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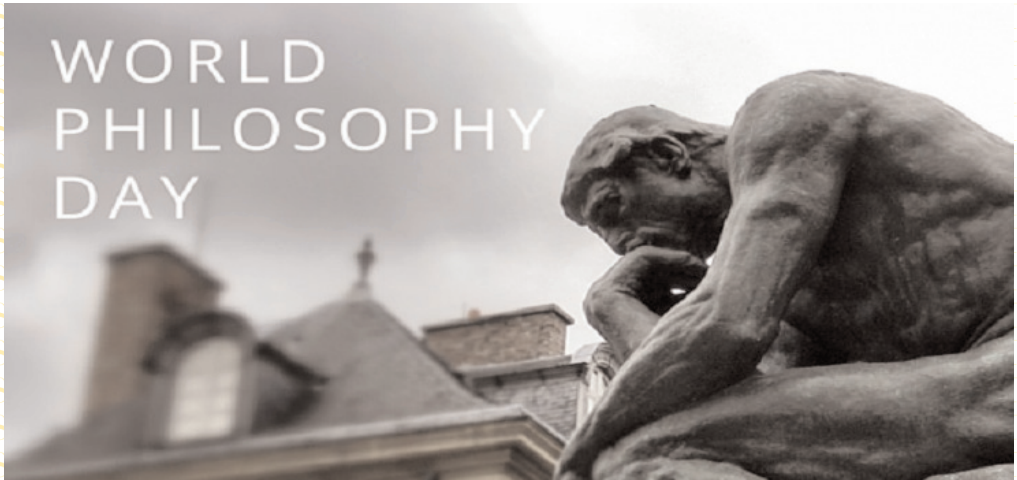
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*India's struggle for freedom was animated by humanistic philosophy;  
Gandhi invested the political struggle with quintessentially Indian ethos*



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## POLITICAL CHURNING IN RURAL INDIA

**T**here was no way that the BJP could have afforded to lose the assembly polls in Gujarat. Nobody understood this better than Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Despite the party ruling the roost in the state for the past three decades, the opposition Congress has maintained a fair share of votes all the while. Therefore when he bequeathed the office of the chief minister for job at South Block in the national Capital, Prime Minister Narendra Modi appointed his most trusted lieutenant as head of the party.

Given his training as Pracharak (fulltime volunteer) with the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) and exposure as organizing secretary of the party at the different levels, Modi understood well that his “transformational agenda” would invite sharp reactions and also a level of disenchantment among the voters, and would cause a mid-term crisis for his government.

This midterm crisis would have got further accentuated if its effects not arrested in Gujarat and the Congress not stopped in its tracks. Thus the unprecedented mobilization of party machinery and resources by Amit Shah; best reflected in Yogi Adityanath, the chief of minister of nation’s most populous state spending near fortnight campaigning in the western state.

The Maharaji’s, as the Yogi is referred to by his followers, presence went to consolidate the “Hindu Vote”, a siege to which the Congress attempted to lay through its president Rahul Gandhi’s “Sanskritized avatar”.

The script of poll campaign in Gujarat undoubtedly was -- who is a bigger or a better Hindu, with the opinion of Muslims of the state having been made almost irrelevant. Why this happened? The politics of Gujarat in the past three decades has been closely linked to the Ramjanambhoomi Movement. Following the post-Godhra riots of 2002, the politics of Hinduvta peaked in the past three elections.

The attempts of the Congress to hold Narendra Modi responsible for the riots affected the party’s fortunes adversely in previous polls. The majority community saw these attempts of the Congress as an affront on their interests. Thus the loss of support for the party which reached a crescendo in the 2014 Lok Sabha polls with the Congress losing on all the 26 seats in the state.

But three years down the line, the BJP, which is still looked to win the state polls, took extra-

ordinary steps to salvage a victory. This was because, it realised that its glorious victory marches in the past polls have largely been on the account of consolidation of Hindu votes and not any appreciation for a development model.

The BJP's worry was that a decade and half after the post-Godhra riots, the Hindu 'hatred' for the minority community had ebbed. The Muslims on their part too tried a repositioning and gave up aggressive posturing. Such a situation threw an opportunity for the rivals of BJP to get a slice of the Hindu vote, a chance which the Congress did not want to let go, though it did not succeed at it much.

Now that the results are out, its breakup presents a peculiar picture. With BJP making a bumper harvest on the urban seats and getting trounced by miles in the rural areas, somewhere, reinforced the theory of communal divide being an urban phenomenon.

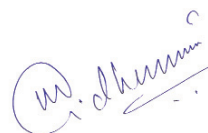
It somewhere also replicated the results of the local body polls recently held in Uttar Pradesh. In the municipal polls in Uttar Pradesh, BJP had won 14 out of 16 municipal corporation mayor seats. However out of all 198 municipal council chairman seats, the BJP could win just 70 seats. Similarly, at the town committee chairman level, the BJP could win just 100 out of all 438 seats.

In Gujarat assembly polls it won 48 of the 58 urban seats whereas it could win just 51 of the 124 rural seats. This is a definite replication of the Uttar Pradesh voting trends. While ready to believe the Prime Minister that instead of voting for caste-driven campaign of Congress, people opted for the Vikas (development) platform of the BJP, the results could also reflect that the message of Vikas was still to move to the hinterland.

The agrarian crisis in the country, which the BJP government at the Centre inherited from its predecessor Manmohan Singh government, is refusing to ebb. The shrinking job market and uninspiring returns from agriculture is something which the government so far has failed to effectively grapple with.

The BJP to win the 2019 national polls, the way it won it in 2014, must ensure against the urban and ru-urban divide getting more pronounced. The after effects of demonetization are still bothering revival of several sectors especially real estate. It should not be forgotten that builders are the biggest job givers especially for the labour and mid-level contractors. Secondly slump in real estate has affected the middle-class too, whose investments are stuck in the incomplete housing projects.

If the poll machinery of a cadre-based party were the sole factor for it winning or losing the poll, the Left parties would not have been ousted from governments across the globe and cooling heels in the history texts. Polls are won on popular mandate, and BJP for sure loosening grip on it.



**31st December 2017**

**Sidharth Mishra**

# secretary's desk

It's with great humility and also sense of achievement that we announce completion of five years of unbroken publication of The Discussant. In these years, this journal has proved to be an asset in promoting research among young scholars across the universities. The Discussant has come to be recognized as journal of honest endeavour.

In this time and era when publication industry is increasingly coming to be controlled by corporate bodies and several journals have been taken over by big publishing houses, 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 five 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.

It gives me great pride that we had presented before you the July-September 2017 issue, which was indeed a special edition because it covered diverse views on Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel from his contemporaries. It is no small achievement that in the past nine quarters we have brought out five special editions.

The edition in hand may not be a special edition on a particular topic but its diversity of content makes it special indeed. This edition contains full length papers and also short articles of much intellectual interest.

As I 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 just completed publication of a commemorative volume on the seven decades of India-Nepal Relationship in association with the prestigious BP Koirala Foundation.

**With Warm Regards & A Very Happy New Year,**

**31 December 2017**



**Dr Sanjeev Kumar Tiwari**

# PAKISTAN-SPONSORED TERRORISM IN INDIA AND THE ROLE OF US

DR NISHU SHARMA\*

## ABSTRACT

The problem of terrorism in India is linked to terrorist groups nurtured by Pakistan. The terrorist activities in Jammu and Kashmir, Sikh militancy and terrorism in Punjab from the late 1970s onward had indigenous roots but were egged on by Pakistan. Pakistan has utilised terror as an instrument of state policy which makes India's fight against terrorism a matter of regional security as Pakistan continues to perpetually support the militant organisations and sponsor terror activities in India. Available intelligence inputs have often showed that militants/terrorists active in India were supported and funded by their parent outfits based abroad, particularly in Pakistan, in terms of shelter, training, weapons and finance. At this juncture, when a country's effort to combat terrorism seems insufficient, a third-party intervention or diplomatic pressure becomes vital. According to US Congress report, India is severely affected by and vulnerable to terrorism from Pakistan-based groups and their associates (US Department of State 2013).

