakistan is a result of (i) the widening military gap between Pakistan and India on account of latter's massive weapons acquisition and huge defence budget; and (ii) offensive doctrines postulated by India under the nuclear overhang, viz, the CSD.  Separately, Pakistani strategic thinkers opine that "the Pakistani rationale for TNW is that these weapons are an insurance policy against surprise and a guarantee at the operational level. . . . which will buy time against a strategic defeat," and that TNWs can deter "Indian military aggression" because the Nasr-TNW combination generates "tactical uncertainty, strategic hesitation and international resolve to prevent nuclear war."   The 2015 report by the US Naval Postgraduate School states that "TNWs would theoretically plug the gap and create a force multiplier effect for a thinly stretched Pakistani Army". The report adds that considering the Nasr's  range (60 kms), there are three possible-use scenarios, i.e. (i) "at 3 kms [break-in stage], Pakistan would have the option of a trans-

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border employment"; (ii) "at 20 kms [penetration depth], Pakistan would have the option of employment across the border or on its own territory"; and (iii) "at 35 kms, Pakistan would be faced with employment on its own territory".

23.    However, questions remain about the operational status of the TNW component of the Nasr/HATF-IX system. Although the delivery rocket per se is ready and functional, it is not clear whether Pakistan has been able to sufficiently miniaturize a nuclear weapon to fit inside the Nasr rocket. While the US intelligence community (National Air & Space Intelligence Center report of 2013) has listed the Nasr-TNW as a deployed system since 2013, as per the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists ('Pakistani Nuclear Forces', 01 November 2016), "operational deployment of the nuclear version may still be in its early stages." A former Pakistani official knowledgeable about his country's nuclear weapons program has stated that Pakistan has not deployed these weapons. Even if Pakistan has been able to do so, considering that it will likely use Plutonium for such miniaturization, there is a limit to the numbers of TNWs that Pakistan can currently field. This constrains its ability to stem a full-scale Indian offensive consisting of a number of offensive battle groups.

24.    Bomb Designing Skills and Reliability of the Miniaturised Weapon:  As per the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Pakistani bomb designers, who have been at it since the 1970s and have had help from China, appear to have low- to medium-level technical skills. However, let us assume that Pakistan has achieved miniaturisation. In the US, extensive experimentation was needed to create such a small, workable device. In absence of full testing, Pakistan could, at best, have worked on the explosive and detonator, which is not the same as testing with actual materials and device. In sum: assuming there is a TNW for the Nasr, what Pakistan may possess is an untested, unreliable device.

25.    Numbers of Warheads for the Nasr Rocket:  The International Panel on Fissile Materials has estimated that as of late 2015, Pakistan had an inventory of approximately 3100 kg of weapon-grade Highly Enriched Uranium (HEU) and at least 190 kg of weapon-grade plutonium. This material is theoretically enough to produce 204–306 warheads, assuming that each warhead's solid core uses either 12–18 kg of weapon-grade HEU or 4–6 kg of plutonium. However, calculating the number of warheads based solely on the fissile material inventory tends to produce inflated warhead estimates as a number of factors are not cognized, e.g. warhead design, its proficiency, warhead production rates, reserve fissile material, etc. The space and shape constraints in the Nasr rocket mean that it will likely require a linear nuclear warhead. A plutonium-based, linear implosion design can be miniaturised to fit inside the Nasr rocket, but such a device requires almost double the quantity of plutonium as used in a spherical device. Assuming current availability of about 220 kgs of Plutonium and a requirement of about 10 kg of Plutonium (at almost double the rate) per linear-design weapon, this plutonium stockpile translates into roughly 22 TNWs. It is not clear whether Pakistan will appropriate the existing Plutonium stockpile for just the Nasr-TNW combo, or will also distribute some Plutonium for its Babur / HATF-7 Ground Launched Cruise Missile and the Ra'ad / HATF-8 Air Launched Cruise Missile. As per the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, both are much slimmer than Pakistan's ballistic missiles, suggesting success with warhead miniaturization based on plutonium instead of uranium. If it distributes the available Plutonium for warheads for three different sets of weapons (i.e. the Nasr rocket, Babur and the Ra'ad cruise missiles, then given the 60 km range of the Nasr rocket and the fact that India may deploy a number of IBGs astride a long border, Pakistan will need a larger number of warheads for the Nasr to pose a credible threat to a full-scale Indian offensive. The danger however lies in rapid escalation even if one TNW is used. The US Defense Intelligence Agency Director Vincent Stewart stated in his testimony (Senate Armed Services Committee; February 9, 2016) that the Islamabad's "evolving doctrine associated with tactical nuclear weapons, increases the risk of an incident or accident."

26.    Effect of Nuclear Weapons on Armoured Vehicles:  The Indian IBGs would comprise heavily armoured tanks and lightly armoured Infantry Combat Vehicles (ICVs). As per a 1994 study and associated simulations and analysis, incapacitating a tank requires an overpressure of about 3 ATM. Although the number of tanks one warhead can destroy will depend on the tactical disposition (e.g. in a Bridge Head; or dispersed during an advance), the fact remains that multiple warheads will be required to destroy an IBG. As per a 2001 study by Ashley J Tellis, Pakistan would need about "37 weapons of 15 KT (or 57

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weapons of 8 KT) to operationally disable an Indian armored division". In other words, the likely damage potential from the NASR's TNW appears limited and its battlefield utility seems minimal. To pose a credible threat on the battlefield, Pakistan will have to co-opt SRBMs with tactical capability like the Abdali (HATF-II) and Ghaznavi (HATF-III) (these could be deployed with simple fission warheads). Thus, instead of providing any advantage in battle, a limited nuclear attack could in fact seriously complicate the task of Pakistani leaders.

## PROBLEMS : DEPLOYMENT OF TNWS

27. TNWs tend to lower the threshold for nuclear weapon use and their employment against a nuclear-armed opponent carries a significant danger of rapid escalation to strategic levels. They are hence inherently de-stabilizing. TNWs also encourage the concept of forward-basing. In turn, they become vulnerable to an attack by an adversary especially through air power; such vulnerability to attack encourages their pre-emptive use in the first place ("use it or lose it"). The Indian 'Prahaar' battlefield tactical ballistic missile, the 'Nirbhay' LACM, the 'Brahmos' supersonic cruise missile-Su-30 fighter aircraft combination are some weapons that India could possibly use for pre-emptive strikes against the mobile Nasr platform. The use of multiple nuclear warheads astride the border / on Pakistani territory could also render the affected area unliveable for many years; this needs to be seen in light of the fact that the fighting was aimed at retaining control/use of that territory in the first place. It is for all these reasons that many experts feel that considering the current availability of massive conventional bombs of sizes up to 13.6 tons (including fuel-air explosive variants), low single-digit kiloton or sub-kiloton nuclear weapons are more of a problem than a solution.

28. Additionally, Pakistan's Nasr-TNW programme has aroused international concerns on the possibility of TNWs being delegated to Pakistani military field commanders, their consequent vulnerability during field transportation to jihadi elements, etc. In turn, the Pakistani top leadership has been emphasizing that:-

As the use of nuclear weapon including TNWs would have strategic implications, these would only be used as a weapon of last resort, primarily to defend the country's sovereignty.

Pakistan has developed adequate conventional responses to India's CSD. TNWs would only come into play once conventional responses are deemed inadequate.

The command and control of all nuclear weapons including the TNWs would remain centralized, the decision to use nuclear weapons would only be taken at the National Command Authority (NCA) and there would be no pre-delegation of authority.

The geography of Pakistan is favourable to deploying TNWs at forward locations within few hours and therefore, there would be no pre-deployment of such weapons and SRBMs.

29. As evident, some of the above statements too are dual-themed. It is noteworthy that after the 1998 Indo-Pak nuclear tests, Pakistani military officers had stressed that any use of nuclear weapons would have strategic consequences; however, the Pakistani establishment soon began "lowering its nuclear threshold". Now, after a fair amount of drum-beating on the Nasr-TNW capability as a battlefield weapon, Pakistan seems to be reiterating that use of even TNWs will have strategic implications and will be used as a last resort. Whether they follow this up in practice is not known. That said, there is need to take note of the Pak Army's considerable commitment in FATA-KPP (Federally Administered Tribal Area; Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Province), which makes defence of Pakistan against an Indian offensive very difficult. While it has sufficient reserves to respond to LoC violations, it cannot fight an Indian attack across both the LoC and the IB. This raises the stakes for Pakistan to fall back on nuclear weapons, particularly TNWs.

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## CONCLUSION

30.     Except in World War-II, historically, it is conventionally inferior powers that have threatened use of nuclear weapons in order to deter stronger adversaries. The NATO's Cold War doctrine of using TNWs to deter the Warsaw Pact from invading Europe, and Russia's 2000/2004 doctrine threatening the use of non-strategic nuclear weapons (NSNWs) to deter the USA/NATO from intervening in areas of core interest to Russia, are quite similar to Pakistan's doctrine. However, while nuclear weapons command attention and generate tremendous fear, their utility for warfighting seems limited in view of the long-term, dispersed damage they can inflict.

31.     Considering the changing international dynamics, the foreign aid profile, and Pakistan's economic and security situation, it is unlikely that Pakistan will be able to strengthen its conventional capability adequately in the near term. An additional problem for the Pakistani Army is its continuing involvement in counter-insurgency / stability operations in its western tribal regions.  It is hence assessed that Pakistan will continue to fine-tune its nuclear doctrine and strategy, and 'sabre-rattle' nuclear weapons.

32.     For India, the military and political challenge is to (i) find out where Pakistan's real threshold lies, and then calibrate use of force surgically in a manner akin to "salami slicing tactics"; and (ii) operate above the level of Sub-Conventional Operations/covert operations - but below a full-scale war so that Pakistan's actual 'thresholds', as opposed to propagandized ones, are not crossed.

33.     Lastly: the USA has often propounded a view that if Pakistan can build credible conventional forces, it's reliance on nuclear weapons would lessen. History does not support such a view and such a strengthening could not only allow Pakistan to pursue a more pro-active, militant-terrorist entities based "foreign policy" especially vis-à-vis India, but may also increase India's reliance on nuclear weapons (currently, India's conventional military power allows it to have a lower reliance on nuclear weapons, as is evident from our nuclear policy). The dilemma, therefore, is quite stark and there are indicators that India could also be looking at including flexible response options in its nuclear strategy.

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# DRAGON FIRE'S NEXUS WITH PAKISTAN: INDIA NEEDS A STRONGER RESPONSE

BRIG C S THAPA (VETERAN)*

## ABSTRACT

The first casualty will have to be the current government in J&K replaced by Governors rule back to 1988-89. The Supreme Court ruling limiting use of force under AFSPA will need to be sorted out by the government. The Hurriyat sent packing to "Kala Pani". Finding India's bearing in J&K and also ensuring that the military buildup of the mountain strike Corps comes about in a viable time frame and Nepal- China military to military cooperation is stemmed after the current round. India also needs to build infrastructure on the borders.

**TAGS:** Dalai Lama, China- Pakistan, Terrorism, Border Dispute, Indus Water Treaty, Hurriyat.

## GENERAL

The Chinese have been spitting fire ever since the Dalai Lama planned his visit to Arunachal Pradesh. Closer to home, Pakistan too is ensuring that the relations between the two countries stay strained.  In Kashmir the stone pelters are reminding the nation that this is going to be one long hard summer. There is a strong China- Pakistan nexus, which is coming out in the fore front more and more assertively. India will have to change the way it responds.  The Chinese never tire to remind the world and India in particular about the prowess of their might, both military and economic. Why is such a great power afraid of a frail old man who preaches love and non-violence? The answer is simple, a strong China has been an aggressive expansionist country and the Chinese suddenly find the Indian diplomacy standing up challenging them, which they do not like. With Pakistan India needs a stronger response as it is Pakistan military which is the center of gravity to a solution and not Pakistan civilian rule.

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## GEO STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF TIBET

The high Tibetan Plateau correctly called "the roof of the world" is also the store house of water which is likely to be in short supply in the near future. The mighty rivers Indus and Brahmaputra, that flow into India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan respectively, all emanate from Tibet. Historically, Tibet has remained a part of China's integrated "peripheral policy" but never an integral part. "China's Tibet policy is essentially driven by strategic considerations and periphery security . He who controls the high plateau controls East Asia and South Asia. Nepal and Bhutan with the mighty Himalayas are the next borders. The Chinese also wish to control Aksai Chin. A look at the map says it all. A Chinese blogger writing an article "Why Aksai Chin Matters'  states the two largest provinces of Xinjiang and Tibet are separated from each other by Aksai Chin. He further adds and I Quote "Aksai Chin is the bolt which links and locks the two pieces of door planks (Xinjiang and Tibet); without it, the door cannot close. Whether this no man zone was or is a part of Kashmir, China must have it. Anything less than that would mean the two biggest provinces of China, which consist of almost one third of China's territory, are divided from each other and can only be supplied separately from the East". Currently Pakistan has incorrectly given this territory on lease to China. If China with its as proxy Pakistan manages to secure Aksai Chin and the two provinces are joined together, the means of communication or supply would become easy. If Aksai Chin remains as a wedge between the two provinces then the strategic position of Western China will remain unstable. It is therefore, in China's interest that Pakistan pronounces Gilgit Baltistan as its fifth province and China carries on the work on One Belt One Road. The Chinese therefore, even after withdrawing from the area of Arunachal in 1962, continue to claim it as South Tibet, which has little historical evidence. It therefore summarizes that the Chinese will continue to blow hot and cold over Arunachal Pradesh and use it as leverage against India. On the other hand the Indian diplomacy under Mr. Modi continues to look them in the eye of late, which unnerves the Chinese or so it seems.



 Notice Position And Importance Of Aksai Chin And Why Pakistan Wants to Make Northern Areas  To A Fifth Province Thus support for Terrorism etc.

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## CHINA POACHING ON PAKISTAN'S WATER

The Indus water treaty between India and Pakistan, has withstood the test of posterity. The total length of the Indus is 3,180km of which 10 percent or around 320 kms flows in Tibet, which is now controlled by China. In his book again, Cunningham states, I measured the Indus at an uninhabited spot called Ranak, a few miles above the junction of the Puga rivulet, about 260 miles from its source. The stream was 240 feet broad with a mean depth of 1.7916 feet and an extreme depth of three feet. Thus historical records from 1812 clearly prove that the river was 240 feet broad, quite close to its source to a place where it nearly enters India. They also term the Indus as a mighty river in Tibet with a fall more than 4,000feet in the said 320 km, giving it a vast potential for hydroelectric generation. China has built barrages at Tashingong, and Shiquane also called Gar, generating hydroelectricity, all this is clearly affecting Sind agriculture which is facing extinction . It just proves there are no friends or enemies but supreme national interests. Pakistan, because of its own vested interests, turns a Nelson's eye.

## CHINA AND PAKISTAN NEXUS

The China- Pakistan alliance is said to be higher than the mountains and deeper than the seas, yet China poaches on the Indus water knowing full well that Pakistan is the lower riparian state. Pakistan and China first signed the Shakasgam Valley agreement in 1963, and have continued to grow to neutralize India's growth. China has supplied Pakistan with nuclear technology and supported Pakistan with weapons and now openly supports the Jihad cause as well. On the other hand, from 1947 onwards, India tended to play down its claim over the Northern Areas which now Pakistan calls Gilgit Baltistan. The world has felt that the Kashmir problem is pertinent to the Valley only. Manoj Joshi writing for 'The Wire' states, "It is this principle that informs Beijing's tough stand on the Sino-Indian border. In 1960 and 1980 they were agreeable to swapping claims and broached the idea with New Delhi. However, India rejected the proposal, and since it was holding on to Arunachal Pradesh, the

area it claimed in the east, it hoped that it could persuade China to part with some 3000 or so sq kms in the Aksai Chin area. However, beginning 1985, China turned tables on the stunned Indian negotiators by insisting that the bigger dispute lay in the east and has since been demanding concessions from India in that sector. It has said it is willing to concede India's claim to most of Arunachal if India is willing to part with the Tawang tract".