Ever since 2001, India has supported United States' war on terrorism and, at the same time, has persuaded the US to pressurise Pakistan against sheltering and aiding terror groups. The 9/11 attacks spurred Washington to opt for strategic partnership with India. Pakistan under the US pressure has made various statements against terrorism in India and has given assurances, but terror strikes continue unabated. It, thus, becomes apparent that the US has a different perception and policy towards terrorism in India when it originates in Pakistan. Washington has showed its concern over terror activities conducted from Pakistan but has not taken any meaningful action against it. The paper, thus, seeks to look at the overall terror modules which are Pakistan-sponsored and are impediment to peace and security in the region. It will also try to delve into the role of the US as a mediator and how the gap is still wide open in terms of policy-making and policy implementation. This paper will, thus, be an eye-opener towards the impediments to peace and stability in the region.

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In contemporary world terrorism has become a global issue by creating an atmosphere of chaos and leading the nations towards insecurity; making states sinking into underdevelopment on all deteriorating fronts. The dilemma of terrorism in India is decades back phenomenon; extremely influenced with cross border terrorism and terrorist activities exported by neighbouring nations. Domestic disturbances like rise of extremism and home grown terrorism in India is controllable if exported terrorism is restrained by Pakistan. The problem of home grown terrorism in India is itself linked to terrorist groups nurtured by neighbouring countries like Pakistan; and this is precise when we see terrorist activities in the Indian Punjab and Kashmir. Sikh militancy and terrorism in the Indian Punjab from the late 1970s onward had indigenous roots but has truly been assisted by Pakistan. While violent militancy has been limited in the Indian Punjab since 1993, “an infrastructure in support of violence continues in adjoining Pakistan” (Wallace 2007).

## **TERRORISM IN INDIA AND THE ROLE OF PAKISTAN**

Terrorism is like a contagion for India which earlier was affecting Kashmir but gradually dispersed in other states too, leaving awful impacts on society and generating feeling of insecurity. Fight against terrorism is a matter of regional security for India because Pakistan is perpetually supporting the militant organisations and sponsoring terror activities in the country. According to US Congress report, India is severely affected by and vulnerable to terrorism from Pakistan-based groups and their associates. Kashmir was the core issue for Pakistan to instigate terror activities in India but gradually terror strikes moved to the rest of India too, not only hit religious shrines but also its economic interests. Pakistan is an obsessed state with India as its enemy and, these two countries are clung over Kashmir since 1947. Pakistan via its terror proxy LeT, has aggravated India, which has brought two nuclear-armed countries to the brink of war (Quinlan 2012). The ex-Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh stated that “Pakistan has utilized terror as an instrument of state policy” (PIB 2009).

Moreover, United States has listed Pakistan among countries providing ‘safe havens’ to terrorists. The Country Report on Terrorism 2016 of the U.S. Department of State stated that India continued to be a victim of attacks “including by Maoist insurgents and Pakistan-based terrorists”. The report further said that terror outfits like Haqqani Network, Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad continued to operate, train, organise and fund raise in Pakistan in 2016, “Although LeT is banned in Pakistan, LeT’s wings Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD) and Falah-i-Insaniat Foundation (FiF) were able to openly engage in fundraising, including in the capital,” and “LeT’s chief Hafiz Saeed (a UN-designated terrorist) continued to address large rallies, although, in February 2017, Pakistan proscribed him under relevant provisions of Schedule Four of the Anti-Terrorism Act, thus severely restricting his freedom of movement,”. According to the Report, the Pakistani government did not publicly reverse its December 2015 declaration that neither JuD nor FiF is banned in Pakistan, despite their listing under UN sanctions regimes, although in January 2017, Pakistan placed both organisations “under observation” pursuant to Schedule Two of the Anti-Terrorism Act (U.S. Department of State 2017).

Undeniably, terrorism in India has always been sponsored by Pakistan. After long history of terror strikes in India, many journalists and politicians have accused ISI (Inter-Service-Intelligence), Pakistan’s intelligence agency; playing key role in sponsoring terrorism against India. Nonetheless, the US and Afghanistan have also accused Pakistan of carrying out terrorist acts in India. The ex-Minister of State for Home, R.P.N. Singh, stated that available intelligence inputs show that militants/terrorists active in India are often supported and funded by their parent outfits based abroad, particularly in Pakistan, in terms of shelter, training, weapons and finance. “The existing statutory and legal structure provides adequate provisions to deal with funding of terrorism”. A list of terrorist groups active in various states of India illustrates that Jammu and Kashmir has five such organisations, including Lashkar-e-Taiba, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Jaish-e-Mohammad, Harkat-e-Mujahideen and Al Badr who are constantly funded against India (The Hindu 2013). But the most prominent terror groups which are highly destructive for India is LeT, HM and JeM.

## **PAKISTAN-BASED TERROR GROUPS**

Lashkar-e-Taiba (also known as Jama'at-ud-Da'awa) is one of the largest and proficient Kashmir-focused militant groups, based in Muridke near Lahore in Pakistan. The organization was formed by Hafiz Mohammad Saeed in the Kunar province of Afghanistan, fighting against Indian control in Kashmir. This organisation has conducted several severe attacks inside India. The prime objective of LeT is to establish and make a strong Islamic state in South Asia through uniting all Muslim majority regions in country which surrounding Pakistan. But its main objective in regards of India is to liberate and occupy Kashmir by destructing India (Sharma and Behera 2014: 169). Its motive is not only to challenge India's sovereignty over the State of Jammu and Kashmir but the restoration of Islamic rule over all parts of India. During the All Pakistan Ulema Convention held on July 17, 2003, at Lahore, Hafiz Saeed said that, "Jihad is the only way Pakistan can move towards dignity and prosperity" (SATP 2017).

India has blamed LeT for the November 2008 attacks in Mumbai which killed 174 people. It has also been accused for its involvement in other high-profile attacks in India; including July 2006 attack on multiple Mumbai commuter trains where more than 180 people were killed, and December 2001 armed attack on the Indian Parliament. Moreover, the Indian Government has speculated that LeT may have also been involved in planning for German bakery blast of Pune on 13 February 2010. The then Pakistan President, General Pervez Musharraf, banned LeT in January 2002, along with four other militant groups. But within few months of its ban, it renamed itself as Jamaat-ud-Dawa. In 2008 the US Treasury Department also imposed approvals on four senior LT leaders, and in April 2012 two senior LT leaders were placed on the US State Department Rewards for Justice List (Counter Terrorism Guide 2017).

Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM) is one of the largest militant groups operating and perpetrating violence in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). The prime objective of this militant organisation is the integration of the J&K with Pakistan. The chief commander of the HM, Salahuddin, declared during a rally in March 2010 in Pakistan that "the only way to liberate Kashmir is jihad" and militancy is the sole solution for Kashmir issue. This outfit operates from Muzaffarabad in PoK and has regularly been targeting Indian security forces positioned in Jammu & Kashmir. (Sharma and Behera 2014: 41). Its chief Salahuddin was interviewed in 2012 by an Arab News where he stated that, "we are fighting Pakistan's war in Kashmir and if it withdraws its support, the war would be fought inside Pakistan" (The Times of India 2014). It reveals that augmented militancy in Jammu and Kashmir via HM group is thoroughly backed by Pakistan. However, The National Investigation Agency (NIA) has also stated the linkages between Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir-based terror outfits assembling their resources to circulate fake Indian currency with the purpose to fund jihadi activities in India.

Jaish-e-Mohammad is a major Islamic terrorist organization which was formed in 2000 in Karachi by Maulana Masood Azhar. The outfit's primary motive is to separate Kashmir from India, uses violence to force a withdrawal of Indian security forces from J&K. Moreover, this organization claims that each of its offices in Pakistan would serve as schools of jihad. Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) has been held responsible for the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in New Delhi on December 13, 2001. In a notification on December 26, 2001, the US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, designated the outfit as a foreign terrorist organisation. (SATP 2017a).

While launching of the JeM in Karachi, Maulana Masood Azhar had said, "I have come here (Karachi) because this is my duty to tell you that the Muslims should not rest in peace until they destroy India and the US" (Mir 2011). In his various hate speeches in Pakistan, Maulana Azhar stated that he would eliminate (the then) Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, whom he taunted as "Abu Jahl" (father of ignorance). He further added that in the fight against India, JeM would not only liberate J&K but would also take control of the Babri mosque in Ayodhya, Amritsar and Delhi (Sharma and Behera 2014: 189).

In the context of instigated terror activities in the region, especially Kashmir, India is unceasingly blaming Pakistan and reiterating to restrain such activities. India has always alleged that Pakistan trained militants in the 1990s and is still active in

sponsoring them but as usual Pakistan has denied all allegations. Pakistan maintains that these acts are committed by non-state actors. Even after the launch of war on terror, Pakistan had same stand on Kashmir issues. President Musharraf addressed the nation on September 20, 2001 and stated that:

Our main concerns are they [USA] can be hurt and harmed. And they can also devastate our main power, our main cause, Kashmir ... They are to see what the intentions of our neighboring countries are. They [India] have offered all their military facilities to the United States. Very conveniently, they [India] have offered their logistic support and all their facilities to America. They want that America should come and side them and they want Pakistan to be declared a terrorist State, and thus damage our Kashmir cause (Hagerty 2005: 56).

The then President Musharraf's government defined the parameters for Kashmir struggle and assured that no organization will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir and strict action will be taken against any Pakistani individual, group or organization found involved in terrorism within or outside the country (Gupta 2002: 257). At the same time, Musharraf also asserted Pakistan's commitment to Kashmir struggle and said, "Kashmir runs in our blood. ... We will continue to extend our moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris. We will never budge an inch from our principled stand on Kashmir" (Hilali 2013: 152).

Though Pakistan always denies instigation of terrorism in India; the ex-President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari admitted that his country created terrorist groups. In a meeting of former senior civil servants in Islamabad he stated that these groups were not thrown up because of government weakness, but as a matter of policy. He said they were deliberately "created and nurtured" as a policy to achieve some short-term tactical objectives. His comments illustrated role of Pakistan in training of Islamic terrorists to launch terror hits on India as part of its long war over its claim on Kashmir. Islamic militant groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed have long been regarded as Pakistan proxy forces by diplomats and intelligence services. Mr Zardari, in an interview with the Daily Telegraph, confirmed that many of the Islamic militants now waging war against his government were once "strategic assets" (Nelson 2009).

Favouring the point of nurturing terrorists in Pakistan, the former Pakistani military ruler Pervez Musharraf in an interview to the German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, told that his forces trained militant groups to fight in Indian-administered Kashmir. He also stated that the government turned a blind eye because it wanted to put pressure on India to enter talks. This is thought to be the first time such a senior figure in Pakistan has admitted it. Mr Musharraf in the interview said that militant groups "were indeed formed" in part because of the international community's "apathy" over the Kashmir dispute. The retired general also indicated that he did not regret the Kargil intrusion (by Pakistani soldiers disguised as militants) that led to skirmishes with India in 1999 (BBC 2010).

Therefore, the above statements reveal Pakistan's dual norms on non-provocation of terror activities in India; as some senior figures of Pakistan accepted stimulation of terrorism in India. In fact, many reports have disclosed Pakistan's involvement in nurturing various terror outfits and fomenting terror strikes in India. India has often handed over dossiers to Pakistan regarding 26/11 culprits but so far Pakistan has been unresponsive as if they and their ISI have nothing to do with that; they project themselves as innocent and victim of terrorism which has affected their own country. But expanding terrorism in Pakistan cannot cover Pakistan's hand in terror activities in India.

India always desired to establish cordial relations with Pakistan and asked the counter country to resolve terrorism issue at bilateral level. But when bilateral talk seems unproductive a third party intervention becomes necessary. As the role of the United States becomes imperative, India seeks positive role of US against terrorism in the country. After 9/11 terror attack, India-US relations took a positive turn which reflects America's stand on counter terrorism in favour of India.

## **ROLE OF UNITED STATES AS THIRD PARTY**

India considers the role of the US more vital when it is about terrorism and its linkages to Pakistan. India is reiterating for non-stimulation of terror activities via Pakistan, but various Pak aided terror organisations are still involved in fomenting constant terror challenges to India. Therefore, India looked forward to the United States regarding counter terrorism and seeks intervention in Pakistan with purpose to restrain terrorist activities across India. Hence, India joined United States' war on terror to make India a terror-free state. India's support to America's war was based on dual purposes; firstly it wanted to strengthen its capabilities against terrorism at national level, and secondly and most importantly, seeking United States to pressurise Pakistan against sheltering and aiding terror groups. The 9/11 attacks instigated Washington to opt for strategic partnership with India. Therefore, America decided to go with India's outlook on Kashmir militants based in Pakistan as international terrorists (Nayak 2011: 22).

India was more curious and was looking forward to United States' stand over Pakistan. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage mentioned in an interview that Washington has stated LeT and JeM as terrorist organization and imposed sanction against JeM, in 2001 (The Hindu 2001). Additionally, in 2003, Condoleezza Rice also said that the President had conducted talks with Musharraf about the "need to stop cross-border terrorism in Kashmir" (Malhotra 2003).

The 9/11 attack brought Pakistan in a state of quandary. The America's global war on terror led Pakistan to change fundamentals of its foreign policy. The international pressure fetched Pakistan in dilemma, intricate Pakistan's diplomatic stance over the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan was incapacitated with the situation to provide diplomatic and moral support to Kashmiri indigenous freedom movement; considering circumstances in favour of India and providing an opportunity to project Pakistan as an Islamic militancy as well as to gain sympathies from international community. Therefore, Pakistan opted to act according to the US and maintained its traditional stand that Kashmir problem needs to be resolved through dialogue and peaceful means in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people and the UN resolutions.

Pakistan was feeling extremely pressurised and vulnerable under the United States' war on terror; especially when the former President George W. Bush declared that every nation, in every region, has a decision to make, i.e. either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. He also mentioned that from that day forward, any nation that continues to harbour or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime. Bush further stated that we will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength (LaFeber 2002: 45). This sort of statement created dilemma inside Pakistan but with the purpose to hit back India regarding India's support to Afghanistan, Pakistan professed its full support to America against Afghanistan and soon declared LeT as a terrorist outfit to gain US confidence. But America's intervention in 2004 brought perceptible change; Vajpayee and Musharraf on January 6, 2004 met on the sidelines of the SAARC Summit in Islamabad and decided to open negotiations with the significant commitment on part of Pakistan that it would not allow terrorist groups and their activities targeting India from its soil (SATP 2004). Five rounds of this composite Dialogue have taken place, the last one held in July 2008 but it came to a halt after 2008 Mumbai attack.

Though America's pressure over Pakistan was a hope for India to see peace in the valley as well as in rest of India, terror strikes were still constant after Mumbai 2008. Therefore, it is apparent that America has different perception and policy towards terrorism in India when it is coming from Pakistan. The US remained sympathetic with India but feeble to persuade Pakistan against its terror activities in India. From the very beginning India was seeking United States' cooperation against Pakistan but Washington had some other plans. To make Afghanistan invasion successful it required the airspace, bases, and logistical support of the neighbouring countries; therefore the United States decided to take fruits of Pakistan's support as it borders both the Indian Ocean and Afghanistan. America was very clear with Pakistan that they will use Pakistan's airspace, and logistical support as well as intelligence aid. Liam Collins in the Irish daily Sunday Independent has mentioned that a senior officer of the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad told President Musharraf that Pakistan should either abandon support to Taliban or

be prepared to be treated like the Taliban (Slavin and Nichols 2001: A4). This demonstrates that US intention was only to make Pakistan an ally in the war of terror against Afghanistan; and to take fruits from India as well because India and Afghanistan share healthy bilateral ties.

India wants to see long term peace and stability in Afghanistan. India did not deploy its military in support of U.S.-led operations in Afghanistan, but has deployed a very small contingent of its paramilitary forces to protect Indian citizens working on reconstruction projects in Afghanistan (Pardesi 2005: 22-23). Conversely, other neighbouring states of Afghanistan provided full land, air and naval bases in US mission. The United States' access into the Asian region was multidimensional. By using Asian region it could retaliate Al Qaida and its sheltering Taliban; secondly, this decision would be more fruitful for associating states (bordering Afghanistan) giving space to US, it would wipe out militant organisations that spread and promote terrorism. Thirdly, US would get an opportunity to access and control the natural resources in the region especially Central Asian Oil and Gas (Dar and Kalis 2013: 20-21). Thus, not getting its personal interests fulfilled through India turned the United States lenient toward terrorism in India from the side of Pakistan.