## DALAI LAMA VISIT

This was the sixth visit of the Dalai Lama, which lasted nine days and he was accompanied by minister Kiren Rijiju. The Chinese had objected to his holiness's visit in 2009 as well. The Chinese have been against the visit and have always stated that it will impact ties with India. On the other side India needs to show China, who carry on blocking New Delhi at the Nuclear Suppliers group forum that India too has a card. Tibet's relationship with China has fluctuated with time. The famous Ming Dynasty who ruled China from 1368 to 1644 never controlled Tibet. The Mongol kings did have a representative of the Dalai Lama but by 1644, the Quing empire was established and they accepted the Dalai Lamas as their spiritual head. The sixth Dalai Lama was born near Tawang in 1683. In 1913 the Chinese invaded Tibet, and once they came to the rescue of Tibet when the Gorkhas were overrunning them and also when the Sikhs attacked Tibet. But the 13th Dalai Lama expelled China and issued a declaration of independence for Tibet while expelling the Chinese representatives. The current, 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, escaped from Tibet via Tawang in 1959 and has been in exile in India since then, along with more than 1,50,000 of his compatriots. The Chinese are more worried that the next Dalai Lama incarnation may be in Arunachal Pradesh?

## THE BORDER QUESTION AND REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The Chinese would want a mutual exchange with India, retain Aksai Chin and give up their claim on Arunachal Pradesh. This will put India in a spot over the Kashmir issue with Pakistan. Thus to keep the issue alive and also ensure that India does not challenge China in the long haul by becoming an economic power house, the Chinese use Pakistan as a proxy. The two nations have also mastered the use of force, something which the Indian strategic planners find hard to tackle. Pravin Sawhney has clearly spelt a warning. "Pakistan and China have high levels of interoperability which is the ability of two armed forces to operate with ease as one whole in a combat environment. This helps strengthen deterrence, manage crises, shape battlefields and win wars. The invigorated Pakistan military - which would be supported by China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) in all conventional war domains (land, sea, air, space, electromagnetic and cyber) without showing its hand - is the new military threat facing India. As a result, from being a lackey, Pakistan has emerged as China's most trusted and crucial partner for its geo strategic designs, which are unfolding through the wide-sweeping One Belt One Road (OBOR) project. The highway is going to link Kashgar in China to Gwadar port in Pakistan. It will strengthen the oil security to China and as per estimates will cut down the travel time by fifteen days, making oil cheaper for energy starved China. In short, Indian has two border problems: one with Pakistan Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir and two Line of Actual Control with China. The aim of both Pakistan and China is simply to limit India. Pakistan ensures India does not get easy access to Afghanistan and China wants India to stay in the subcontinent while it becomes a dominant power in the 21st century. China has transferred nuclear and missile technology to Pakistan, neutralizing India strategically in South Asia and limiting Indian capacity to dominate the neighbourhood because of India's size and potential. India now has the problematic situation of having two nuclear powers on its borders, with both collaborating with each other to put constraints on India. China opposed the Indo US nuclear deal to the extent it could. Thus China has Aksai Chin, a part of Ladakh, China is in physical possession of approximately 38,000 square kilometers of Indian territory. In addition, Pakistan illegally ceded 5,180 sq kms of Indian Territory in the Shaksgam Valley of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, North West of the Siachen Glacier, to China in 1963 under a boundary agreement that India does not recognize.

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## CONCLUSION

The stone pelters continue to get bolder and bolder, the answer is to look at the problem in a geo- strategic domain and not as a law and order issue. There is a convergence of interests between the terrorists, stone pelters, Pakistan, China and also a voice heard rarely these days, the Human Rights activists. All are converging on a single issue, balkanization of the Indian state. The first casualty will have to be the current government in J&K replaced by Governor's rule back to 1988-89. The Supreme Court ruling limiting use of force under AFSPA will need to be sorted out by the government. The Hurriyat sent packing to "Kala Pani". Finding India's bearing in J&K and also ensuring that the military buildup of the mountain strike Corps comes about in a viable time frame and Nepal- China military to military cooperation is stemmed after the current round. India also needs to build infrastructure on the borders. For all this 3% of GDP is required and not 1.74 % as is the current rate. The time to act is now and any delay will be costly

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# SECESSIONIST MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

PRAVIN KUMAR JHA*

## INTRODUCTION

Secessionist Movements are the most violent and dangerous as it is based on the demand to form a separate nation of its own. Its emergence in India is linked to the problems of Centre- state relations and relations within states between political contenders. The unity and integrity of the Indian state, mostly understood in the territorial sense, has clouded the central government's approach toward demands for confederal autonomy. In some cases, the movements for maximum autonomy have confronted the coercive might of the state and have become violent in nature. In such cases, the fear of disintegration has often led the state to react to such demands with a reflexive statist attitude with sweeping, indiscriminate military aggression. In the case of Jammu and Kashmir and some of the north-eastern states (such as Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, and Tripura) external support for autonomist-turned-secessionist demands has further complicated matters, compelling the defence mechanism of the Indian state to resort to intense counterinsurgency operations. But research shows that in many cases, apart from external intervention, unimaginative handling of demands for "autonomy" within the Indian union has itself led to violence.Any assertion on religious or ethnic grounds has been regarded as inimical to the central principles of unity and integrity of the state and treated with disdain and force. This has worsened matters in Punjab, the Northeast, and even in Jammu and Kashmir.

## PUNJAB

The decade of 1980s also witnessed major developments in the State of Punjab. The social composition of the State changed first with partition and later on after the carving out of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. While the rest of the country was reorganised on linguistic lines in 1950s, Punjab had to wait till 1966 for the creation of a Punjabi speaking State. After the reorganisation, the Akalis came to power in 1967 and then in 1977. On both the occasions it was a coalition government. The Akalis discovered that despite the redrawing of the boundaries, their political position

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remained precarious. Firstly, their government was dismissed by the Centre mid-way through its term. Secondly, they did not enjoy strong support among the Hindus. Thirdly, the Sikh community, like all other religious communities, was internally differentiated on caste and class lines. The Congress got more support among the dalits, whether Hindu or Sikh, than the Akalis.

It was in this context that during the 1970s a section of Akalis began to demand political autonomy for the region. This was reflected in a resolution passed at their conference at Anandpur Sahib in 1973. Indian government refused to consider the idea of the formation of a separate state based on religion. However, on linguistic lines Punjab and Haryana were created from Punjab province. The sikhs were unsatisfied with the decision as many Hindus continued to reside in their area. Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan, an extremist leader had first proposed the idea of Khalistan in 1971, with the state having own flag, currency and passport, etc. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution drafted in October, 1973 outlined the guiding policies and programmers of Akali Dal. The core political Demand of the Resolution is "to preserve and keep alive the concept of district and independent identity of the Panth and to create an environment in which national sentiments and aspirations of the Sikh Panth will find full expression, satisfaction and growth". (quoted in Tatta 1999:27)

This document offered seven key objectives to reach its political goals like, transfer of the Chandigarh to Punjab, readjustment of the boundaries of Punjab to incorporate certain Sikh populated areas, provision of a measure of provincial autonomy for all Indian states vis-a vis the center, land reforms, nationalization for key industries, promulgation of All India Gurudwara Act, protection of Sikh minorities outside Punjab and non- reduction of the recruitment quota for Sikh in the armed forces.

Although controversial, the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was endorsed by a number of Sikh intelligentsia, servicemen and politicians. The Akali Dal denied that Resolution envisaged autonomous Sikh state of Khalistan, but just a system under which Sikh could live without interference in their religious way of life (Deol 2000:1001-2) Between August 1980 and September 1981, the Akali Dal held seven peaceful agitations. In 1981 Akali Dal adopted the slogan, "Sikh are a nation," and submitted a list of forty-five demands to the central government. Following the demands of 'Separate nation' by Akali Dal, non-Akali Sikhs also raised the Khalistan slogan. In the 1980's, Sikhs proposed a quest for separate identity from the predominant regions due to feeling of discrimination. They wanted to gain more political and economic autonomy from the government. Anandpur Sahib Resolution, was passed in Punjab and people largely felt that in water distribution and territory politics of the state, Punjab was neglected. Under the leadership of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, more assertive form of politics was advocated. His role as a religious leader gained him popularity and resulted in the formation of groups which adopted militant activities to achieve the aim. Indian Government held talks with the representatives of Khalistan and various meetings were organised. These talks resulted in failure and militancy was increasing at a faster pace.Soon, the leadership of the movement passed from the moderate Akalis to the extremist elements and took the form of armed insurgency.Punjab experienced an increase in violence form 1982 till 1983. President's rule was imposed on October 6, 1983.

These militants made their headquarters inside the Sikh holy shrine, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, and turned it into an armed fortress. In June 1984, the Government of India carried out 'Operation Blue Star', code name for army action in the Golden Temple to end the militant violence. It resulted in the massacre of militants and Bhindranwale's death, including the damage to the temple itself. Sikh all over the world condemned the attack on their holiest shrine. This anger led to the assassination of the then prime minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh Bodyguards on October 31, 1984. Riots broke out all over India after this incidence in response to Indira Gandhi's death. Thousands of Sikhs were killed in these riots. This proved to be the catalyst in the violent struggle for a separate state. The secessionist movement for the creation of separate state was strongly backed by the Sikh diaspora.

After coming to power following the election in 1984, the new Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi initiated a dialogue with

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moderate Akali leaders. In July 1985, he reached an agreement with Harchand Singh Longowal, then the President of the Akali Dal. This agreement, known as the Rajiv Gandhi - Longowal Accord or the Punjab Accord, was a step towards bringing normalcy to Punjab. It was agreed that Chandigarh would be transferred to Punjab, a separate commission would be appointed to resolve the border dispute between Punjab and Haryana, and a tribunal would be set up to decide the sharing of Ravi-Beas river water among Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan. The agreement also provided for compensation to and better treatment of those affected by the militancy in Punjab and the withdrawal of the application of Armed Forces Special Powers Act in Punjab.

However, peace did not come easily or immediately. The cycle of violence continued nearly for a decade. The Khalistan Secessionist Movement saw its end, when police commissioner K.P.S Gill, supported by the Army employed forceful tactics to eliminate terrorism and militant activities, with the elimination of major Sikh fundamentalists, violence and militancy also got reduced and resulted in the end of Khalistan Movement. The growth of the separatist sentiments amongst the Sikhs was primarily due to political and economic factors. It was a fear of alienation and the failure to establish an identity. Army forced the militants to lose ground. Moreover militant lost their support base with people, due to their lack of concern towards civilians. The lack of substantial reasons such as geographical limitations, fewer members to fight for the cause and a decline in external support led to the end of the struggle for the Sikh's demand for a separate state.

Militancy and counter insurgency violence led to excesses by the police and violations of human rights. Politically, it led to fragmentation of the Akali Dal. The central government had to impose President's rule in the State and the normal electoral and political process was suspended. It was not easy to restore the political process in the atmosphere of suspicion and violence. When elections were held in Punjab in 1992, only 24 per cent of the electors tuned out to vote. . The alliance of Akali Dal (Badal) and the BJP scored a major victory in1997, in the first normal elections in the State in the post-militancy era. The State is once again preoccupied with questions of economic development and social change. Though religious identities continue to be important for the people, politics has gradually moved back along secular lines.What hurt the Sikhs most was that the government took a long time in restoring normalcy and that the perpetrators of this violence were not effectively punished.Twenty years later, speaking in the parliament in 2005, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh expressed regret over these killings and apologised to the nation for the anti-Sikh violence.

## THE NORTH-EAST

In the North-East, regional aspirations reached a turning point in 1980s. This region now consists of seven states, also referred to as the 'seven sisters'. The region has only 4 per cent of the country's population but about twice as much share of its area. A small corridor of about 22 kilometres connects the region to the rest of the country. Otherwise the region shares boundaries with China, Myanmar and Bangladesh and serves as India's gateway to south-east Asia. The region has witnessed a lot of change since 1947. Tripura, Manipur and Khasi Hills of Meghalaya were erstwhile Princely States which merged with India after independence. The entire region of North-East has undergone considerable political reorganisation. Nagaland State was created in 1960; Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura in 1972 while Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram became separate States only in 1986. The partition of India in 1947 had reduced the North-East to a land locked region and affected its economy. Cut off from the rest of India, the region suffered neglect in developmental terms. Its politics too remained insulated. At the same time, most States in this region underwent major demographic changes due to influx of migrants from neighbouring States and countries.

The isolation of the region, its complex social character and its backwardness compared to other parts of the country have all resulted in the complicated set of demands from different states of the North-East. The vast international border and weak communication between the North-East and the rest of India have further added to the delicate nature of

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politics there. Three issues dominate the politics of North-East: demands for autonomy, movements for secession, and opposition to 'outsiders'. Major initiatives on the first issue in the 1970s set the stage for some dramatic developments on the second and the third in the 1980s.

## DEMAND FOR AUTONOMY

At independence the entire region except Manipur and Tripura comprised the State of Assam. Demands for political autonomy arose when the non-Assamese felt that the Assam government was imposing the Assamese language. There were opposition and protest riots throughout the State. Leaders of the major tribal communities wanted to separate from Assam. They formed the Eastern India Tribal Union which later transformed into a more comprehensive All Party Hill Leaders Conference in 1960. They demanded a tribal state to be carved out of Assam. Finally instead of one tribal state, several states got carved out of Assam. At different points of time the Central Government had to create Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh out of Assam. Tripura and Manipur were upgraded into states too.

The reorganisation of the North-East was completed by 1972. But this was not the end of autonomy demands in this region. In Assam, for example, communities like the Bodos, Karbis and Dimasas wanted separate states. They worked for this demand by mobilising public opinion and popular movement as well as through insurgency. Often the same area was claimed by more than one community. It was not possible to go on making smaller and yet smaller states. Therefore, some other provisions of our federal setup were used to satisfy their autonomy demands while remaining in Assam. Karbis and Dimasas have been granted autonomy under District Councils while Bodos were recently granted Autonomous Council.

## NAGA AND MIZO SEPARATE STATEHOOD DEMAND

After independence, the Mizo hills area was made on autonomous district within Assam. Some Mizos believed that they were never a part of British India and therefore did not belong to the Indian Union. The movement for secession gained popular support after the Assam Government failed to respond adequately to the famine in 1959 of Mizo hills. Mizo National Front (MNF) was formed under the leadership of Laldenga

In 1966 MNF launched an armed campaign for independence. Battle was fought between the Indian Army and Mizo insurgents for almost two decades. The Indian security focus countered the guerilla war of MNF with a series of repressive measures, which affected common people also. This led to the alienation of people from the Central Government. In 1986, a peace agreement was signed between the then prime minister Rajiv Gandhi and Laldenga. As per this accord, Mizoram was granted full-fledged statehood with special powers and the MNF agreed to give up secessionist struggle. Laldenga took over as the chief minister.