The global war on terror was America-centric, limited to serve United States' national security interests. It is maintained that if the US war on terror was global in real terms then it should have been under the UN command, thereby focusing on all global terror spots instead of Afghanistan only. Moreover this war was confined to United States and its NATO allies; the vital components of integrated global cooperative efforts were missing. Washington's so called global war on terror was based on personal interests in Afghanistan and for those reasons the US asked Pakistan to join this war. The situation becomes skeptic when we see that Pakistan has always been the legitimate target of the US Global War on Terror but it was never penalized by the United States for its suspicious role in assisting Al Qaeda in launching their war on the United States. Likewise, US has declared Pakistan as an 'Epicentre of Global Terror' but it has not been able to restrain the Pakistan Army from launching state-sponsored terrorist attacks against India.

It is difficult to determine how many terrorist groups operate out of Pakistan, but it is perceptible that al-Qaeda and the Afghan Taliban, Pakistani Taliban and other groups use this country as a staging ground for various terror attacks on India and the US troops. The death of Osama Bin Laden, the most-wanted terrorist, was crucial in this regard. According to the CNN report, Osama bin Laden sought a deal with Pakistan in which he would not attack Pakistan in exchange for protection. At this point, it is difficult to understand which Pakistani officials were aware of Osama bin Laden's presence, but certainly some Pakistan officials knew that he was living in plain (United States Government 2011).

Ex-Prime Minister Manmohan Singh called Osama bin Laden's death a momentous step forward. He said, "I welcome it as a significant step forward and hope that it will deal a decisive blow to Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups. The international community and Pakistan in particular must work comprehensively to end the activities of all such groups who threaten civilized behaviour and kill innocent men, women and children" (PIB 2011).

Moreover, ex-Union Home Minister P Chidambaram mentioned that the Al Qaeda chief's death was not the end of terror and his presence in Abbottabad was portentous signs of Pakistan continuing to provide a safe sanctuary to terrorists. Mr Chidambaram said:

This does not mean the end of terror. Al Qaeda never directly threatened India. The terrorist organisations that threaten us like the Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), Hizbul Mujahideen and the Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) continue to threaten India and plot against India. As long as Pakistan entertains these terror outfits and doesn't dismantle the terror infrastructure, we'll have to be very vigilant (SATP 2011).

Mr Chidambaram also issued a statement urging Islamabad to bring the perpetrators of the 26/11 attacks to the board. He said:

We once again call upon the Government of Pakistan to arrest the persons whose names have been handed over to the Interior Minister of Pakistan as well as provide voice samples of certain persons who are suspected to be among the controllers and handlers of the terrorists (Sharma 2011).

Certainly the death of Osama strained, to some extent, US-Pak relations but as a matter of fact major changes were imperceptible. This major operation shocked the entire world, ironically US was still aiding Pakistan even after knowing that Pakistan was sheltering Osama. The United States' double-standards on Pakistan knocked out the credibility of the US Global War on Terror and reduced its appeal worldwide, especially in India. It ended up as a myth in which people severely questioned US sincerity and intentions. American officials constantly pointed out at Pakistan's "double game" and for most of their failures in Afghanistan, but at the same time maintained that, without Pakistan, this war would have been impossible (Mufti 2013).

The United States is providing financial aid to Pakistan since 1948 and in the wake of 9/11 this aid increased steadily. Since 1948, the United States has provided more than \$30 billion in direct aid, about half for military assistance, and more than two-thirds appropriated in the post-2001. The 111th Congress passed the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2009 (P.L. 111-73) authorizing the President to provide \$1.5 billion in annual non-military aid to Pakistan for five years (FY2010-FY2014) (Epstein and Kronstadt 2013: 2). This is truly unconvincing on the part of US to provide financial aids on the one hand and asking Pakistan to restrain terror activities on the other, while the fact is Pakistan uses all its funds to nurture terrorists and organisations. Moreover, US have used diplomatic policy against LeT; US never asked Pakistan to stop Hafiz Sayeed and its rubbish activities against India and US. The US spokesperson on Difa-e-Pakistan council rally in Karachi stated that, 'The US Government is concerned about the recent public appearances of Jamaat-ud-Dawa leader Hafiz Sayeed, including at a recent rally in Karachi' and 'we have and continue to urge the Government of Pakistan to uphold its obligations in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1267/1989' (U.S. Department of State 2012). Though the United States has always stated that it has asked or urged Pakistan to stop terror activities, what exactly has stopped US from taking any strong action against Pakistan so far as it did in Afghanistan against Taliban is a pertinent question.

## **CONCLUSION**

Washington has undoubtedly showed its concerns over terror activities conducted from Pakistan but did not take any strong action against it, neither pressurised Pakistan not to instigate terrorism in India. To maintain relations with India, the United States used to ping Pakistan time to time on terror acts in India but never penalized for it. In fact, according to the State Department report on terrorism 2016, India and the United States continued to seek and strengthen cooperation against terrorist threats from groups like al-Qaeda, the ISIS, JeM, LeT and D-Company (Dawood Ibrahim's group), including through greater collaboration on designations at the UN. The report states that the Indian government continued to closely monitor the domestic threat from transnational terrorist groups like ISIS and Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS), which made threats against India in their terrorist propaganda. Many individuals were arrested for ISIS-affiliated recruitment and plotting attack within India, the report said. Leaders from both the countries directed officials to identify new areas of collaboration through the July US-India Counter-terrorism Joint Working Group, applauded finalisation of a bilateral arrangement to facilitate the sharing of terrorism screening information, and called upon Pakistan to bring the perpetrators of terrorist attacks against India to justice.

Pakistan's role in the United States military strategy was especially important when America's personal interests were in jeopardy (anti-communism, containment of the erstwhile Soviet Union, and counter terrorism). As Pakistan is a traditional ally of the United States, without a more normal India-Pakistan relationship, the India-US relationship will remain highly sensitive to Indian perceptions of Washington's relationship with Islamabad. Washington has adopted the policy of de-hyphenation (developing separate policies toward India and Pakistan). It has always framed its bilateral relation structure according to its interests.

The purpose behind re-crafting Washington's relationship with New Delhi was not the prospect of immediate gain or an urgent need for Indian partnership, but the perceived value of a long-term strategic investment in India. India also needed a strong enough support to protect its own multiple global and regional interests, especially combating terrorism, and found the US as the best option. But the United States' interests in India were different and were not particularly security concerns, rather economic and strategic developments. Additionally, the US found India as a large trading partner, a bigger investor and the biggest provider of advanced technology. At the same time, the US wanted Pakistani support and co-operation as an Islamic 'frontline state' in the war against terrorism. This disparity of interest has definitely affected the role of the United States as a third party. The US has some other plans which included Pakistan as an ally also but it was surely not to restrain Pak thoroughly from emanating terror activities.

In the present time, for the sake of its interests, Pakistan has adopted a new policy of showing itself as a state victim of terrorism. But Pakistan must not forget that it is getting the same what has been sown; terrorism in Pakistan is the result of its own misdeeds. In fact, these days Pakistan is targeting and accusing India for spreading terrorism in the country. For Pakistan, India, through its spies, is operating in Southern and Eastern Afghanistan and fuelling insurgency in Balochistan. Moreover, Pakistan has blamed RA&W for its base in Karachi which is operating against Pakistan and conducting terror activities. Pakistan's ex-PM Mr. Sharif asked Mr. Obama to intervene in Kashmir issue which India has always denied. India never wanted any third party mediation in Kashmir issue as it is a bilateral problem. The State-sponsored terrorism has been key instrument of Pakistan's foreign policy under control of Pakistan Army; and the United States has not been able to restrain Pakistan from stimulating state-sponsored terrorist attacks in India. Therefore, discussed factors demonstrate that the role of US as a third party and its intervention to resolve tension between India and Pakistan over the issue of terrorism has been feeble and fruitless for India.