Similarly, a section of Nagas declared independence from India in 1951, under the leadership of Angami Zaphuphizo. The National council launched an armed struggle for sovereignty of Nagas by demanding a separate country. After a period of violent insurgency a section of the Nagas signed an agreement with the government of India. Most rebels surrendered by signing Shillong Accord of 1975. But this was not acceptable to other rebels. On August 3, 2015, with the aim of ending insurgency in Nagaland, the government signed an agreement with the key outfit, NSCN-IM, at New Delhi. The pact was signed in the presence of the prime minister, home minister, national security advisor, the outfit's leader, T. Muivah, and the government's interlocutor, R.N.Ravi. The signing of the pact was the culmination of over 80 rounds of negotiations that spanned 16 years with the first breakthrough in 1997, when a ceasefire agreement was sealed. While the National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Issac-Muivah is the biggest Naga rebel group which has been maintaining the ceasefire, another faction led by S.S. Khaplang continues to indulge in violence and was believed to be behind the deadly attack on the army in Manipur in June. It is not immediately clear whether the agreement meets the

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main demands of the NSCN-IM for integration of all Naga-inhabited areas in the north-east across Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Assam. The problem in Nagaland still awaits a final resolution.

## MOVEMENTS AGAINST OUTSIDERS

The large scale migration into the north-east gave rise to a special kind of problem that pitted the 'local' communities against people who were seen as 'outsiders' or migrants. These latecomers, either from India or abroad are seen as encroachers on scarce resources like, land and potential competitors to employment opportunities and political power. This issue has taken political and sometimes violent form in many states of the north-east.The Assam Movement from 1979 to 1985 is the best example of such movements against 'outsiders'. The Assamese suspected that there were huge numbers of illegal Bengali Muslim settlers from Bangladesh. They felt that unless these foreign nationals are detected and deported they would reduce the indigenous Assamese into a minority. There were other economic issues too. There was widespread poverty and unemployment in Assam despite the existence of natural resources like oil, tea and coal. It was felt that these were drained out of the state without any commensurate benefit to the people. In 1979 the All Assam Students' Union (AASU), a students' group not affiliated to any party, led an anti-foreigner movement. The movement was against illegal migrations, against domination of Bengalis and other outsiders, and against faulty voters' register that included the names of lakhs of immigrants. The movement demanded that all outsiders who had entered the state after 1951 should be sent back. The agitation followed many novel methods and mobilised all sections of Assamese people, drawing support across the state. It also involved many tragic and violent incidents leading to loss of property and human lives. The movement also tried to blockade the movement of trains and the supply of oil from Assam to refineries in Bihar.

Eventually after six years of turmoil, the Rajiv Gandhi-led government entered into negotiations with the AASU leaders, leading to the signing of an accord in 1985. According to this agreement those foreigners who migrated into Assam during and after Bangladesh war and since, were to be identified and deported. With the successful completion of the movement, the AASU and the Asom Gana Sangram Parishad organised themselves as a regional political party called Asom Gana Parishad (AGP). It came to power in 1985 with the promise of resolving the foreign national problem as well as to build a 'Golden Assam'. Assam accord brought peace and changed the face of politics in Assam, but it did not solve the problem of immigration. The issue of the 'outsiders' continues to be a live issue in the politics of Assam and many other places in the North-East. This problem is particularly acute, for example, in Tripura as the original inhabitants have been reduced to being a minority in their own land. The same feeling informs the hostility of the local population to Chakma refugees in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.

### JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The discontent prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir has deep roots in its history of accession to the Indian union. Initially the question of the state's accession was to be decided by the people of Jammu and Kashmir through plebiscite, but later it was withdrawn. This left a deep impact on the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The political arrangement which emerged in the Jammu and Kashmir state after signing the Instrument of Accession, suffered a serious crisis of legitimacy. Ironically, such autonomy was granted to the Kashmiris in Article 370 of the Indian constitution and reinforced by the Jawaharlal Nehru-Sheikh Abdullah accord in 1952 and the Mirza Afzal Beg" G. Parthasarathy talks of 1977. The summary rejection of an autonomy bill, passed in the Jammu and Kashmir assembly by the central BJP dispensation in 2000, suggests the strength of the fundamental suspicion with which the Kashmiri people are regarded.

Internally, there is a dispute about the special status given to J&K under article 370 in Indian constitution. Article 370 gives greater autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir compared to other states of the country. All provisions of the India

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constitutions are not applicable to the state. Laws passed by the parliament can be applied to J&K only with the concurrence of state legislature. Another section of Kashmiris believes that the autonomy conferred by article 370 is not enough. They have expressed that the special federal status guaranteed by article 370, has been eroded in practice. This has led to the demand for restoration of autonomy or 'greater state autonomy'. Another grievance has been that the democratic institutions were not allowed to grow in the state. Democracy, which is practiced in rest of the India has not been similarly institutionalized in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Separatist politics which surfaced in Kashmir from 1989 has taken different forms and is made up of various strands. There is one strand of separatists who want aseparate Kashmiri nation independent of India and Pakistan. Then there are groups that want Kashmir to merge with Pakistan. Besides these, there is a third strand which wants greater autonomy for the people of the state within the Indian union. Jammu and Ladakh people often complain of neglect and backwardness. Therefore the demand for intra-state autonomy is as strong as the demand for the state autonomy. At times democratically elected leaders of the state were removed through the central government's intervention and democratic movements were suppressed. Sten Widmalm (1997) argues that the poor record of democracy in J & K is characterized by constant rigging of elections and by various forms of intervention by the central government which prevented the development of a fair and autonomous competition between political parties.

In Aug 1953 Sheikh Abdullah, the then Chief Minister of the state was arrested and dismissed on being autocratic and corrupt. This shattered the faith of Kashmiri people. Various presidential orders were carried out during 1953-75 in J&K, which further increased the political vacuum between the centre and the state. As political intervention from the centre increased and the strength of regional party National Conference (NC) started declining, the incentive to resort to violence grew. Finally this led to the widespread conflict which broke in 1990. In the name of freedom struggle many terrorist groups like Hizbollah, Hizbual Mujahideen and Harket-ul-Asarare started operating in the state. By August 1989 the spate of killings and kidnappings had increased. Militants build up such intense pressure that political parties also suspended their activities in the valley. In mid- 1990, because of intense militant activity, Kashmiri Pandits, who were in minority in valley, felt threatened and migrated to Jammu and other parts of the country. A very large number of insurgents, police, para-military personnel and civilians have lost their lives since the onset of insurgency.

Besides political factors, socio-economic factors have also aggravated the situation. Unemployment, corruption, economic stagnation have made the youth disenchanted with the Government and the system. Commercially the state continues to be backward. There is no large scale industry as such and in spite of hydroelectric potential in the state, power shortage is an acute problem. State has many unemployed people due to lack of industrialization, which led to the diversion of youth towards the path of secession.The regional as well as communal polarization in Jammu and Kashmir was reflected more sharply in its state politics during the decade of the nineties, especially in the background of militancy and political upsurge. Alienation of Kashmiris had the effect of bringing into focus the divergence of political aspiration between Kashmir on the one hand and Jammu and Ladakh on the other hand.

This divergence was politicized in both the regions during 1990-1996 when normal political processes were suspended in the valley. During this period there was intensification of political deliberations around the regional aspirations in both the areas. The issue of 'Regional Autonomy' had become the most vocal issue of these regions by 1996. Regional Autonomy committee was constituted in 1996, to promote involvement and participation of people from different ethnic groups for balanced political, economic, educational, social and cultural development. However, this committee's report did not offer any convincing explanation for why development could not be achieved within the existing district and regional boundaries.

Many scholars have the view that the main problem before Jammu and Kashmir is not in unbridled autonomy but in the devolution of powers. In the post 1996 period a number of group and organizations had mushroomed in Jammu,

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which had been raising the demand for trifurcation of the state. RSS launched an organization, the Jammu and Kashmir Nationalist front (JKNF) to mobilize public support for a separate state. Meanwhile, the leadership of Kashmiri Hindus, who have been forced to migrate from the valley, have also raised the demand for a separate homeland in the north of Kashmir. On the whole the regional and sub- regional politics of both Jammu and Ladakh regions had accentuated the already existing communal polarisation within the state.

What distinguishes the Kashmir conflict from other regional disputes is the involvement of a third country, Pakistan. Since the day Maharaja of Kashmir signed the Instrument of Accession with India, Kashmir dispute has intensified to the extent that both the countries have fought three wars in 1948, 1965 and 1999. Pakistan considers Kashmir as a disputed territory and has insisted on implementations of plebiscite as per UN resolutions. On the other hand the Indian state considers the accession of Kashmir to India as final and thereby rejects talks of plebiscite. India considers Kashmir as an integral part of India and officially denies that Kashmir is disputed. Indian Government says that Kashmir is not the core issue. The issue is more about the problems in Kashmir rather than the problem of Kashmir. Whereas for the Pakistan Government disputed territory of Kashmir is the core issue. According to Sumantra Bose (1989) disputes over Kashmir is the single most important symptom of the deep rooted animosity between India and Pakistan.

A new phase of political engagement between India and Pakistan began after Kargil war. The initiation of the peace process in the post Kargil era marks a turning point in the history of J&K. It resulted in major policy changes towards the Kashmir issue at various levels. For the first time unilateral ceasefire was announced by the Indian Security Forces in 2000. This was the most significant expression of India's new Kashmir policies. Central government had provided a political platform to representatives of all the regions as well as ethno-religious and linguistic communities. Roundtable conferences were organised with the political parties, separatist leaders and political groups to collectively deliberate on the state's political future. Working groups have been established and confidence building measures have been taken by the government to improve the situation in J&K. Measures have been taken by the Government to simplify procedures to facilitate travel across the LOC, to expand people to people contact and to open up new routes such as Kargil, Skardu etc. on Oct. 22, 2003 India announced 12 point confidence building proposal to strengthen the Indo-Pak. relations.

Although there are constraints in the peace process which have roots in the domestic compulsions of both the countries, several rounds of discussions have highlighted that India wants to broad phase the bilateral agenda, while Pakistan wants to bring the central issue of Kashmir before resolving any other issue.

Recently prime minister, Narendra Modi announced a financial package for Jammu and Kashmir. The Centre is intended to give a powerful fillip to a gamut of developmental activities that are people oriented. During his two visits to the state of J&K, prime minister Modi tried to follow the Kashmir policy initiated by the then prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's, based on the principles of Insaaniyat (humanism), Jamhooriyat (democracy), and Kashmiriyat (Kashmir's age-old legacy). But Modi's policy is more focused on engaging with Kashmiris directly by offering them development, employment and good governance; and keeping Pakistan and the separatists at bay. The Uri attack and Pakistan's prime minister Nawaj Sharif's statement at the UN that terrorist Burhan Wani was a young leader has led to a radical change in India's policy. India is now pursuing a more robust policy based on offensive defense. Prime minister, Modi blamed Pakistan-promoted cross-border terrorism as the main reason for turmoil in Kashmir. He declared that India would shame Pakistan in the international community for excesses committed in Balochistan and POK. Indian foreign minister in a speech at UN, called on the world to isolate Pakistan because it sponsors terrorism. The surgical strike heralds this paradigmatic shift in India's policy toward Pakistan.

## ANALYSIS

Even after almost seven decades of independence, some of the issues of national integration are not fully resolved; the increasing movements of secessionism and separatism have vitiated the political and social baric of the nation.The shrinking capacity of the state, underdevelopment, and the politicization of plural peripheral identities, together with the search for power by neo-elites at the margins, have snapped the interethnic and intercultural bonds that have so far drawn them together. This has created new identities and led to an overwhelming demand for secessionism and separatism. The period since 1980, accentuated these tensions and tested the capacity of democratic politics to accommodate the demands of diverse sections of the society. These aspirations are very much a part of democratic politics. Even in smaller countries like the United Kingdom, there are regional aspiration in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Spain faces secessionist movement form the Basques and so does Sri Lanka from the Tamils.

Secessionist aspirations should be responded through democratic negotiation rather than through suppression. In the eighties militancy had erupted in Punjab; problems were persisting in the north-east; students in Assam were agitating; Kashmir valley was on the boil. Instead of treating these as simple law and order problems, the Government of India reached negotiated settlements with these movements. This produced a reconciliation which reduced the tensions existing in many regions. The example of Mizoram shows how political settlement can resolve the problem of separatism effectively. There should be devolution of power and decision making should be shared with all the groups and parties involved. They should be given a share in the national level decision making to curb the feeling of injustice and alienation of the people. The federal system adapted by India is a flexible arrangement. While most of the states have equal powers, special provisions have been extended to Jammu & Kashmir and North- eastern states. The sixth schedule of the constitution allows complete autonomy of preserving different practices and customary laws. These provisions proved crucial in resolving some of the very complex political problems in North-East. A strong sense of nationhood is necessary to maintain our territorial integrity and internal security through co-operative federalism.

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# THE PRESIDENT: DISCRETIONARY POWERS

SHUBHA SINHA*

The discretionary powers of the Indian presidency, in my opinion, needs articulation based on politico-legal framework of post-colonial journey of constitutionalism in a parliamentary democracy with a super imposed structure of federalism. In fact, the heat and dust generated from time to time by the incumbents as well as political pundits regarding the existential locus of discretionary powers of the Indian President may have subsided but as a matter of fact it has not been settled as yet and may flare up again. Hence, the issue needs a careful analytical treatment in terms of constitutional positioning of the office as well as actual operational dynamics by the occupants of the office. In other words, the thematic justice of the issue requires explicit outlining of the normative as well as the constitutional arrangements of the political system on the one hand and causal explanations on the other.

## INSTITUTIONAL ROAD MAP

The collective conscience of our colossal constituent assembly decided to join the comity of independent political systems by introducing "Euro-American constitutional tradition" with modern administrative structures of governance hitherto almost unknown to our politically traditional society. We, the people, decided to have a parliamentary democratic polity of liberal tradition with an equally important office of indirectly elected president who being the head of the state was to act according to the aid and advice of the council of ministers headed by the Prime Minister. The constituent assembly debates clearly reflect that in their vision document of governance they have made their choice crystal clear in favour of Westminster model with a suitable modification whereby hereditary Monarchy has to be replaced by an indirectly elected President who otherwise would play similar role of a constitutional figure head as being played by Monarch in England. The Presidency was created in such a manner by the architects of our constitutional machinery in that the position of incumbent appears as nothing better than a person with absolute executive powers which cannot be exercised on his own individual wisdom or discretion. Nehru did not mince words while presenting the report to the Constituent Assembly and clearly said that the President has no 'Real Power', although it is a position of great authority

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and dignity'.  He continued further, 'we wanted to emphasise the ministerial character of the Government that power really resided in the Ministry and in the Legislature and not in the President as such'. Echoing similar vision, Dr. Ambedkar also argued in the Assembly:

> "The President occupies the same position as the King under the English constitution. He represents the nation but does not rule the nation. He will generally be bound by the advice of his ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice nor can he do anything without their advice".

Even Dr. Rajendra Prasad expressed similar views and said :

> We considered whether we should adopt the American model or the British model where we have the hereditary king who is the fountain of all honour and power, but who does not enjoy any power. All the power rests in the legislature to which the ministers are responsible. We have had to reconcile the position of elected president with an elected legislature, and in doing so, we have adopted the British Monarch for the president ….Although there are no specific provisions, so far as I know, in the constitution itself, making it binding on the president, it is hoped that the convention, under which in England the king acts always on the advice of his ministers, will be established in this country also and the president, not so much on account of the written word in the constitution, but as the result of this very healthy convention, will become a constitutional president in all matters".

However, a parallel narrative favouring the required discretionary power of the president was also evidently visible in the constituent assembly which was strongly represented by Dr. K. M. Munshi. Anxious to guard the unrestricted parliamentary supremacy in the proposed constitution he consistently debated to provide and strengthen the powers and functions of the president, so that in crisis, he could interfere and arrest a constitutional breakdown in the centre. He therefore urged that the president should have the power of safeguarding the constitution as also those necessary effectively to maintain the machinery of the government in a crisis which might be created by the absence of a single majority in power at the centre, or by that party acting un-constitutionally, or by the country being exposed to external dangers. Incidentally, contrary to his own stated position on the above mentioned issue and despite such clarity of the assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad did not hesitate in writing a note to B. N. Rau seeking an explanation that he did not find a provision laying it down in clear terms that the president was bound to accept and act upon the advice of his ministers particularly in the matter of appointment of Chairperson of U.P.S.C. (which was supposed to be done in his discretion). According to Austin, though reply to this letter is unavailable but one can safely assume that he pointed out Prasad's error to him. In other words Prasad may have been gently but firmly conveyed that the constituent assembly has ventured to produce an innovative Elixir of Presidency within the overall framework of parliamentary democracy which does not permit such an exception to the titular head.

The provisions, therefore, relating to the President were the outcome of the different viewpoints  which prevailed among those who concerned themselves with framing them in Constituent Assembly and were not bodily  adopted from any constitutional model. The American type of Presidential government was rejected by the Constituent Assembly, the suggestion that the President should be a figure head like the President of the pre-de Gaulle French Republic of 1875 or a nominee of the party in power in Parliament was equally rejected. However, the Cabinet system on British model was preferred for Central Executive Government as it provided a continual assessment and control of the activities of the government by Parliament and thereby eliminated friction between the Executive and the Legislative organs, making for a more effective government.  Within this scheme the President was to represent the whole country  (and not the party in power  at the Centre)exercising specific powers and authority coupled with the responsibility to function as the supreme guardian of democratic processes and forms and the fundamental rights guaranteed  by it.

The enumeration of the President's power is extensive and runs through the entire fabric of the Constitution. Moreover, unlike the Westminster model which we have relied heavily upon, our founding fathers have taken utmost care to take into consideration

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their concern for federal polity of India which has important bearing on the power and position of presidency. Therefore, unlike the unitary British political system where the Prime Minister is solely responsible to the sovereign parliament the Indian President has been empowered to protect the basic ethos of federal component of the constitution from the invasion of politically stronger components. The constitutional laws have therefore vested certain discretion for this purpose which is reflected in his power to consult authorities other than the council of ministers which is not enjoyed by the British Crown.  Unlike the British crown the Indian president has the power to consult authorities other than the Council of Ministers. He can consult the Supreme Court, Attorney General and Election Commissions. Discretionary power, though not categorized as such, has been vested in him by the Constitution under Articles 75(2), 111, 123, 124, 127, 128, 263, 304, 349, 352, 360, 365, 366(22), and 368 .

## THE PRESIDENCY IN OPERATION

As far as operational dynamics of presidency is concerned, no doubt, the occupants of the office have so far acted as the constitutional head of the state but some of them have openly displayed their reservations and acted in a manner which could have eroded the absolute constitutional supremacy of the council of ministers headed by the prime minister. The beginning in this matter was made by none other than Dr. Rajendra Prasad who sent a note to Nehru in September 1951 expressing his desire to act primarily on his own wisdom, independently of the council of ministers, whenever he was expected to assent to Bills, to send messages to parliament and returning Bills to Parliament for reconsideration. Nehru, in turn referred this letter to A.K. Ayyar and the then Attorney-General, M.C. Sheetalvad for their opinion. Both replied, though separately, that under no circumstances the President can do so. To quote Sheetalvad', by Article 74(1) the President is bound to act in all matters with the aid and advice of his council of ministers. He further added the argument which was used by Ayyangar during constituent assembly debates where he had argued that power lies with the council of ministers simply because they represent the 'sovereign' people in the Parliament which is not the case with the President. Ayyar, in his reply went further and rejected Prasad's reference of Article 105, which was used by Prasad to reinforce his opinion that British precedent did not apply to conventional limitations of Presidential power, by reminding that the article had been adopted primarily because it was easier to do so than to reiterate the Presidential privileges one by one. Further, he said that Article 254 bestowed no special power on the President, who is bound by ministerial advice and must not appoint himself up as an 'umpire'  between the states and the Union Government. The President, therefore, could not give or withhold assent to Bills as he did not enjoy 'revisional' or appellate authority. Though, Prasad had to relent, the bone of contention did not die as it resurfaced in an academic incarnation a decade later. In November 1960 Prasad raised the issue of discretion once again, this time in a public domain. Addressing the legal audience at the Indian Law Institute, (which ironically was attended by Nehru and Sheetalvad) he emphatically asked as to what extent Indians were entitled' to invoke and incorporate into our written constitution by interpretation the conventions of the British constitution,which is an unwritten constitution. He, further, attempted to strengthen his argument by stating that unlike the King the president was both elected and liable to impeachment apart from the fact that our conditions and problems are not at par with the British. However, despite such repeated attempts towards assertion by Prasad he could not tilt the balance and the parliamentary framework remained unchanged. Commenting upon the futile attempts of political coup by Prasad, Alexandrowicz said:

"Despite Rajendra Prasad's attempts to the contrary, the examination of constitutional practice in the post-independence years show(s) beyond doubt that …the President is by convention reduced to a mere figurehead while the Ministry is the real executive".

## DISCRETION IN THE EYES OF JUDICIARY

The post-Prasad saga of debate revolved more in the domain of judicial interpretations of the issue as the incumbents of the presidency appear to have tacitly reconciled to their ceremonial position in the political system. Thus in Ram Jawaya Kapur's case, and Shamsher Singh's  case, the Supreme Court held that since India follows the cabinet system as in England, it would be legitimate to refer to British conventions while interpreting the constitution. Infact, in this case the court overturned its judgement in

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Sardari Lal vs. Union of India  of India by saying that the satisfaction of the President was not his personal satisfaction rather it should be read as satisfaction of the council of ministers. In U.N.R. Rao case, the court reaffirmed the absence of discretion by stating that Article 74(1) is mandatory and the president cannot exercise executive power without such aid and advice, and the contrary would be considered unconstitutional in view of Artcle 53(1). Interestingly all these decisions pre-date the1976 amendments to Article 74 which put binding fetters upon the president. Similarly, when the issue of discretion in the context of his power to grant pardon came for the judicial scrutiny the supreme court decided (Manu Ram vs Union of India ) that the power concerned was to be exercised on the aid and advice of the"Central Government". Justice Krishna Iyer went on to say that the term president's was nothing but a functional euphemism; he must act promptly on and only on the advice of the council of ministers. Similar views were reiterated in the Kehar Singh vs Union of India. When the matter of discretion was raised in matters related to "ordinance making" power of the president the judicial pronouncement did not move an inch away from the earlier verdicts.  In R.C. Cooper vs. Union of India  the Supreme Court, speaking through justice Shah said that although in a constitutional sense an ordinance is promulgated on the satisfaction of the President, in truth, it is promulgated on the advice of the council of ministers and upon their satisfaction. As far as presidential discretion in the matter of emergency provisions are concerned the constitutional light was thrown in S.R. Bomai vs. Union of India. Justice Sawant ruled that the power under Article 356 was vested de jure in the president and de facto in the council of ministers. However, Justice B.P. Jeevan Reddy said that the provision permits discretion which has to be exercised fairly on the basis of materials placed before him. Thus, it may be safely stated that in a plethora of cases (some of these referred above) the court has rather proceeded that there exists a parliamentary form of government with a titular president. However one must not forget to underline here that the court got no assistance from the written constitution as it went to infer the same using the Constituent Assembly debates, trying to look into the intentions of the founding fathers.

## POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY AND DISCRETION

The evolving party system of India, particularly during the previous two decades of hung parliament, has played immensely important role in providing opportunities to many incumbents of the Presidency to use their subjective satisfaction in deciding the matters as important as that of inviting the leaders to form the government. The beginning was made by Sanjeeva Reddy in 1979 when he did not allow Desai to explore the chances of forming the government on the basis of his claim that he represented numerically the single largest party. The president rather asked the leader of opposition Y.B. Chavan to form the government. Having received his inability to do so, he invited Charan Singh to form the government and prove his majority on the floor of the House within a month. However, Charan Singh failed to prove his majority. At that moment of time the president successfully used his discretion by not giving chance to Jagjivan Ram who had staked his claim as the leader of the single largest group in the parliament. On the contrary, he accepted the advice of dissolution of the Lok Sabha by Charan Singh who had resigned without even facing the parliament . In yet another occasion, though in a different situation president Giani Zail Singh decided to appoint Rajiv Gandhi as prime minister immediately after the death of Mrs. Gandhi  even before he could be elected leader of the ruling party. In 1991, the then president Venkat Raman explicitly displayed his discretion by inviting Chandrasekhar to form the government after fall of V.P. Singh government whose advice to dissolve the lower house was summarily rejected. Similarly placed Shankar Dayal Sharma decided to appoint Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 1996 without any letter of support to prove his probable majority. As a result the government could not survive for more than thirteen days. It was followed by his invitation to Deve Gowda whose government too could not survive long. However, the president did not oblige the similarly placed Congress leader Sita RaM Kesari to succeed Deve Gowda. In 1998, K.R. Narayanan did not hesitate in dissolving the house soon after the fall of Vajpayee government on the basis of his assessment that no alternative government was in sight. The above mentioned instances clearly depict that in a politically fluid situation the president can really enjoy his subjective discretion. However, such acts of presidency have not gone unnoticed by the leading constitutional experts. It would be worth mentioning some of them. According to N.A. Palkiwala, the president is not bound to accept the advice of every government to dissolve the Lok Sabha. On the contrary, justice V.M. Tarkunde is of the opinion that in

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times of political instability every government has the legitimate power to advice dissolution of the house. However, M.C. Chagla and justice H.R. Khanna are of the opinion that in the absence of any express provision for a caretaker prime minister any incumbent prime minister enjoys the same powers and prerogatives as is written in the constitution which requires the president to accept advice of his council of ministers. Moreover, if the recommendations of Sarkaria Commission is implemented in letter and spirit the issue of presidential discretion in a politically fragile situation of fractured mandate may be minimized. It recommended that in such a situation:

i) The first preference should be given to pre-poll alliance commanding a majority in the House.

ii) The second preference is to be given to the single largest party without a majority of its own.

iii) The third preference is to be given to post-poll electoral alliance with all partners joining the government.

iv) The fourth, and last, preference is to be given to an alliance wherein some may join the government and others provide outside support.

## CONCLUSION

The constitutional arrangements of the institutional structures of governance is based on assimilation of the best of all the existing constitutions which is reflected in modeling its highest executive office as an intermix of the presidential as well as parliamentary system. There is no denying the fact that the Indian President is more akin to the British Monarch than the American President in the sense that the Indian constitution entrusts our Presidency no functions to be discharged in his own discretion even though the powers are being expressly vested in the office by the constitution(as in the case of the American president), the same are expected to be exercised scrupulously on the aid and advice of the council of ministers (as practiced by the British Monarch).

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# REVISITING DISCRETIONARY POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR

MADHU JHA

## ABSTRACT

The office of the Governor in a State has been the centre of controversies for many reasons within the Parliamentary system of government. The most important reason for such controversies is the various discretionary powers which are bestowed on the Governor. Article 153 of the Indian Constitution provides for the appointment of Governor in all States in India and according to article 155 he holds office during the pleasure of the President. He is expected to be a link between centre and state. The recent incidents of Governor's sudden call for emergency in states of Arunachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand in 2015 and the verdict of the Supreme Court on these issues have only reinforced the appeal for the centre to stop using the post of Governor to destabilize governments and to revisit the paradoxes that exist in the discretionary powers of the Governor.

The term discretion means the liberty to decide on a course of action. It is based on the idea of what one thinks is right and proper under the prevailing circumstances. The simplest understanding of discretionary powers of the Governor would mean to devote those powers which he can exercise only according to his individual judgment (without the advice of the council of ministers). Not only are these discretionary powers provided in the Constitution but absolute immunity of the Governor, is also ensured when he uses his discretion.

## HISTORY OF DISCRETIONARY POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR

A close study on the discretionary powers of the Governor tells us that the provisions of such powers came up in the memorandum on the principles of a Provincial Constitution which was circulated on may 30,1947. On similar lines as were present in the Government of India Act, 1935, the memorandum vested certain "special responsibilities" on the Governor to ensure peace and tranquility of the provinces and for protecting the legitimate interests of the minorities. The administration of excluded and partially excluded areas was also implicit in this special responsibility and it was in these areas that discretionary powers were given

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to the Governor. Matters of summoning and dissolving the Provincial Legislature and superintendence and control of elections was also left to the discretion of the Governor.

It needs to be noted here that these special powers which were almost borrowed from the Government of India Act 1935, were also subjected to criticisms from some as it was seen as an encroachment on the powers of the legislature. However, Vallabh Bhai Patel supported these discretionary powers on the ground that they actually only authorized the Governor to report to the President of the union when a grave emergency arose, and the power to summon and dissolve the Provincial Legislature. There were lots of apprehensions expressed by many like Mr. H.V. Kamath, Shri H.V. Pataskar, Pandit Kunzru etc. in the Constituent Assembly about the need to give such discretionary powers to the Governor. They argued for omission of discretionary powers as a nominated Governor would never care about public opinion and his popularity and moreover, it was contrary to responsible governance.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar however had a different view. He was of the opinion that since provincial governments were to work in subordination to the central government, the Governor would require to reserve certain things for the President to see and decide whether the rules under which the provincial governments function are being followed or not. Thus after lots of deliberations discretionary powers of the Governor were retained in the Indian Constitution. Article 163(1) of the Indian Constitution states that there shall be a council of ministers with the chief minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his function except in so far as he is by or under this Constitution required to exercise his function or any of them in his discretion. Article 163(2) states that if any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter about which the Governor is by or under the Constitution required to act in his discretion, the decision of the Governor will be final and the validity of his discretion is not open to question in court of law .

## DISCRETIONARY POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR

Discretionary powers of the Governor for the purpose of more understanding can be divided into two categories:
- Specified Discretionary powers
- Implied Discretionary powers

Specified Discretionary Powers: The articles which give direct discretionary powers to the Governor are-

**Article 239:** According to this article, a Governor of a state may be appointed as the administrator of an adjoining Union Territory by the President. The Governor in exercising his functions as the administrator is not bound to take the aid and advice of his council of ministers. In such situation, the Governor acts as the agent of the President.

**Sixth Schedule:** Para nine of the sixth schedule of the Constitution deals with the licenses or leases for extraction of minerals. If any dispute arises regarding the share of such royalties to the district Council, it will be the responsibility of the governor to decide the amount which shall be based entirely on his discretion.

**Article 371 :** This article provides that the President may confer special responsibilities upon the governor with respect to the state of Maharashtra and Gujarat for the establishment of separate Development Boards for Vidharba, Marathwada, Saurashtra, Kutch and the rest of Gujarat.

**Article 371 A** similarly puts special responsibilities on the governor of Nagaland for some purposes like establishing a regional council for tuensang District and with respect to law and order.

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**Article 371 C** adds special responsibilitie on the governor of Manipur to secure functioning of committee of members of legislative assembly consisting of the members representing the hill area.