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# THE IDEA OF INDIA: AN EVOLVING VISION

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Indian Society and polity is very complex and ancient in comparison to other societies. The complexity is the result of diversity, influences from other societies, different languages, culture and religion. Stories associated with the religious deities, symbols and deeds of various kingdoms in the Ancient and Medieval India somehow created the fault lines in the society which reflected in both political and economic arena. Later, European imperial designs affected the Indian society, Polity, and Economy in its own way. "Several different levels of social evolution co-exist in contemporary India: Primitive hunters and food gatherers; Shifting cultivators.. Nomads of different types..Settled agriculturist... most of the major religions of the world- Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism are found here..... in the process to its evolution, Indian society has acquired a composite culture, characterized by the stable patterns of pluralism"<sup>2</sup>. Vedic Religion, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity, several small traditions like Tribal sects, Jews, Parsis, social movements like Arya Samaj, Satya Sodhak Samaj, Brahma Samaj and others together shaped today's diverse and culturally rich India.

## ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN ISSUE IN INDIA

To begin with the question arises, "where was the first man born"? Religion, science and historians have answered this question as per their wisdom. For Semitic religions i.e Islam, Christianity and Judaism, Israel is supposed to be the birth place of mankind. Hindus believe that India was the birthplace of human civilization.As per Hindu mythology, Manu is believed to be the forefather of mankind but Manu is also associated with 'Manusmriti', a book, as is assumed has glorified the so called 'Savarnas' & vilified the so called 'Sudras' and created lots of discomfort in the Modern Indian society. Historians argued that first man was definitely born in the hot or tropical climate. Scientists view Africa as the place of birth of mankind while Darwinists believe that apes, Chimpanzees were the predecessors of mankind. All above mentioned views are mutually exclusive and contradict each other. Later various racial theories instead of arresting the situation further complicated the entire

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debate. In India, these racial theories created fault lines in the Society. Even the reading and understanding of religious texts also took place on these lines, thanks to the European colonial masters who further instigated the differences of the Indian society on racial lines. As a result, Rama became 'Aryan' and Ravana became 'Dravida'. This discourse divided people, languages, history, social groups and caste into Aryan, Dravida, Mongoloid and others. As per some popular "Factoids"<sup>3</sup> like word 'Aryan' derives from word 'Arya' from 'Rig Veda' means noble or superior who speaks Sanskrit and practices Vedic Rituals and other Factoid like Aryans were Invaders and destroyers of Indus Valley Civilisation. These types of speculations basically relied upon the assumption that Indus Valley Civilisation was pre Aryan or Non Aryan. Later linguists coined the term 'Indo-European' on the basis of relationship between Classical languages i.e. Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. Further Indo-European family divided in to Sub Branches i.e. Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian. "Most of Indian languages are characterized as Indo-Aryan"<sup>4</sup>. The speakers of Indo-Aryan languages were later characterized as Aryan. "There is no archaeological evidence for Invasion, or even large scale migration in to the northwestern subcontinent, but there is considerable evidence of trade and interaction between the region to the West and North, beginning with the Neolithic period (7000 BC) and continuing up to the late Harappan times (1900 BC)"<sup>5</sup>. India since ancient times were having great trade links with outside world due to its affluence, culture and religion. "The Aryan invasion theory has been used politically for some 160 years by major state actors such as the British empire and Nazi Germany, and in India by Jawaharlal Nehru, the Ambedkarites (though BR Ambedkar himself emphatically rejected it), the Dravidianists, the missionaries and of course, the secularists."<sup>6</sup> The debate over Aryan Invasion or Out of India theory is basically ideological battle of Marxist against Hindutva, which they have to win anyhow.

*Dravid* people are inhabitant of south India but scholars have noticed the presence of many *Dravids* in Chhotanagpur Plateau, Baluchistan, on the basis of languages spoken by communities like Oraon of Bihar, Brehui of Baluchistan. "Dravidian developed agriculture in this country, initiated sea travels, initiated river linking for irrigation, constructed great temples and developed urban civilization. Dravidian were the propagators of matriarchal system of society and developed *Shaiva* and *Shakta Bhakti* Movement"<sup>7</sup>. Scholars differ on the issue whether Aryans are native to this land or not, in the same way, it is also not sure whether Dravidians are native to this land or not. In reality, we have no way, today, to determine who in India is an '*Adivasi*', but enough data to reject this label as misleading and unnecessarily divisive. The debate of Aryan and Dravidians as outsider is still unsettled. Both *Aryans* and *Dravidian* are residing in this land for thousands of years and influencing each other. In this way, both Dravidians and Aryans contributed in the development of Vedic religion and cultural traditions in India. As a result Vedic Dharma became the prominent religion of this land. But the present Vedic Religion is no more like ancient Vedic Religion. Present day Vedic religion is known as Hinduism and it has gone through the several reforms, movements and influences from across the world. Hinduism is practiced across India having many Gods, festivals and forms with varied cultural norms.

## JAINISM AND BUDDHISM IN INDIA

Yagya derived from Vedas was considered as most pious ritual of Vedic Religion. Importance of Yagya established the supremacy of Brahmins in the Vedic Religion. Brahmins became the intermediary between God and the masses, somewhat like pope of Christianity. This anomaly gave rise to two great religions i.e. Jainism and Buddhism in India. Emergence of Jainism and Buddhism was a revolt of non-Brahmins against Brahmin dominance over Vedic Religion. Jainism and Buddhism enriched Indian society in their own way. "The propagation of Jainism in South India helped in cultural integration of India. Many Sanskrit words reached South India along with the Jain Saints and literature and become part of Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada languages"<sup>8</sup>. Excessive importance to Ahimsa limited Jainism only to the trading communities of North and South India. Unlike Jainism, Buddhism spread away across East Asia, South East Asia, and North-West Asia. At one time Buddhist outnumbered the other sects in India. Pal of Bengal, Mauryan Empire of Bihar, Kushan Dynasty of North-West India were the prominent rulers who made Buddhism as their state religion. Apart from the patronage of the rulers, accessibility & simplicity

played a key role in propagation of Buddhism. Buddha launched a great movement by challenging the Caste System; he advocated equal rights for all four Varnas, along with women. The rise of Buddhism in India was also the period of geographical expansion of Indian Philosophy in other part of the world. Historians generally define different periods as period of Vedic Religion, Period of Buddhism. But rise of Buddhism does not mean the extinction of Vedic Religion. Reaction in the form of Bhakti Movement emerged in the south India by Nayanars, Alvars etc. In a way, both Jainism and Buddhism reformed the Vedic Religion. India is the birth place of Jainism and Buddhism as religion and philosophy further reached its glory in that period.

## MUSLIM INVASION AND INDIAN SOCIETY

Islam in India came in two ways, first as a religion of traders and second as a religion of raiders. "According to M. N Roy no other caste hated Islam so much as Hindus"<sup>9</sup>. This hate is due to the unparalleled atrocities unleashed by the Muslim invaders in India. These atrocities instilled hate in the Hindus for Muslims. Hindus were less aware about those aspects of Islam (e.g Islam was the religion of peace) which made it so appealing in entire Arabia & later in entire West Asia. Islam in its pristine form was against orthodoxy, inequality, idol worship and against atrocities unleashed by the Roman Empire at that time. Later, it appears that infighting for Caliphate made this religion barbarous and savage, resulting in killing of even Caliphates. India's Interaction with Arab traders started from 636 AD in south. Even conversion of Hindus into Islam started from South India. This was the good impression of Islam on Indian Society. But Muslim invaders from North earned the bad name for Islam. Initial invaders were basically Turks, Afghans, and of Central Asia stock (Except Mohammad Bin Qasim 712AD). These new converts were infamous for their unruly, barbaric, and nomadic characteristics. These invaders destructed Hindu Temples, raped women and looted kings and natives. They were not actually in service of Islam but attracted towards the wealth of this great nation. Muslim rulers in India treated their Hindu populace as inferior to them. When Islam reached Iran it accepted Iranian language and Culture, when Islam reached Turkey and other Central Asian countries it accepted the language and culture of that part too. But in India Muslim rulers enforced their language, culture on Indians, this primarily due to the Invaders who were from other part of the world settled in India as rulers but enforced their language and culture on Indians. After the debacle of Muslim rulers especially after 1857, many learned Muslims became the flag bearers of concept of '*Umma*'<sup>10</sup> and Iran, Turkey and Arab world became the source of inspiration for them. Even converted Indians also became *Arabised* and this Arabisation created separate identity of Muslims in India. In a way Islam of Invaders outshine Islam of Arab Traders in south India. This led into the isolation of both the communities. Religion, language and customs formed two worlds apart. Even Muslim Scholars promoted controversial figures like Mahmud of Ghaznavi, Mohammad Ghorri, Babar, Aurangzeb etc. this may be due to the powerful positions enjoyed by them, later such promotions accepted as granted by Muslim society at large. Later partition of India on 14th August 1947 increased the distrust between Muslims and Hindus. "The anti-Hindu frenzy that Jinnah had generated among the Muslim merely to gain Pakistan has in turn given rise to an anti-Muslim feeling among Hindus"<sup>11</sup>. This anti-Muslim feeling in Hindus furthered due to the communalisation of Indian politics in post-Independence era. As a result several incidences of communal clash and riots did happen in the post-independence era (to name a few Bhagalpur Riot, Gujarat Riot, Muzaffarnagar Riot etc.) Political parties in order to appease Muslims as vote bank bowed down to the fundamentalist and stopped modernization of Indian Muslims. Muslims at present are most conservative, backward, and poor in comparison to other religious communities in India.