Similarly articles 371 F and 371 H confers special powers upon the governors of Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh for maintaining peace respectively.

It needs to be understood that in the discharge of these powers the governor's role is neither questionable nor controversial.

**Implied Discretionary Powers:** There may be many circumstances wherein the governor may require to use his discretionary powers like:

● Appointment of the Chief Minister: In the appointment of the Chief Minister, the Governor enjoys absolute discretion specially in a situation where no party has a clear cut majority. He may call such person to form the government who he thinks is fit to form the government. If after the death or resignation of the Chief Minister on any political ground or after the defeat of the Chief Minister in the House, any party or group is not in majority, the Governor may appoint such person as the chief minister to whom he finds fit. In many cases governors have invited the leader of single largest party to form the government while in other cases he invited the leader of the coalition alliance, whether it was formed prior to election or after the election. The committee of the Governors has also observed that the governor's decision under article 164 (1) is final and based on his sole judgment.

● Dissolution of State Assembly: The governor has the power to dissolve the assembly as per article 174(2) but the constitution is silent as to in what circumstances he can do so. In normal times when the state government is in majority, the governor has to accept the advice of the council of ministers to dissolve the house. But in certain times, the governor can use his discretion regarding the dissolution of the house and can refuse to accept the advice for example if he is advised to dissolve the house few days before the budget session he can refuse to do so as the budget cannot be passed through an ordinance.

● Governor's assent to Bills:According to article 200, when a Bill has been passed by the legislature, it is sent to the governor for his assent. There is no time limit for granting the assent to the Bill and he can also reserve it for the assent of the President. This again is an area where governor may act irrespective of any advice from the council of ministers. In such matters he is expected to use best of his judgment and follow a course which is not fatal to the state. Being an appointee of the President the governor in the exercise of his discretion may be guided by the union. It is important to note here that no norms have been laid down in the Constitution as to when the governor can exercise this power

● Dismissal of Ministry: according to article 164(1) the ministers hold office during the pleasure of the governor, implying that he can dismiss the ministry if he think it to be necessary. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the chairman of the Constituent assembly rightly believed that pleasure shall not continue once the ministry has lost the confidence of majority and had become a minority. The governor can also dismiss a ministry if it refuses to resign after a vote of no confidence motion.

● Summon and Prorogue the State Assembly: In normal times, the governor summons the house on the advice of the council of ministers. But at times like when chief minister fears his defeat in the house and hence avoids calling the session of the house, the governor can use his discretion and compel the chief minister to summon the house.

● Similarly a governor is supposed to prorogue the house on the advice of the council of ministers but in special times the governor can, in his discretion, prorogue the state legislature or may refuse the request of the chief minister to do so, specially when he feels that the ministry is not in majority.

● Recommendation of President's rule: It is the work of the governor to report about any failure of constitutional machinery in a state to the President. The governor makes this report in his discretion and without any aid from the ministry. Such a report is a veto of censure on the ministry in power. This power is drawn from article 355 which imposes a duty on the centre to ensure that the government of every state is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. In situations like no party in a position to form the government, political instability etc. this discretionary power of the governor plays a very important role. Under president's rule, the entire legislative field of the state comes under the control of the union. The president may assume

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to himself all or any of the functions of the government of the state and all or any of the powers vested in the governor. The president rule proclamation is generally for six months and the centre has power to extend the duration for six months at a time but it cannot continue for more than three years.

● Pardoning power: Governor has the discretion to grant pardon as it is seen as an act of humanity and kindness. Article 161 provides for the power to grant pardon, reprieves, respites or remissions of punishment and to suspend, commute sentences of any person convicted of any offence relating to matters in which the executive power of the state extends.

● Appointment of the Vice Chancellor: Governor has the power to appoint the vice chancellors of the universities in the state. As per the state universities act, governor is the chancellor of the universities in the state. He appoints the vice chancellor from the panel of names recommended by the search committee in consultation with the state government. There have been many instances howsoever when the governor has not accepted the advice of the ministry and has selected someone else as the vice chancellor.

## MISUSE OF DISCRETIONARY POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR

With the Supreme Court driving the return of Congress governments in two states, Uttarakhand and Arunachal Pradesh in less than three months, the office of the Governor has again come into the limelight. Where Supreme Court ordered floor test helped the Rawat led congress government to retain power in Uttarakhand, the unconstitutional exercise of powers by the governor was enough to bring congress back to power. A batch of petitions dealing with governor's discretionary powers to summon or advance the assembly session of Arunachal Pradesh came up in Supreme Court. The role of governor J.P. Rajkhowa in the ongoing political fight in the state came to be challenged by Kapil Sibal on behalf of the ousted speaker Nabam Rebia. The role of the governor in asking the speaker to advance the state assembly meet to 16th December from the scheduled meeting of 14th January was questioned. The court opined that the governor had restricted discretionary powers and should not send messages to regulate the compositions of the state assembly or its proceedings.

This judgment is of great relevance in the background of the fact that governor have for long misused their discretionary powers specially that of dismissing the duly elected chief ministers, removing legitimate state governments and having the president's rule imposed. This is inspite of the landmark judgment in the SR Bommai case of 1988. The governor had dismissed chief minister of Karnataka SR Bommai on the ground that the Janata Dal he was heading had lost the confidence of the house when a group of 19 members of legislative assembly had given a letter withdrawing their support. Seven out of 19 M.L.As later met the governor and told him that their signatures were taken by misrepresentation. Bommai challenged the decision of imposition of the president's rule in the state. The Supreme Court's judgment stressed on the fact that trial of strength should be mandatory before any such dismissal. The proclamation of the President's Rule under article 356 was thus subject to judicial review.

Another example of the misuse of this power can be seen in 1992, after the Ram Janam Bhoomi - Babri Masjid episode, the Congress Party commanding at Centre invoked Article 356 and President's Rule was imposed in Uttar Pradesh on December 1992. President's Rule was also imposed on the same ground in states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. President's Rule in Uttar Pradesh was not challenged but in all the other three states it was challenged. However, Supreme Court upheld these impositions on the ground that secularism was a basic structure of the Constitution and if a State allows it to be subverted then it can mean that the government was not functioning in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. It is disheartening to know that Governors in all have used article 356 for more than 115 times which in itself indicates the gross misuse of this power.

Another situation where governors have rampantly misused their discretionary powers is when there is no party that secures majority in the state assembly. Governors in such cases have appointed chief ministers under their discretionary power. Norms are violated to benefit the central government. Role of governor of Madras in 1952, of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh in 1967, of Jharkhand in 2005 and many more reveal that different criteria are being followed by the governor in appointing chief ministers. In 2011, the governor of Tamil Nadu, Ms Fathima Beevi came into controversy after she invited Ms. Jayalalitha to form the government

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after A.I.D.M.K's landslide victory. As Ms Jayalalitha had been charged in criminal cases and was disqualified to contest elections by the election commission, the role of governor in ceding to such unlawful claim of the legislative party which had chosen Jayalalitha as its leader was questionable. Instead of referring the matter to the election commission she used her discretionary power under article 163 and invited Jayalalitha to form the government thereby subverting the basic structure doctrine of our constitution. We saw a similar dilemma faced by Tamil Nadu governor after the death of Jayalalitha and the claim of Sashikala to form the government in February 2017.

There have been discussions on the power of the President to withhold or delay legislations that have been passed by the elected legislature. The Gujarat Control of Organized Crime Bill, 2003 which was modeled on the Maharashtra Control of Organized Crime Act, adopted the special procedure for interception of electronic communication. Bombay High Court struck down this provision as state could not legislate on a subject that was enumerated in the Union List. The President directed the Gujrat Governor to return the Bill to the State Assembly for reconsideration and necessary amendments. The Bill was again passed and sent with required changes to the Governor who again sent it to the President. The central Government returned it again with three recommendations after keeping it for five years.

The recent move by the B.J.P. government to remove 5 governors by asking them to resign can be seen as a continuation of the practice which was followed even by the previous governments on assuming office after election. The removal of Kamala Beniwal as governor of Mizoram recently when only two months were left for the completion of her 5 years term again reveals the vindictiveness of the central government and highlights a situation where lack of security of tenure gets related to the issue of misuse of discretionary powers of the governor. As they occupy office only at the pleasure of the President, governors tend to please the President in exercise of their powers.

The misuse of discretionary powers of the governor has become even more challenging in recent years. One reason for this could be the safeguards that the Constitution provides to the governor from the fire of scrutiny and the axe of punishment. There is no provision of impeachment of governor making him more authoritative and imperialist than before. It is not as if no efforts to discuss the role of Governors have been made in the past. In fact way back in 1970, the President had set up Committee on Governors to study the role of governors.

In 1983, a 3 member Commission on Centre-State relations under the chairmanship of R.S. Sarkaria was set up to review the centre state relations. The commission took note of the criticism with respect to the role of the governor in exercising on matters where he is expected to act in his discretion like- in choosing the chief minister, dismissing and dissolving the state assembly, recommending President's Rule and in reserving certain bill for the assent of the President. It reiterated the need of having guidelines and a national policy that could explain the Governor's role in the form of conventions and practices. The commission also acknowledged the role of Administrative Reforms Commission which had recommended in 1969, that the inter-state councils should formulate the guidelines governing the discretionary powers of the governor.

The commission only provided some recommendations on the role of governor but did not lay down any guidelines as it thought it was not possible to foresee all the situation which may develop and demand the use of discretionary powers by the governor.

The Punchhi Commission was the 2nd commission on centre-state relations set up by the government of India in April 2007. Both these commissions have suggested that the governor should enjoy a fixed tenure of 5 years and their removal should not be subjected to the ill of government at the centre. The Punchhi commissions had many other recommendations like, the governor should always insist on floor test to prove majority, role of governor should be limited to only constitutional provisions and his role as chancellor of universities should be removed etc. The Commission came up with a strong recommendation of amending Articles 355 and 356 of the Constitution to enable the Centre to bring specific troubled areas under its rule for a limited time instead of the entire State.

Very recently the standing committee of Inter State Council met after 12 years on 19th April 2017 to discuss the discretionary powers of the Governor in appointment of the chief Ministers, their assent in bills passed by the state legislatures etc. This meeting

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took place in the background of the role of governors in B.J.P. forming governments in Manipur and Goa despite not being the single largest party. In Manipur the governor Najma Heptullah invited BJP to form the government with only 21 seats setting aside congress' claim of being the single largest party with 28 seats. Similarly in Goa, Governor Mridula Sinha appointed Manohar Parrikar, leader of Bharatiya Janata Legislative party as the Chief Minister with only 13 seats while Congress with 17 seats was the single largest party. It was decided that matters relating to the powers of the Governor had already been settled in the Supreme Court's SR Bommai judgment and the recommendations of the Punchhi Commission should be implemented in line with it.

It needs to be stressed here that all these recommendations to streamline the discretionary powers of the Governor have existed for some good time now but effectively their effect has hardly been felt. With the era of the politics of confrontation and multi-party system, the role of Governor in uplifting the constitutional and moral fabric of the nation has become more important. Today's democracy though is functioning as per the constitution and elections are free and fair, yet the kinds of leaders who are coming have no qualms in throwing all norms and practices of good governance. In India, the ever increasing regional demands in different states and the forceful parochial agendas, need for office of governor to check and control the local ethnic forces, making it of great relevance. Politics of pressure coupled with tendency of consensus have to be applied in the present day coalition era and Governor's special discretionary powers have to be revisited in this background.

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# ENABLING GOOD GOVERNANCE THROUGH E-GOVERNANCE IN INDIA

DR. SANGIT SARITA DWIVEDI

## INTRODUCTION

The word 'governance'has been used in manifold ways. In the era of globalization, democracy is not only a form of government but also a sphere of citizen's active participation in polity. Governance is a wider term which covers state's every institution and organization from family to the state, decision making processes, implementation capacity and the relationship between government officials and the public. It involves exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage the affairs in and "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development". In recent times, governance has moved beyond these characteristics to 'good governance'. Efficiency and effectiveness, rule of law, people's participation, democracy, inclusiveness, transparency, accountability, and respect for human rights are the main indicators of good governance. The paper examines the means and methods to achieve good governance.

## E-GOVERNANCE AS TOOL OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

Good governance's essentials were prevalent in India since ancient times. In Arthshastra, Kautilya had described the qualities of a King as: 'The happiness of the people is the happiness of the king; their good alone is his. Therefore, let the King be active in working for the prosperity and welfare of his people'.

E-Governance is the information and communication technology-enabled route to achieve good governance. It is an important tool to enhance the quality of government services to citizens, to bring in more transparency, to reduce corruption, to reduce costs for citizens and to make government more accessible. If e-government is the input, good governance is the output and the major variables are: democratic political system, good economy, effective legal system, open culture, technical infra-structure etc.The principal response of the state, is to facilitate, to enable and to coordinate.

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Neither the market nor the civil society can perform this role as effectively as the government. The spread of e-governance initiatives in India have had a positive impact on the quality of governance.

Despite the fact that e-governance has made significant contribution in the economies of developed countries in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as well as to the efficiency of the public management systems, the same cannot be said about developing countries, especially, India. The relationship is both complex and controversial. The paper analyzes good governance in India and further discusses the position of India in e-governance environment, the issues and challenges ahead. It makes an effort to provide a framework for e-governance against a theoretical background by identifying its essential features and the shortcomings in its working and emphasizes need for innovative approaches that could provide guidance to new e-governance programmes in the development context.

The term 'good governance' is difficult to define either in principle or in practice as there is no accepted definition of governance. No theory of governance could be successful unless it is seen in the context of its time. In terms of the prevailing thinking, economic reforms, good governance and democracy form three interrelated and mutually supportive aspects of the development process. Good governance does not occur by chance and must be demanded by citizens.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN INDIA

According to former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, "In practice, Good governance is ensuring respect for human rights and the rule of law; strengthening democracy; promoting transparency and capacity in public administration".

Good Governance is a concept that has recently come into use in political science and public administration. It appears alongside concepts such as democracy, civil society, people's participation, human rights and social and sustainable development. The meaning of good governance includes two concepts: improving state capabilities and decentralization enhancing participation. In a democracy, good governance is exercise of power for efficient and effective management of economic and social resources for the well-being of the people securing justice, empowerment, employment and efficient delivery of services. It is critically dependent on inviolable adherence to rule of law, existence of participatory decision-making structure, responsiveness, transparency, accountability, corruption-free society, equity and inclusiveness. In short, good governance calls for adequate decentralization of power.This power has to be exercised within the framework of the Constitution through the institutions of state.

In India, good governance as exercise of power, within the framework of the Constitution is exercised through the institutions of state. In the Indian Constitution, there are three pillars of democracy- Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. The Preamble, the Fundamental Rights, the Fundamental Duties and the Directive Principles of State Policy contain the ingredients of good governance. Election is a symbol of democracy and reflects peace and prosperity in a society. The deep roots of Indian democracy can be witnessed from the fact that from a level of about 58 per cent in both the 2004 and 2009 general elections, the voter turnout has gone up to an encouraging 66 per cent in 2014 elections. Fundamental rights are essential to preserve human dignity. Human dignity cannot be assured without the elimination of poverty. The Directive Principles are an essential guide to good governance practices. The provision of freedom of speech and expression has given rise to a powerful and vigilant media.

Good governance demands ethical and responsible behaviour of media. The Right to Information Act (RTI) is an Act of the Parliament of India' to provide for setting out the practical regime of right to information for citizens'. Wider involvement of the civil society in the political process, deeper engagement of the youth with the institutions of democracy and quick dispensation of justice to the people lead to good governance.An important aspect of the rise of civil society is the proliferation of voluntary or nongovernmental organizations. An efficient, effective and democratic government is the best guarantor of social justice. For John Rawls: Social justice is fairness; for Amartya Sen: Development of freedom; in UNDP: Human development. Judiciary has been vigilant to protect the individual rights.The 73rd Amendment in the

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Constitution of India had been hailed as a great landmark in the evolution of Third tier of governance i.e., Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). Reforms in this third tier of governance are necessary for sharing of real power with the people. A sound education system is the mirror of an enlightened society. The institutes of higher learning are the cradle of future administrators and policy makers.With the passage of time and changes in the eco-system, some institutions become dysfunctional and new institutions become necessary.The government and the people must ensure that these institutions perform their duties with responsibility.

In the past, service delivery mechanisms of the government departments were characterized by inefficiency in work, attitude of officials, procedural complexities, corruption etc. Public administration, governed by bureaucratic structures built on rationale principles, has failed to respond to the changing requirements of the present times. With the rising awareness amongst the citizens and their better experiences with the private sector, the demand for better services on the part of government departments became more pronounced. Sustained efforts have been made at multiple levels to improve the delivery of public services and simplify the process of accessing them. A new model based on market principles has several names such as: 'managerialism', 'new public management', 'market based public administration', 'the post bureaucratic paradigm', or 'entrepreneurial government'. India has introduced these global trends in 1990.Government's ability to improve service delivery to other governments, employees, citizens and businesses is directly attached to government's ability to effectively collaborate across organization, processes and information technology systems.

Over the years, a large number of initiatives have been undertaken by various State Governments and Central Ministries to usher in an era of e-Government. E-Governance in India has steadily evolved from computerization of Government Departments to initiatives that encapsulate the finer points of Governance, such as citizen centricity, service orientation and transparency. E-governance is a paradigm shift over the traditional approaches in public administration.

## E-GOVERNMENT AND E-GOVERNANCE: A FACILITATOR FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE

The infusion of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has played a prominent role in strengthening good governance.E-Governance is the public sector's use of information and communication technologies with the aim of improving information and service delivery, encouraging citizen participation in India.The two terms - e-government and e-governance are independent of each other. E-government is understood as the use of Information and Communication Technology to promote more efficient and cost effective government, facilitate government services and allow greater public access to information, and make government more accountable to citizens. E-Government is to be able to offer an increased portfolio of public services to citizens in an efficient and cost effective manner. Whereas, E-governance is the use of ICT by the government, civil society and political institutions to engage citizens through dialogue and feedback to promote their greater participation in the process of governance of these institutions. Thus, e-government can be viewed as a subset of e-governance, and its focus is largely on improving administrative efficiency and reducing administrative corruption.

The concept 'e-governance' began with National Informatics Center's efforts to connect all district headquarters through computers in 1980s. In 2002, it further proposed the setting up of Indian portal for public access to information on various aspects of government functioning. While e-government encompasses a wide range of activities, four distinct areas include government-to-government (G to G), government-to-citizens (G to C), government-to-business (G to B), and government-to-employees (G to E) (Govt. of India Report 2008: 11-12). However, some common goals include improving the efficiency, reliability, and quality of services for the respective groups. Government to government involves sharing data and conducting electronic exchanges between various governmental agencies. There are number of advantages with government-to-government initiatives. One benefit is cost savings, which is achieved by increasing the speed of the

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transactions, reduction in the number of personnel necessary to complete a task, and improving the consistency of outcomes. Government to citizen facilitates citizen interaction with government, which is primary goal of e-government. This attempts to make transactions, such as payment of taxes, renewing licenses and applying for certain benefits, less time consuming and easy to carry out. Government to Business sector includes both the procurement of goods and services by the government as well as the sale of surplus government goods to the public on line. Government-to-employees is a two-way process between the organization and the employee. Use of ICT make the interaction fast and efficient and increase the satisfaction level of employee.In the 11th five-year plan, the allocation on information technology was 11,000 crore rupees and rose to 30,000 crore rupees in the 12th five-year plan.

The question arises,what comes first, E-Governance or Good Governance? Over two hundred policymakers, planners, technocrats, and representatives from UN organizations, academia and private sector came together on 24th October 2013 in Delhi in the first e-governance forum organized by India's *The Economic Times* to reflect upon the achievements, challenges and opportunities ahead for e-governance in India. However, there are continuing problems in the areas of privacy and security that need to be addressed. Geographical, social, & economic disparities are the biggest barriers for full-fledged e-governance. Governments need to continue their efforts to develop 'Information and Communication Technology' infrastructure especially concentrating their efforts in the rural areas. More planning and resources need to be invested if the e-governance vision has to be realised practically and nationally.

## AN ASSESSMENT OF E-GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES IN INDIA

Objective of administration is welfare of the people. Substantially, India has been able to provide good governance. The Government approved the 'National E-Governance Action plan' for implementation during the year 2003-2007. The plan was an attempt to lay the foundation and provide impetus for long-term growth of e-governance within the country. It created the right governance and institutional mechanisms, to create a citizen-centric and business-centric environment. Apart from the action plan, the following measures have also been introduced:

● Adoption of Information Technology (IT) Act, 2000 by the Government of India to provide legal framework to facilitate electronic transactions to recognize electronic contracts and prevents computer crimes. The Act came into force on 17 October, 2000.

● Establishment of the National Task Force of Information Technology and Software Development in May 1998.

● Creation of centre for e-governance to disseminate the best practices in the area of e- governance for use by the Central and State Governments.

● Developing e-office solutions to enable various ministries and departments to do their work electronically.

● Setting up of a High-Powered Committee with Cabinet Secretary as its Chairman to improve administrative efficiency by using Information Technology in Government.

● Instituting websites by almost all Ministries and Departments.

The Indian government has been continuously endeavoring to provide citizen services in a better manner. Some of the successful initiatives of e-government projects across India are noteworthy: Gyandoot, e-seva, SETU and SUDA. Project "Gyandoot" was launched on 1 January 2000 in tribal-dominated rural areas of Madhya Pradesh. The awards such as the Stockholm Challenge IT Award 2000 in the Public Service and Democracy category and the CSI-TCS National Award for Best IT usage for the year 2000, are signs of its success. The Government of Andhra Pradesh, in its endeavor to provide simple, moral, accountable, responsive and transparent governance to its people, launched 'Smart Government' at the secretariat level. This project resulted in an automatic workflow in the secretariat and ensured not only internal efficiency but also provided an effective tool for performance evaluation. Project Sustainable Access in Rural India (SARI) in the State of Tamil Nadu, in a tiny village called pathinettangudi, is experiencing IT revolution. Around 30 other

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villages around pathinettangudi are also covered under SARI project. Chandigarh Administration, in an effort to provide a responsive and effective administration, has effectively relied on the Information Technology. Its Memorandum of Understanding with IBM has led to establishment of 'IBM e-governance solution centre' for the administration, consequently developing different e-government applications. Under the project 'Sampark', electronic service centers known as 'Sampark Centers' have been established at different locations in the city. In Gujarat, a team of techno-savvy bureaucrats have succeeded in bringing corruption under check and consequently increasing state's tax revenues through the effective usage of computers and other electronic devices at some 10-remote interstate border check posts. The project 'Bhoomi' facilitated computerizations of entire 20 million records of land ownership of 6.7 million farmers in the state of Karnataka. The project came to be a success, as it resulted in simplification of procedures, reduced the hardships of the poor farmers, put an end to corruption and ensured a more accountable, transparent, and responsive system.

The concept of e-governance is now moving towards reality for Indian citizens. The country is moving from pilot e-governance projects to bigger Mission projects. In 2005, the World Bank showed its willingness to increase funding for e-governance initiatives in India. In Mission 2007, every village was to be a knowledge centre aiming to provide knowledge connectivity to every village by August 15, 2007. MIS is monitoring a rural self-employment program, the Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) in the state of Gujarat. The genesis and evolution of the Akshaya telecenter project in Kerala, was established to improve community development in rural areas. Health information system is established to improve public health care in rural Karnataka. "It has always been easier to develop e-governance applications which rely on obtaining and inputting quantitative data for measuring progress but which may or may not have a bearing on improving the living conditions of communities". The common service centres are now established in all parts of the country, and there are almost 130,000 of them providing range of services including payment of bills and taxes, getting government certificates, filing applications, and agricultural and health services. The vision is to bring together government departments and citizens together. In all the case studies, the state is a key player.

The system has induced fresh thinking, debate, and innovations in how government services are accessed by the citizens. No other government process has brought together private sector, civil society, youths, entrepreneurs, citizens, and researchers to such an extent. It is convenient and cost-effective for businesses, and the public benefits by getting easy access to the most current information available without spending time, energy and money. Thus, it can be concluded that with the introduction of e-government applications, the service delivery mechanisms in India have made clear departure from the past. A good beginning has been made to make e- government a reality in India.

## CRITICAL ISSUES FOR INDIA

Prof. Barthwal opines that governance is not the exclusive concern of the government as such but shared responsibility of government, market, civil societies and corporations together with the objective of public good for "re-inventing government" functioning in a "mode missionary, egalitarian and energised manner, having less machine-like and less hierarchal structure and procedure".

In the Indian context, there are numerous challenges to good governance. The central challenge before good governance relates to social development including size of population, decentralization, decision making process etc. Redefining rules and procedures, information transparency, legal issues, infrastructure, skill and awareness, access to right information, inter-departmental collaboration, tendency to resist the change in work culture, are the main concerns for the government. As the information collected by governments may be politically sensitive, appropriate security mechanisms may be an important technical consideration. It is a complex job where technology can help to find the solution in multi lingual, multi-cultural, multi ethnic population.

In India, where literacy rate is low, e-governance is a real challenge. Even if internet population is growing in India,

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there is a significant portion of the people who may not be able to access services for various reasons like limited access to information and communication technologies and low computer literacy. Criminalization of politics, lack of infrastructure in rural and urban areas, concern for security, lack of awareness of the function, social and economic disparity, security and privacy through bio-metrics are the critical issues. Security and privacy of personal and financial data are the other major constraints. Corruption continues to be endemic at all levels. From a rank of 70 when national e-governance plan came into action in 2006, India has slipped to 94 in the 2012. Corruption leads to denial of equitable distribution of benefits. Complexity and opacity of rules and procedures, discretion in the exercise of power, and weak enforcement of legal provisions are factors contributing to corruption. Up to one third of India's population especially those in rural areas are not connected to the national grid. They are cut off from the development, progress, opportunity and e-governance is not going to make a difference to them. Similarly, ability to pay bills online would not make any sense when majority of the Indian population lacks access to clean drinking water. Providing assured water and electric supply, basic health, education and other infrastructure facilities assume precedence. These have to be provided as pre-requisites of e-governance and not the outcomes. E-government may put information on fingertips but the common person remains as helpless as before.

The conclusion therefore is that the good governance agenda has distinct political and bureaucratic elements to it. While the former emphasizes the strengthening of democracy by making governments transparent and accountable, the latter emphasizes administrative simplification through decentralization. In reality, the two are closely linked and mutually reinforcing. By contrast, the critical governance literature conceptualizes this link "through a dialectic between central government, state government, local administration, political bodies, civil society organisations and citizens". Further, the state remains an important player in the execution of development programs, the good governance agenda, through its prescriptions of efficiency, accountability, and democratization, calls for a rollback of the state. NGOs, self-help groups, women's groups, legal assistance organization and civil society organizations can play an influential role. There is little knowledge "about the extent to which these types of e-governance projects promote development, as research in this area has been conducted in a largely anecdotal and piecemeal fashion". The strong political will power and the social acceptability of e-governance is required in urban as well as rural areas.

## E-GOVERNANCE SOLUTIONS

E-governance is a big challenge and a far big opportunity to bring services to all citizens. The most significant characteristic of any successful e-government application is its quality and accessibility. ICT provides many ways to achieve E-governance. Maintenance of ICT is a key success factor in rapidly changing technical regularity environment. Information management aims at reducing cost and improving performance. Economic issues are mainly concerned with return of investment. Cost of implementation, operational and evolutionary maintenance must be low enough to guarantee a good cost/benefit ratio. A well skilled labour force is needed for timely and regular maintenance. The Government should look after inter-operability standards, security standards, technical standards and quality standards. In India, Government websites have no uniform standard. It is very important for the Government to set uniform national standards to be followed by all the state governments.

Complete implementation of e-governance in India depends on hardware and software infrastructure built by Government, private sector as well as individuals. The Government needs to build its institutional capacity including training of Government employees and appointment of experts. The IT laws need to be flexible to adjust with the rapidly changing technology. National Informatics Centre (NIC) is providing the base of network and a wide range of ICT services to government organizations throughout India.

Lack of IT literacy and awareness regarding benefits of e-governance needs to be emphasized. The people are often non-

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expert users and need guidance. Educational system encourages innovation and qualified manpower. To be effective, Governmental websites must be user friendly. The web sites should also have the facility to access in native or local language. A reconceptualization of government services is mandatory for successful implementation and to get social acceptance. This will happen only if government processes will be organized for citizens' convenience. The citizens should be made aware and acquainted of the facilities offered by the e-government infrastructure. E-governance means less interaction with government servants, which in turn will reduce bribery and corruption. This task requires an honest and strong will power of the politicians and leaders.The citizens are entitled to know information of the Government. The Government should publish all the information online through websites. This can be facilitated through centralised storage of information and localisation of content management. The people need to be educated and made e-literate for e-governance to flourish. Government can educate the people about the advantages of e-governance. This can also be done through raising awareness of the leaders who can motivate the people to go online.The states can cooperate with the Centre to create a National Citizen Database.

IT infrastructure is the backbone of E-governance. Hardware should be fully compatible with future technologies as well. Finally, some legal aspect, like security and privacy, must be considered, as personal data are processed and stored, and financial transitions must be executed. To cope with such requirements appropriate technical changes must be introduced. Multi-model application can make it more successful. Independence from hardware and software platforms is primary requisite for portable application. Other issues like underutilization of existing ICT infrastructure, attitude of government departments and government officers need a proper counseling, lack of coordination between government department and solution developers need to be focused. The strong database needed for a successful e-governance is vulnerable to fraud. A proper and well placed database of all the citizens is one of the major requirements for successful e-governance. Every citizen should have a unique Id number and password. The citizens can access their information and transactions through this but at the same time the other people won't be able to access their record. There are attempts being made to come up with "Biometric" techniques. Similarly, password can be replaced by fingerprints or facial characteristics to verify the identity. Common Biometrics is one of the important evolving technologies, which will ensure the security and privacy issues as well. A smart card with citizen's name, address, financial information, personal information etc. fully supported and secured by Biometrics may be the key solution. A fully secured card with easy operability can be used for all transactions, and information. Progressive legislations provide an enabling environment and empower citizens. Novel legislations can work only with robust delivery mechanisms. An effective e-government program can be achieved by:

● Making a policy choice in favour of computerization.
● Ministry of Finance can be asked to provide concessions to the agencies which would like to fund the leasing of computers.
● Establishing complete connectivity between various ministries and departments so that transfer of files and papers could be done through Internet.
● supplying information to the public in a language that they understand and are comfortable with.
● Workshops, seminars, and training programmes are required to be organized to spread awareness among the employees at all levels.
● Making cyber laws available to the public.
● Build supporting infrastructures of power to bridge the digital divide between the rural and urban India.