## SIKHISM IN INDIA

Sikhism is a sect founded in fifteenth century by Guru Nanak Dev. This sect is based on the teachings of Guru Nanak Devji and successive ten Sikh Gurus. 'Guru Granth Sahib' (Final Compilation took place during Guru Govind Singh ji) is the holy book

of Sikhs, compiled and edited during the time of fifth Sikh Guru Arjun Devji in 1604 AD. The word Sikh is derived from a Sanskrit word meaning 'disciple', or one who learns. Sikhism believes in '*Nirankaar Brahm*', Guru Nanak Devji took ideas of rebirth, reincarnation, idea of God, and moksha from Hinduism. In this way Sikhism is close to Hinduism. Sikhism also opposed gender and social inequalities; idol worship etc. These beliefs draw a parallel between Sikhism and Islam. Due to all these beliefs and principles Sikhism became a simple, sober, popular and peaceful religion of Indian subcontinent.

Despite lots of similarities between Islam and Sikhism, followers of both the religion became antagonist to each other due to religious bigotries of Mughal rulers, Guru Arjun Devji, Guru Teg Bahadur Ji, Guru Govind Singh Ji sacrificed their life for dignity and religion. "Two of the Sikh gurus, Guru Arjun and Guru Tegh Bahadur, after they refused to convert to Islam, were tortured and executed by the Mughal rulers."<sup>12</sup> All the Sikh Gurus not only refused to bow down against Mughal rulers and their injustice towards Hindus and Sikhs, but also revolted. Due to this struggle of Sikh Gurus with Mughal, Sikhism not only militarized but also became close to Hindus at that time. Guru Har Govindji built 'Akali Takht', while Guru Govind Singh ji established 'Khalsa Panth' in order to organize the believers against unjust Mughals. Mughal emperors Jahangir and Aurangzeb were most infamous Mughal rulers as far as Sikhism is concerned; later "during the partition of India in 1947, there was much bloodshed between Sikhs and Muslims, there was mass migration of people from all walks of life to leave their homes and belongings and travel by foot across the new border, on trains and on land people were killed in what was felt to be revenge attacks. Millions of Sikhs left Pakistan and moved into India, while millions of Muslims left India and moved into Pakistan."<sup>13</sup> Therefore partition of India in 1947 increased the hatred among Muslims and Sikhs. British colonial rule also played a key role in distancing Muslims and Sikhs or Hindus and Sikhs. In post independent India, 'Khalistan' issue caused a rift between Hindus and Sikhs, which culminated in the killing of then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984 by her Sikh security guards. In the ensuing communal clash, thousands of Sikhs were killed throughout the country. Since the Khalistaan movement was the brain child of some deviated and ambitious youth, who were having vested interest and support of ISI (Pakistan's Intelligence Agency) and had no great support from general Sikh people, the relationship between Hindus and Sikhs has improved dramatically. This is also due to political environment (created by government and political parties) and support of Sikh community, inclusion of Sikhs took place in Indian democratic setup. This inclusion ended Sikh militancy in Punjab and elsewhere in India. Sikhism in a way was perceived as a dimension of Hinduism, and became fifth organized populated religion of Earth. Sikhism like others also contributed in post Indian political, philosophical and religious discourse and shaped idea of India too.

## CHRISTIANITY AND INDIAN SOCIETY

Like Islam, Christianity is also a Abrahamic religion too, and also originated in Asia i.e. Israel. Jesus, a Jew was the founder of Christianity. Christianity too came in India in two ways i.e. by Syrian Christians and by European Traders. The Syrian Christians came very early in southern India. This Christianity was based on sacrifices, devotions and ascetic life, which was predominant nature of Indian religions as well. This form of Christianity was welcomed in India at that time. Christianity of European (as traders) came in India from 1498 (Vasco-de- Gama came in India in May 1498) along with the Portuguese. The European came in India for two fold reasons i.e. Trade and Conversion. But atrocities of Europeans i.e. Portuguese, French, Dutch and British had a bad impression over Indian masses. "The pre-Portuguese and pre-British Christian communities in India do not show any desire to convert others. They are more or less like Hindu castes. But the Europeans who settled down in India either tried to convert directly using all means available to them or brought in their trained missionaries. The Christian missionaries' denunciation of Hinduism had a political tinge as the missionaries belonged to the same race as the rulers. As far as peasants were concerned, they concerned the white missionary as one of the many agents of British Government."<sup>14</sup> Their loot, humiliation of Indians, violence and greed earned bad name for them. Europeans basically pre-occupied with idea of 'White Man's Burden'<sup>15</sup> i.e. it was their duty to civilize, educate, and to rule over un-civilized, uneducated Indians. Due to

this, Indian perceived conversion by Europeans as aggression to their religion and country. As a result, Indian masses became disillusioned with the religion and rule of their colonial masters.

## COLONIAL RULE, RISE OF NATIONALISM AND INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

After defeating French, British East India Company remained the only European power in India and was successful in colonizing India. Portuguese Imperial rule was limited to Goa only. British colonial period was great turning point in the Indian history. Until the formal control of British East India Company, the people of this subcontinent were lacking Indianness. A very famous example exhibiting this sheer lack of Indianness or Indian nationalism was the defeat of Bengal's Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah by the British East India Company in the battle of Plassey in 1757. This battle of Plassey witnessed by subjects in large number, even the subjects as spectators outnumbered the warriors in the battlefield. The story goes on as follows: when Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah of Bengal was defeated by East Indian Company and was being paraded in the streets of Murshidabad, people of Murshidabad were shouting the slogan "hail the company's soldiers (Company Ke Bahaduro Zindabad)". This shows how the people of this subcontinent were unaware of the idea of Indianness or the idea of India or Indian nationalism.

Many Scholars believe that the idea of India is in many ways a modern construct. According to the Sunil Khilnani, who has written a prominent book on the theme of the idea of India, there is more than one reason which shows that India is unequivocally a creation of the modern world. The fundamental agencies and ideas of modernity that is European colonial expansion, the state, nationalism, democracy, and economic development, etc. all have shaped it. The British East India Company brought new changes and orientation in the Indian society as they introduced new laws and regulation to control the economic, social and cultural affairs of Indian life. The introduction of Permanent Settlement, the new trade rules, the railways, post and telegraph integrated the masses into a single unit. Though, such initiatives were introduced solely to fulfill the interest of British East India Company and in turn British Raj, they proved to be the blessing in disguise for India, the results of these developments were rather beneficial to the people of India. They started interacting with each other and hence got to know each other and their culture well. It was made possible only through these means. The Britishers also intruded into the social and cultural life of India using rule of law and the uniform codified laws for all and banned many ill practices that were carried on since ages like Sati and Child-Marriage, legalized widow-remarriage, ended thugi, etc. The regulation of social, cultural and economic life made people realize their own glorious past and invoked a sense of oneness to oppose the British laws. The feeling got a boost after the First War of Independence in 1857, and later by the establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885. The people started thinking that India is the home to people who have been living in this subcontinent for centuries and hence refused to be dictated by an alien rule.