Privacy and confidentiality has to be highly valued in establishing and maintaining websites. An ideal Cyber Security Policy will ensure the existence of a sound and secure e-governance and critical infrastructure base in India. Since the social disparity in India is very high, the interface must be usable by rich or poor, disabled or elderly people, understandable by low literacy or non-native language people, etc. Technology and the use of digital media has changed

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the way youth participate in activism globally. The beneficial impact of ICT and of e-governance on the rural economy and quality of life is now recognized. The government needs to make significant investments in areas such as IT training, assessment and awareness. Since Indian setup is quasi-federal, Centre-State and inter-state cooperation is necessary for smooth functioning of the democratic process and successful implementation of e-governance.

## E-GOVERNANCE IN INDIA: MYTH OR REALITY

India is known for its competence in information technology but ranked 125 in the 2012 UN global e-government ranking. It is surpassed by countries such as Indonesia, Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Mongolia. Even among the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) countries, India is at the bottom when it comes to e-government. This does not mean that there are no efforts made on e-governance. On the contrary, India has successfully initiated several e-governance projects, including the establishment of State Wide Area Networks (SWANs), State Data Centers (SDCs), Common Services Centers (CSCs) and the Unique Identification Authentication (UID) or the Aadhaar card project. India performs well in mega e-government projects. It is one of the pioneers in adopting electronic voting and the voting for national and state elections has been totally electronic since 2004. The spread of e-governance initiatives has had a positive impact on the quality of governance. E-governance can be attained in four steps: Information or Cataloguing, Transaction, Vertical Integration and horizontal integration. India has already achieved the first and the second stage of e-governance. And presently the country is on the verge of attaining the third stage, and moving towards the fourth or the final stage, that is, horizontal integration, which is most challenging. The national optical fibre network provides broadband connectivity up to the block level in all the states, and will extend to the village level to connect all the 2,50,000 Gram Panchayats in the country. E-Governance is enabling good governance through various means. E-governance in Social Welfare is one such initiative.

a) Women empowerment: Under the National e-Governance Plan Common Services Centers can be an effective vehicle to help women acquire digital literacy skills.

b) National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP): The National Social Assistance Programme came into effect from 15th August, 1995. It represents a significant step towards the fulfillment of the Directive Principles in Article 41 of the Constitution. E-Governance in NSAP includes the following schemes:

● Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS)
● Indira Gandhi National Widow Pension Scheme (IGNWPS)
● Indira Gandhi National Disability Pension Scheme (IGNDPS)

There is the need to redefine the linkage between governance and development, as this will ultimately decide the implementation of development policies. At the macro level, the roles of development policies and strategies are important. At the micro level, there is the need to focus on how community members benefit from improved governance. The in-between level, comprising as numerous "local administrative, political and social 'intermediaries,' provides an interface between the formal and informal governance structure to bring about development benefits for communities". These informal structures of negotiation and coordination play a vital role in supporting formal interventions and therefore need to be acknowledged and theorized.

'Good governance' is essential for human development and to uphold the principles of democracy. The nature of good governance would undergo changes with rising expectations of the people. This discourse also promotes information and communication technologies and e-governance to improve the functioning of the state. It aims to improve the efficiency of the state by enhancing its accountability. However, the linkage between better technology and better governance and ultimately better development is not automatic.

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## CONCLUSION

Innovative measures are taking place in the government. It is good governance that will propel and sustain economic growth and will open up new employment opportunities in India. Good governance restores trust of citizens in governments and makes governments accountable to them. Good governance should be technology-independent so that the focus is on providing good governance to everyone. The institutions should be strengthened, and re-invented in order to be competitive, efficient and accountable. Good governance is not given naturally in any system. It has to be nurtured by developing institutions of democracy. It implies a framework that has well-being of the people as its focal point.

The biggest contribution of e-governance would be if it channelizes all energies, debates and resources into a singular mission of improving governance in India not just for service delivery but also in policy settings, resources allocation, and its implementation. E-government allows for government transparency which allows the public to be informed about the government's policies. E-governance in India is an evolutionary phenomenon, and requires a change in the mindset of all - citizens, executives and the government. To be effective, e-government should be integrated within a holistic approach that includes a supportive and democratic leadership, a viable communication infrastructure, and qualified personnel to operate the new technology. The need of the hour is to maintain a proper database of all the citizens and well developed infrastructure. The strong political will power and the social acceptability of e-governance in urban as well as rural areas is required. Nations worldwide must be part of making the transition to e-Governance.

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# BEYOND INTERNATIONAL DAY OF YOGA: CONFLUENCING PRACTICES, TRADITIONAL AND MODERN MEDICINES FOR HOLISTIC HEALTH AND WELLBEING

R.B.SINGH* AND NITU**

## REALITY CHECK

On the initiative of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, United Nation has declared 21st June as International Day of Yoga from 2015. Government Departments, academic institutions and private agencies are gearing up for the Yoga day celebration. On International Day of Yoga, Governments, private sectors and communities should take unique initiative and focus on 'Healthy India - Yoga, Modern and Indian Medicines for Integrated Wellbeing'. India with 1.25 billion people is served by 2.5 million registered and about 2.0-2.5 million unregistered health practitioners including both modern and Indian system of medicine. There is a huge gap between patient-doctor ratios and thus health inequity is an emerging issue that requires urgent attention.

On 25th September, 2015 global community adopted UN Sustainable Development Goals with goal 3 focusing on Good Health. Highest scientific bodies like International Council for Science (ICSU) started new initiatives: Health and Wellbeing in Changing Urban Environments-A System Analysis Approach. Global sustainability cannot be achieved without local sustainability. The programme recognizes the constrains due to geographical diversity in social status, income level, culture, governance, capacity and most importantly availability of data for implementing systems analysis approach in health management in the region. There is need to develop capacity building combining modern medicines, Yoga and

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traditional medicines where policy makers, civil society, scientists, administrators and people from informal sectors need to interact and understand the merits and demerits of different health system. The main goal of this is to promote global understanding so that actions and decisions yield sustainable outcomes all the time and all the places.

## YOGA UNITES: INTEGRATION OF YOGA, MODERN AND TRADITIONAL MEDICINES FOR GLOBAL UNDERSTANDING

Global understanding through several initiatives like Yoga empowers people to make local connections integrating cultural practices. The research must focus on the background of the sign and signals of impending policy reforms in India related to Indian medicine. Our contribution to global trade of Herbal medicines is below 10 per cent in comparison to more than 25 per cent in China.  Medical tourism can be promoted to boost the economy as well as cultural understanding.  The future research initiatives for sustainability need to be appropriate, indigenous, smart and solution-orientated.  It should be accessible with effective trans-disciplinary collaboration. The capacity building should be increased through participation of local level policy-makers, academicians, stakeholders like medical doctors, traditional healers and other sectors of civil society in science, technology and innovation. The outcomes of discussions intend to provide guidance for solutions oriented research to meet the global societal challenges identified in the UN SDGs Goal 3 and ICSU - Health and Wellbeing in Changing Urban Environment: A System Approach.

## FAITH HEALING AND AYURVEDIC TRADITION: INTEGRAL PART OF HOLISTIC HEALTH

The therapeutic streams applied in Ayurvedic tradition consists of spiritual measures (Daivavapasrayachikitsa), pharmacological therapies (Yuktivyapasraya) and Non-pharmacological psychotherapies (Satvavajaya). Tulsi and Amla are commonly found plants that are considered divine and anti-oxidants which existed in socio-cultural religious system of the Indian society since time immemorial.  Ayurvedic and faith healing complement each other in stress management. Indigenous health knowledge is not restricted to medicine people only but it was also diffused in the society in the form of local health tradition. Himachal is predominantly an agrarian state where livestock has major role to play in the livelihood pattern and due to hilly terrain, health requirements of livestock pose great challenge among the residents. Many different kinds of medicinal plants from the hills of Dhauladhar are still known to some Gaddi community in the study villages with their use in human and veterinary health care but fast erosion of knowledge on indigenous health practices is noticed. There are about 50 per cent Gaddi workers in Namlang Himal Resort including both men and women engaged in Ayurvedic services like Panchkarma. The livelihood security of the local Gaddis depends on the resort.  Knowledge of systems and medicament of Ayurveda is documented in Sanskrit, Hindi and ten regional languages of India. There are over 4,29,246 and 78,5185 registered practitioners of Ayurveda, Unani, Siddha and Homeopathic (AYUSH) respectively in India with over 22,000 government dispensaries, 3000 hospitals and 9000 drug manufacturing units.

## TRADITIONAL MEDICINES AND DECLINING HERBAL HOME REMEDY: DWINDLING SITUATION

There are 7.37 lakh practitioners and about 3,600 hospitals for traditional medicines in India. Many countries including India have still traditional home gardens where they grow common herbal plants. There are several traditional healers across different spaces treating variety of diseases through indigenous healing system. This is important in regions where western, evidence-based medicines may be too expensive or inaccessible. The traditional knowledge system has attracted considerable attention in the recent past. Several global institutions including the UNESCO are now concerned with defending, promoting and using it more widely. Traditional knowledge is based on wellness culture and preventive care. It cannot be defined scientifically because it is more practiced than studied theoretically and has been orally transferred from one generation to another. The focus of the healers is always on the patients and not the disease; thus they go beyond

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the treatment and connect with psycho-emotion of the patient. Bone and muscular setters, sprain, snake respiratory, mental and jaundice healers along with traditional midwives and sometimes religious practitioners are considered non-professional traditional/folk healers.The studies indicate changing socio-economic characteristics of the traditional healers and rapid decline in number of the specialized practitioners. This system is fast disappearing since past one and a half decade due to relatively low income, lack of written documents, deaths of the knowledge bearers, lack of governmental strategy to protect their knowledge, erosion of knowledge among the present generation and overall impassive attitude towards traditional healing system.  Medicinal plant sector is highly unorganised where traditional healing is often seen as an unrecognised occupation. Large numbers of healers are poor and belong in the age group of 75-95 years.  They offer their services for the sake of service to humanity and their treatment process is fully based on herbs and chants (mantras) without any commercial motive.

The research study reflects that more than 25 per cent of them were non-professional specialized healers of snake bite, bone setting and chronic sprain.  About 25 per cent were found to be professional healers of chronic and lifestyle diseases such as diabetes, arthritis, skin disorders and mental (stress) disorders, while the rest of them were general healers treating various general health problems. Majority of local healers and Ayurvedic practitioners reported lack of medicinal plants and declining interest of the younger generation in adopting the health system. Herbal products are expensive for them and thus they cannot bear the cost to reach the masses. Traditional healing in the study area is also gender specific with relatively low participation of women. Healers have also indicated the faith and emotion attached with the age-old culture bound belief system where it is considered sacred and gifted by Almighty.

## CONFLUENCING YOGA AND TRADITIONAL MEDICINES

Kangra has become a potential destination for Ayurveda and Yoga tourism and the ecology with diversified forms of health care system called Complementary and Alternative Medicine (CAM). It is remarkable that Complementary and Alternative Medicine (CAM) is used by one out of two European Union citizens.

### 1. Commonly found Medicinal Plants Used in Stress Management at Kangra valley, Himachal Pradesh

The importance of some common home remedies used in Indian kitchens in maintaining healthy lifestyle is notable. Trigonellafoenumgraecum L. plays an important role as herbal remedy but due to lack of awareness and other reasons, its use has become reduced.  Another factor anti-allergic remedy available in the household is Phillanthusemblica L. is widely preferred as herbal medicine in the region.  Phyllanthusemblica L. and Trigonellafoenumgraecum L. are stress busters and should be a part of our daily diet as suggested by the Ayurvedic practitioners.  Ayurveda is not only a medicine but a way of life in India including practices such as use of common herbal plants in daily diet. Giloyeis is abundantly found in all parts of Kangra. Recently, use of Tinosporacordifolia Willd. (Giloye) has increased due to its benefit in joint pains. It has become one medicine for a recent deadly disease called Chicken Guinea which struck Delhi and most parts of North India.  Whereas, Ocimum sanctum L. (Tulsi) and Centellaasiatica Linn. (Mandukparni) paste is considered most effective in stress management and it has been applied as required.

### 2. Pulse Diagnosis and Purification (Shodhan): An Integral Part of Ayurveda in Stress Management

In Ayurvedic treatment for stress management, pulse diagnosis and shodhan are important methods used by Ayurvedic doctors. Pulse diagnosis is an examination technique in which the doctor directly palpates the pulses on both wrists of a patient to evaluate the properties and condition of the pulses. The most representative method of diagnosis involves palpation and is known as pulse diagnosis. A patient's condition and disease is diagnosed

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according to the palpation of the pulse, a treatment plan is chosen, and the effectiveness of the selected treatment is determined by comparing the pulse before and after the treatment.

Optimal effect of medicinal plants in traditional medicine can be best achieved with the careful study of patient's health condition according to traditional methods of diagnosis. The use of Amla against excessive pitta (Fire element inside the body), is an example of this case. Pulse diagnosis is more than recording the pulse beat. The vital energy or life force circulates throughout the gross and subtle channels of the body and the practitioners of traditional medicine can feel this flow of vital life energy with the help of pulse diagnosis.

Pulse diagnosis enables the Ayurvedic doctor to feel the way the blood circulates from the heart, including the health of the various tissues and organs, and by detecting symptoms of imbalance or disease in the body at different stages of disease. Purification or Shodhan is defined as the treatment by which the disease causing factor i.e. imbalance (Doshas) is expelled from the human body. The impurity and imbalance is removed by its regular practice. This treatment modality is popularly known as Panchkarma as it consists of following 5 major treatment procedures: Basti, Vaman, Virechan, Nasya and Raktamokshan. Nasya treatment includes expelling the vitiated doshas through the naso-salivary secretions. Raktamokshan treatment procedure expels the vitiated doshas by letting off impure blood in small amount from the body.

The relationship between health and socio-economic aspects is strong. On an average most of the medical tourists spend INR.1,500 per day on Ayurveda treatment. The total earning of Namlang Himal Health Resort was INR.1,68,000 during peak tourist season. The lifestyle is highly influencing health status. Irregular diet, fast food, irregular and late night sleep etc. are some of the major lifestyle patterns seen among the patients pre Ayurvedic treatment. Several diseases like PNS hypertrophy, Acromegaly, arthritis Parkinson, low immunity and weakness are some major health challenges. Their pre-Ayurvedic treatment includes modern high dose medicine. Modern medicine and side effects are interrelated phenomena which were experienced by almost all patients.

Post Ayurvedic treatment is a combination of rejuvenation therapy, diet therapy, medicinal plants, yoga, Panchkarma and indigenous spa (Abhyanga, shirodhara, Shodhan etc.). The diet therapy in Ayurveda helps attaining good health which is prerequisite in the treatment. The Ayurvedic doctor also reported that about 90 per cent patients (both male and female) release their emotions as a result of the treatment.

## FOCUS SHIFTED FROM ILLNESS TO WELLNESS: NEED TO PROMOTE MEDICAL TOURISM

Medical tourism should be promoted by the government in the potential sites. In the light of growing tourism, people's shifting preference is towards holistic health care system, wellbeing primarily associated with lifestyle diseases (cancer, diabetes, heart problem, blood pressure and stress) in the tourist destination. Ayurvedic medicine and other local rural medicine along with other Complementary and Alternative Medicine (CAM) are popular but restricted within few regions. Though, they are also used as home remedies by the local people. People want to continue with this tradition but cannot manage due to unavailability of the local healers. Policy makers have come up with the Biodiversity register which is under preparation containing special section on the traditional healers considering them the custodians of the traditional knowledge. Holistic health care and preventive care are now important aspect of being healthy. The focus is being shifting from the illness to the wellness. Thus to elevate health services, cross-sectoral and multi-level intervention should promote untapped rural medicine and Medical Tourism because it has a lot to offer in ageing, chronic degeneration, dermatological and respiratory problems.

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## PATH AHEAD: HEALTHY INDIA

*Strategies include:*

1. A multi-pronged approach of ensuring sustainable production, consumption and marketing of medicinal plants may mitigate health risk and disease and boost income of farming community.

2. Increasing health issues in urban area due to limited physical activity can be effectively tackled by adoption of Yoga as a part of daily routine. A 15 minutes break before lunch for yoga need to be introduced to boost the working efficiency and health of our citizens.

3. Alternate livelihood options like medical tourism, particularly Indian Medicine, on the basis of experiences of Southern and Himalayan states can be disseminated for rural economic opportunity.

4. Green space and green buildings with roof gardening and herbal gardens should be promoted.

5. Bringing scientific orientation to traditional healers and quality check must be done by the Government making them 'Certified Healers'.

6. Inter-disciplinary research with bio-physical and human geo-sciences should be promoted and geographers should provide the necessary cultural linkages by connecting the social sciences, humanities and sciences.

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# DECODING STATE OF POLITICS OF INDIAN NATION

State politics has evolved as an autonomous discipline with growing recognition of state as the primary unit of analysis. Politics in each state has its own internal dynamics, which differentiates it from others.

There has been a growing realization that future analysis of Indian politics must concentrate on micro level analysis of political actions and processes of mobilization at local level. The internal power dynamics of states define the political power play at the centre. Political dispensation at state level demands meticulous scrutiny as it has an enduring effect on political configuration at the centre. Micro level analysis of internal dynamics of state politics has therefore now become imperative for an understanding of Indian politics and economy. State politics is no more an appendage of the discipline of Indian politics but has emerged as an autonomous discipline. The book State Politics in India, edited by Himanshu Roy, M.P Singh et el is a reflection of the exalted status of study of state politics as an autonomous discipline.

Politics in each state has its own internal dynamics, which differentiates it from other states multifacetedly. In India we have a common Nationality but then we also have a customary identity attached. An Indian is also Aryan, Dravidian, Tamil, Assamese, and Punjabi etc. India is home to four major religions of the world (Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism, and Sikhism,) and accommodates all the

Editors: **Himanshu Roy, M.P Singh, and A.P.S Chouhan**
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ISBN: **: ISBN: 978-93-86552-02-0**
Price: **US$49.95/Rs 575**

religion of the world. Caste is another reality in India and all major religions in India are further differentiated on caste lines. Caste plays a vital role in underlining cultural differences within religion. There is also wide diversity on linguistic lines; there are 22 languages in the Eighth Schedule of India's Constitution and more than100 languages spoken by more than 10,000 people each.

"Yet there are commonalities across the boundaries at micro and macro levels. The common linkages are the expansion and intensification of capitalism and its social relations into the innermost peripheral areas, breakdown of the old structures and social mores, emergence of civil society, development of administrative transparency, growth of alternative party systems and the linkages of each state with the global capital. The liberalization of economy over the decades has speeded up the growth of commonalities across the states through uniform production process and consumption culture. " (p.ix)
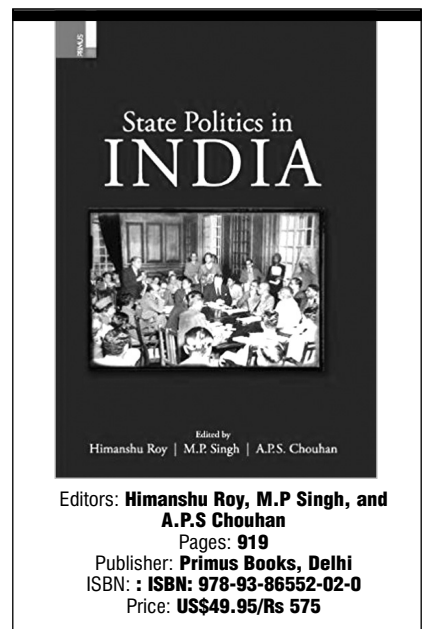
There is much to panegyrize about the book. In the past Seven decades, several works have been published on the theme but unlike existing literature this volume takes the study of state politics beyond the electoral process. This Work is eloquent, epoch-making, and important seeing the changing nature of state politics in India. The volume is micro level analysis of state politics exploring the particular and definite behavior of the states. The book is a splendid collection of deeply thought out and substantively analyzed twenty nine chapters, throwing light on not only politics of each state in India rather it enciphers an unique combination of the study of different forms in which the state apparatus operates in India and the multi-layer interaction of the people with the state.

The volume discusses history, social structure, economy, party system, voting behavior, electoral outcome, political culture and governance in 28 states (Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Gujarat, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and West Bengal) and 2 Union territories with legislative assemblies (Delhi and Puducherry). The volume examines in greater depth the internal political dynamics in each of these states and UTs which differs multifacetedly due to variations in the size of the populace, demography, area, topography, economy and the power structure of the different caste and communities. "These dynamics may aggravate or soften up the distinctions of each state under different kinds of governance actuating under a process in a region.

Or it may acquire further identity contours under the impact of religiosity, regional jingoism, sub-regional, and ethnic movements. Or under the impact of religious organizations, rural-urban divide, industrialization -urbanization process, it becomes violent / vituperative. The stage of social political awareness of the labour and peasantry, the power of the local elite, their historical legacies and the overall economic development of the state play an equally important role in shaping its specificity. " (p.ix) The deep research by the contributors for each chapters and the well-focused thematic conceptualization of ideas by the editors is a particular combination which makes this compendium a historic contribution to state politics subfield of political studies.

The Pan India outlook of the book enriches the reader's perspective uniquely and leads to a broader understanding of various political and social issues. The book moves to transcend the existing boundaries of horizontal introspection of state politics and provides for a more profound vertical analysis. The idea of the book is enthralling per se as it has segmented itself to include assorted discourses which includes a discursive study of twenty eight states and two union territories.

The seventy years of Indian political narrative has seen a lot of change and continuity, but the momentum which has shaped the timing of the book is the changing dynamics of federal politics in India after 2014 federal election with Narendra Modi at the helm. The ascendancy of Bhartiya Janata Party has changed the whole political landscape of India. As of June 2017, the BJP is in power with a majority in legislative assemblies of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Haryana, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. States like Andhra Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Nagaland, Sikkim, Goa, Maharashtra and Manipur also have NDA coalition government.

The book so importantly carves out one new discourse as how the economic and social outlook towards political dispensation has changed over the years. The books is loud and clear about one thing, meaning that 3p's- people, participation and polls have provided to State politics in India. In decoding the political history in Indian politics the contributors have left no stone unturned as there is a detailed discussion in each chapter on the politics, social relations, economy, demographics, cultural vertices, and other various entitlements of the states. "The stage of socio-political awareness of the labour and peasantry, the power of the local elite, their historical legacies and the overall economic development of the state play an equally important role in shaping its specificity" (p. ix), the book underlines and celebrates the magnificent attributes of particularity and specificities of each state in a 919 pages long treatise.

There is one remarkable feature about the book which makes it more enticing for the readers that it has focused on mapping various identities involved and has included their various articulations in form of texts. It further underscores that the pertaining issues of governance, development policies and decentralization of polity circumambient subaltern politics in various states. The work discusses every aspects of changing contour of state politics in India. "The changing social structure and their new civic

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requirements have compelled the political parties to mend their ways of governance. It has, simultaneously also, altered the regional / state party systems resulting into the demise of Congress system and has predominantly become the bi-party or bi-coalitional systems across the majority of states and union territories. The rise of the Other Backward Castes (OBC), Dalits and other marginalized sections catapulted the non-Congress parties into the power and heralded the era of political decentralization through coalition formations not only in states but also at the centre. " (p.x)

"The economic reforms have augmented the scope of the private sector and autonomy of state governments. Like the union government the state governments are now also vying with each other to attract private capital-national, multinational, and global multilateral- by offering better infrastructural facilities ('race to the top') or tax concessions and holidays ('race to the bottom')" (p. 18).

"Over the decades, the traditional social structure and its agenda of development (the rhetorical socialistic pattern of society) have declined…..the transformation from rural India urban India, the betterment of social, economic position of the other backward castes, and Dalits and their political emergence gradually changed the content of politics." (p. 893).

The work should also be credited for micro level analysis of determinants like democratization, multicultural secularization, federalization, economic liberalisation/privatization/globalization and sustainable development. The book has done a detailed investigation of impact of all these factors on politics in India in general and states in particular. Editors pinpointed the variations in the way these processes and factors manifest themselves in different state of India. For this purpose they had employed an explanatory framework comprising the following five factors: (1) " geography and history; (2)demography, culture, and social capital; (3) political economy with foci on macro-economic sectors and class structure; (4)patterns of state party system and social and political movements; and (5) the quality of political leadership with appropriate motivation and skill." (p.24)

The book distinguishes itself from the conventional and stereotypical study of state politics in India. It generates a neo-narrative to look at the politics in all twenty nine state units with a bottom to top approach, where each and every aspiration is accommodated with voice and representation. The text in the various chapters allocates due importance to both mainstream and sub-regional political, social and cultural spaces. The idea is to acknowledge their constitutive participation to create a real space for constructive dialogue.

My only substantive (and substantial) criticism is that due to variegated contributors from different disciplines the volume lacks continuity and consistency on some instances. Due to the differences in methodological framework some chapters of the volume look better balanced in terms of quality and content in comparison to others. Another missing link is that this work does not reflect much on the changing political landscape of the country post 2014 general election. Due to the temporal distance in which the idea of compendium unfolded and the time of its publication it misses the changing contours of state politics due to victories of Bharatiya Janata Party in different state assembly elections post 2014 general election as the book was already in print. All this is suggestive for the next edition.

Nevertheless, the compendium is prodigious theoretical contribution to the existing literature on State Politics in India. The comprehensive, coherent, clear and candid presentation of editor's experience and knowledge that too in the lucid language will provoke further research on the theme. The book is well researched and is essential reading for students, researchers, experts and teacher interested in decoding the internal dynamics of state politics in India.

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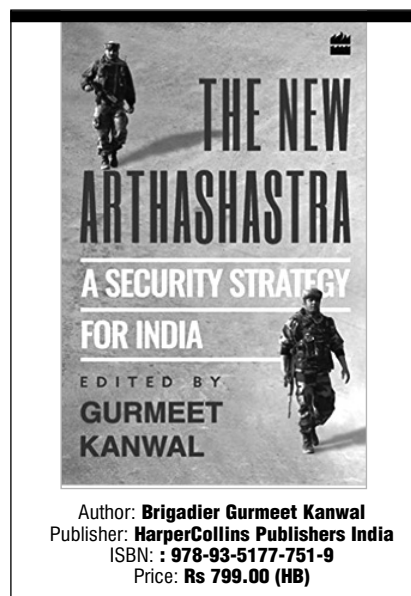
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# TREATISE SANS A NARRATIVE

The book fails to elucidate on the raison d'-etre for having a "Security Strategy"

While editing the compendium of essays to focus towards articulating a security strategy for India, Gurmeet Kanwalhas not really succeeded in creating cohesive narrative. The New Arthshashtra - A Security Strategy for India, may have essays from some of the best known names in the field of strategy but merely bringing in the names does not really create a cause for dialogue, create a viewpoint which emerges from interaction or evolves an opinion based on consensus. When Kanwal's compendium, published by Harper Collins, fails to integrate the view points of the contributing essayists, how can it blame the policy makers of having not been able to formulate a security strategy for the country despite "having fought five wars and being hemmed by nuclear-armed" states.

The official summary of the book says, "India surprisingly does not have a formally declared national security strategy. All the major powers of the world publish documents that spell out their national interests, identify their threats - political, economic, diplomatic or with regard to security - and draw up policies to deal with them. The absence of a similar doctrine makes India's defence policy look ad hoc and creates the impression that the country is unprepared to realize its global ambitions."

Author: **Brigadier Gurmeet Kanwal**
Publisher: **HarperCollins Publishers India**
ISBN: **: 978-93-5177-751-9**
Price: **Rs 799.00 (HB)**

The editor of the compendium claims that "The New Arthashastra" attempts to recommend a national security strategy for India. He claims that the book has done the difficult groundwork for India's political leaders and policymakers by bringing the best names - from within the community as well as from the armed forces and academia - to the ideating table. Ideating is fine but debating the issues would have been better appreciated.

Though to be fair this collection has 20 high-quality essays, which cover a wide range of topics from nuclear deterrence to defence spending, the domestic production of weapons, and bracing for the wars of the future that would be fought in space and cyberspace. As Kanwal says these essays are rooted in the expertise of analysts with inside-out knowledge of their domains.

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Most important, it presents a roadmap to address India's chief concerns: Chinese assertiveness and Pakistan's unrelenting proxy war.

The editor also is honest enough to explain, albeit inadvertently, about the disjointed narrative of the text at hand. He mentions about his enduring interest in security strategy and the desire to write a book on it, and what stopped him from doing it. "Given the complexities of the subject, it was clear to me that a book would take many years if I were to write it myself. Also I lack specialized knowledge of issues like maritime, cyber and space security, among others, I would be groping in the dark. A better alternative would be to invite the finest domain experts in the country to write on their areas of specialization and put it all together in one volume," he writes in the editor's notes at the beginning of the volume.

Therein lies the major difference between Chanakya's "Arthshashtra" and Gurmeet Kanwal's "The New Artrhshashtra". The fourth century BC thinker was master of his own quill and his scripture flowed from his thought process. He did not suffer from the complex of not having "specialized knowledge" and is not known to have helmed any writing project of people more knowledgeable than him.

Kanwal has also not tried to explain why his compendium has been inspired by Mauryan period administrator-philosopher's treatise, which has a much wider scope of discussion than just dealing with security strategy. Books 7 and 10 of the ancient tome deal with various scenarios and reasons for war. Chanakya catalogues war into three broad types - open war, covert war and silent war. Not very different from something which India has faced for the past seventy years. It defines each type of war, how to engage in these wars and how to detect that one is a target of covert war.

The conclusion of these chapters is the necessity for the ruler to know the progress he could expect when considering the choice between waging a war and pursuing peace policy. This probably could be the raison d'-etre for having a "Security Strategy" for the nation. And on making a choice between war and peace, the ancient text lays out thumb rule, "When the degree of progress is the same in pursuing peace and waging war, peace is to be preferred. For, in war, there are disadvantages such as losses, expenses and absence from home."

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3. All articles should be typed in Times New Roman, Font Size 14 for the running text. complete manuscript should be e-mailed to the Editor. No hard copy is required.

4. All articles must be accompanied by keywords and an abstract of 150-200 words. Notes should be numbered serially and presented at the end of the article.

5. Use single quotes throughout. Double quotes only used within single quotes. Spelling of quotations should not be changed.

6. Use '20th century"1990s'. Spell out numbers from one to nine, 10 and above to remain in figures. However, for exact measurements, use only figures (5km, 6percent, not%). Use thousands and millions, not lakhs and crores.

7. Tables and figures to be indicated by number serially,. Source for figures and tables should be mentioned, and permission should be obtained whenever necessary.

8. References should include all books, articles, essays, theses and documents cited in the text. These reference should be formatted in APA style.

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