The nationalistic feelings further got strengthened after the partition of Bengal. "The decision to divide the undivided Bengal into West Bengal and East Bengal (now Bangladesh) was mainly taken to create a permanent divide among Hindus and Muslims."<sup>16</sup> Return of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa and he emerging at the national stage as a leader of masses revolting vehemently against the exploitation of Indian people by the British instilled the fervor of nationalism in India. The Gandhian concept of Swaraj gave the much required direction and meaning to the struggle. Nationalist assertion not only questioned the colonial Rule and deeds of colonial masters but also their language i.e. English. Gandhiji was also one of the prominent leaders who opposed English language and supported Hindi and other Indian languages as medium of instruction in educational institute and government offices. Gandhiji believed "if English continued as medium of Instruction in educational Institute and government offices, then there is no doubt that India continue to be the cultural colony of England and America. The primary condition for India to become real India is the scrapping of English language from school, colleges and government offices."<sup>17</sup> Subsequently after the arrival of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbai Patel, V. D. Savarkar, Chandrashekar Azad, Bhagat Singh and many more, the freedom struggle got a socialistic, revolutionary and humanist touch and the ultimate

goal now was to attain the Purna Swaraj based on democratic form of government for the Indians. This was to be based on adult franchise and egalitarian principles of resource distribution. Never in the history of India were such demands made.

“The non-violent struggle, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi which had spread to all corners of the country, was mainly responsible for making India free. However, various violent struggles by great revolutionaries could never be ignored. The great patriot Swatantrayaveer V. D. Savarkar was convicted for 50 years of rigorous imprisonment for his revolutionary anti-British activities.”<sup>18</sup> Congress Party under leadership of B. G. Tilak, Gandhiji and others, Revolutionary Socialist like Chandra Shekar Azad, Bhagat Singh and others and Abhinav Bharat of V.D. Savarkar inspired many Indian youths to participate in India’s glorious freedom struggle.

On 15 August 1947 the Indian subcontinent witnessed the birth of a ‘new’ India, a India with new geography and democratic polity. The emergence of India in the history of creation of independent nations was not an ordinary phenomenon. Being the second most populated country and the people with varied hopes and aspirations, it was assumed that the country will fulfill the expectations of its people who fought for its independence and sovereignty. For the first time, people of India had an independent government founded on democratic principles and values.

So the question arises that why only in 1947 and not earlier, India came to be known as an action of people residing in the Indian Subcontinent? Even though India’s roots of civilization and culture date back to the Harappan civilization, “India is a only country in the world whose glorious history is still disputed and debated and debate is going on since 200+ years.”<sup>19</sup> The ancient texts since Vedic period to post-Vedic and from Sultanate era to Mughal and British Raj, India has been called by various names such as Aryavarte, Jumbodipe, Bharatkhande, Hindustan and Bharat. The various synonyms of India show that the country earlier was only a geographical expression without any formal political entity. Though during the reign of famous Mauryan Empire, famous Gupta dynasty’s leader Samudragupta and Mughals, country witnessed some sort of centralized political command over a sizeable part of the pre-Independence India, however it was only after the arrival of British East India Company and along with the arrival of modern-age based on conceptions of nationalism, rationalism and democracy, that the idea of India as a single political community of the vast masses started materializing. However, the religion of the majority of the people of the India bounded by Sea from three sides and by Himalaya from one side was Hinduism and this may also be a big factor for unification of India. Creation of separate country of Pakistan (on 14th August 1947) on the basis of religion signifies the importance of religion in forming political community, nationalism and polity. Hence India faced a roller-coaster ride in the interregnum till its birth as a modern, democratic and an independent nation, which started in late 18th century and crossed its first hurdle in 1947 when it got independence and second in 1950 with the adoption of the Constitution. However, the process has never come to a halt since then and we are moving gradually towards building a nation that our forefathers have dreamt of.

## POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA

After the independence, Nehru-led democratic India progressed on the path of economic development with an approach to accommodate everyone’s aspirations and needs. Even after war with China and Pakistan in 1962 and 1965 respectively, the country embarked on the planned development strategy in a Mixed Economic framework and the state was given an upper hand in deciding the economic affairs of the country. As a result the idea of India as a modern construct seemed true.

After sudden death of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri in Tashkent (Then part of USSR) after India-Pakistan war in 1966, Indira Gandhi emerged as leader of Congress Party, Initially known as ‘Goongi Gudiya’ in her party and government, she later emerged as messiah for the poor and down trodden as she gave a slogan of ‘Garibi Hatao’ in 1971 General Election. . She was even called *Durga* by opposition for her decisive role in the creation of Bangladesh. “The Bangladesh situation gave Indira Gandhi the opportunity to emerge as a military strategist and a diplomatist on regional and world stage.”<sup>20</sup> “Anyone with a cursory interest in Indian politics remembers Indira Gandhi for her unforgivable miscalculation in bringing about the

“Emergency regime”.<sup>21</sup> “Being a strong leader, she was determined to end ‘Khalistan’ Movement. She dealt a body blow to Khalistan Movement by deploying military in the Golden Temple, the main hideout of terrorists. All the main leadership of the movement was wiped out in the ‘Operation Blue Star’. She paid a heavy price for it as she was killed by her own Sikh security guards. Killings of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh guards were the attack on our unity in diversity. After killing of Smt Gandhi her son Shri Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India. As a young, dynamic and progressive leader, he brought information technology revolution and computerization in India. India had established good diplomatic relations with US and other neighboring countries during his tenure as Prime Minister. He even deployed Indian Peace Keeping Force to Sri-Lanka in Tamil insurgency affected areas. This led to the killing of Rajiv Gandhi during General-Election campaign on 21st May 1991 in Sriperumbudur (Tamil Nadu) by LTTE. This killing was a terrorist activity which had the potential to derail our democracy. Rajiv Gandhi will be remembered for vibrant Indian foreign policy, National Education Policy (1986), Anti-defection law, Bofors issue, infamous Shah Bano issue and for unlocking of Ram-Mandir in Ayodhya.

Later Indian politics got an ugly turn of Caste issues and Communalism across India. Khalistan Movement, Ram Mandir Issue, Mumbai Bomb Blasts, Exile of Kashmiri Hindus and Separatist Movement, Terrorism, Naxalism (since late 1960s), Nepotism and Corruption in politics, political opportunism and external aggressions distracted our energy and effort of building strong and peaceful nation. In that chaotic situation Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao’s effort of opening Indian Economy to the world divided the country on ideological lines. However Shri Narasimha Rao has become immortal for Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation of Indian economy. The L-P-G has proved to be boon for the country at that time.

Ist non-Congress full term government of BJP under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee which brought back Indian politics again on development plank. His effort for better roadways, Railways, betterment of Indian agriculture, good relations with neighbours, and for India’s dignified place in global politics brought synergy in the political and economic sphere. “Not gifted with the ruthlessness of an Indira, a Rao or now Modi, nor a visionary like Nehru but he had a great, instinctive mind and a wonderfully warm and, more important, large heart.”<sup>22</sup> The communal tension between Hindus and Muslims due to Gujarat incidents (Godhra killings of Hindus and Post Godhra riots) backfired and led to the defeat of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The communal canard of Congress leadership against BJP to win election not only communalized the politics but also shook the idea of India. In this communally charged environment Dr Manmohan Singh became the next Prime Minister. Dr Manmohan Singh along with Smt. Sonia Gandhi as NAC chairperson brought MNREGA, loan waiver to the farmer, reservation for OBC in higher educational institutes, these schemes won him another term as Prime Minister. But corruption during 2nd term, policy paralysis, nepotism, corruption finally tarnished his image as an honest and capable Prime Minister in his second term.

The term of Narendra Modi as 14th Prime Minister is historical on many accounts. He became the leader of majority government after span of 30 years (i.e. after 1984), and he also became the first non-Congress Prime Minister with full majority. This historical victory is due to expectation of Indian masses from the charismatic persona of Shri Narendra Modi. His government initiated effort to normalize relations with the neighboring countries; he himself invited SAARC leaders in his oath ceremony. Very soon opposition started alleging his government for communal, majoritarian, and vendetta politics against opposition and Muslims.” The passage of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) may have drawn criticism from several quarters for being half-baked, but it certainly reinforces Modi’s image as someone who is not afraid to take hard calls which have the potential to be hugely unpopular. The idea of ‘One India, One Market’ marks a definitive new beginning in India’s taxation regime. It is going to touch the lives of all Indians in several ways and many won’t be happy. Not many leaders of the earlier era would have the courage to go for the massive demonetisation exercise either despite the need for and the supposed benefits from it.”<sup>23</sup> Entire Modi cabinet is working under *Mantra* of perform or perish. The problems, that his government is facing, are turmoil in Kashmir, slowdown of economy due to demonetization, anti-Hindi movement in Karnataka, and demand for Statehood by number of people residing in the various states of India on account of underdevelopment of the region, prevalence of high poverty and illiteracy rates, deteriorating health indicators with virtually no security cover, etc. These various



problems are political challenges for present Modi government. However Modi government made remarkable efforts for Cleanliness, DBT, Digital India, Make in India and on infrastructure (Like Electricity, Railways, Roadways etc.).

It has been said by many scholars that "India as a nation still in the making". Increasing communal tension across country between Muslims and Hindus in present scenario is a challenge to idea of India. Communal tension is also due to political reasons, in democracy minority cannot become majority except by conversions therefore Majority will prevail but this majority can definitely listen to the voice and concern of Minority. There can be mechanisms to address the concerns of the Minorities, but this can be possible only by mutual trust and respect. But scholars are also of belief that "the identity of religion and caste that figure in Indian politics today are the creation of democracy, and not the intrusion of primordial: they are ways of asserting, in the language of modern representative politics, claims to recognition and fair treatment; and as such they will have to be addressed and accommodated by the resources of democratic politics itself."<sup>24</sup> Secularism in this regard can become a principle of Indian polity and masses to develop cohesiveness among various minorities, Muslims and Hindu community.

"The most serious problem is the failure of parties to keep their promises to electorate-Promises to implement economic development, alongside the reduction of social inequalities."<sup>25</sup> Political parties should work for developing a political culture which not only unite Indian people but also educate and inform masses regarding contemporary socio-economic challenges and the way out. Indian political parties are becoming morally corrupt and ideologically bankrupt; horse trading, hoping from one party to another is normal phenomenon during elections. Nepotism, corrupt practices and role of black money during election is much clear and become political design of all political parties and in public domain. Democracy at present is held hostage by filthy riches in all the constituencies. Our political masters are opulent, corrupt and immoral at *village, Nagar Palika, Assembly* and *at parliament* level. Majority of our political leaders are non-serious, inefficient and involved in promoting their business and family members. Their vision, integrity and understanding of present political problems and masses are shallow in comparison to our political leadership at the time of freedom struggle. The condition of our political representative at various levels led to the hegemony of inept, unaccountable bureaucracy. Top Indian bureaucracy (from District level to National level), at present, is highly corrupt, manipulative and involve in the exploitation of countrymen under garb of policies, rules and authority assigned to them. Masses due to lack of political consciousness are mere spectators in present political scenario. Media instead of doing journalism is divided on political and ideological lines and seems biased. In view of the plethora of problems faced by India, Indian Politics and Media are unresponsive.

"With the deepening economic reforms and greater integration with global capital, movements by smaller farmers/tribals in some part of country against the state have begun, and are bound to intensify in the coming years unless corrective measures are taken by the Indian state."<sup>26</sup> The apprehension stems because of the sufferings faced by its citizens like Human rights violations and the use of state machinery to crush the voices of deprived people in the name of state-led development strategy (e.g. Farmer agitation etc.).

## CONCLUSION

Today it has been seven decades that our country is functioning as a sovereign and democratic country granting single citizenship to all its citizens above 18 years of age. It has got a national anthem, a flag, a well-functioning government and membership to almost all the important International organizations. However, extreme nationalism and patriotism can only be observed occasionally by its natives especially during wars for example with Pakistan and China and sports activities with other countries.

Altogether, it can be said that although the idea of India is a modern construct and this idea is not the contribution of any single caste, creed, religion, and culture but of all the communities, social identities, religions and cultural diversity. But lack of inclusion of the people in the field of economy, society and politics, etc. will leave India as a mere geographical expression. "The prospects for India emerging as strong and united country are not all bad. Given quick economic development of the

country as whole and of its different regions, real tolerance in the matter of language and religion, and a determined effort to fight the evils of caste system, India should emerge as a strong and united country.”<sup>27</sup> The problems that the country is facing today are threatening to tear apart its democratic and secular fabric. They are numerous and compelling in nature and need urgent and sincere attention of the state. Therefore, to realize the idea of India as a nation in the sense of a homogenous and integrated political and social community, the leaders of the country have to follow the policies like secularism, inclusive development, and economic and social justice, freedom and participation in the decision making process in both letter and spirit. In addition to it a great level of awareness about the rich tradition of country, the shared positive memories and tolerance can never be ruled out. A proactive and coordinated role of governments at all the levels viz. Central, State, and local is desired.

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# IMPACT OF BREXIT ON THE EU ENLARGEMENT

BINITA BATSA\*

## INTRODUCTION

Regional Integration reached its height with the creation of the European Union. The Economy was the key element of this integration which further included the cooperation on political and social aspects. Thomas Diez and Antje Wiener (2003) have divided the entire process of the EU integration into three phases. The first phase began after the 1960s when the realist concerns of the members of European Economic Community paved the way for the first enlargement which brought Britain, Denmark, and Ireland under the umbrella of the community. The second phase of Integration which took place after the end of the first phase in 1980 was based on the concerns of governance. This concern came out from the desire of “Europeanisation” of the rules of governance, institution building and practices of the same norms across the Union. The Accession of Greece (1981), Spain and Portugal (both in 1986) completed in this phase. The last phase was a product of the idea of social constructivism. During this phase, the Union transformed itself from a purely economic Union to a Political Union. The period after the 1990s comes under this phase which saw the integration of 16 countries in four stages. The direction and the process of enlargement under this phase was influenced by the post Cold-war realities.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the USSR, architecture of Europe witnessed a drastic change. Europe was now free to move towards East of Belgium. “Europeanness” was the main criteria for joining the Union till this phase but the changed realities of Europe as well as the world politics persuaded the Union to add some more conditions for membership. Copenhagen Criteria, set in 1993, was an outcome of this necessity which shaped the further enlargements (Dinan 2000).

Enlargement is being used by the EU as a key strategy to achieve its objective of unified and thriving Europe, which is crucial to establish it as a potential player in the international politics. Due to this, the enlargement project is based on the political development model. Through enlargement, the EU is trying to establish Democracy, human rights and rule of law in

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the entire continent by peaceful means. We should not forget the fact that several countries have received them by fierce freedom struggle or powerful revolutions. In fact, the countries of the Middle East and West Asia are going through the bloodiest period of their history in order to establish democracy. Enlargement has also helped the Union to become more influential in the global market. The 2004 enlargement alone brought 104 million additional consumers within the EU's Single market. Therefore, enlargement is crucial for the establishment of a peaceful and prosperous Europe. Keeping in view these examples, the EU enlargement project seems a perfect agenda for the future Europe (Government of UK 2016).

But the consecutive crises faced by the union have proved an obstacle for its enlargement project. The first such crisis was a social one which began during the years of 2005-06 as an outcome of the 2004 enlargement. It was followed by the successive crises of the Eurozone, the Syrian crisis, Crimean crisis, external security crisis posed by the terror outfits and the recently emerged refugee crisis. At a time when the Union was trying to cope with these issues, the exit of its one of the most important members, Britain came as a shock.

Brexit is not only a major setback for the idea of a united Europe; it will have a long-lasting impact on every sphere of the EU. The Economy is the area where the loss of Britain will be felt the most. To go deeper into the losses caused by Brexit, the major dynamics of the economy should be analyzed cautiously. British population constitutes 13 percent of the total EU population. Britain is the second most important country in terms of GDP as its share of the EU GDP is 18 percent. Germany is the only country which is ahead of United Kingdom in terms of share of GDP. Same is the case with annual average GDP growth. UK economy registered 2.0 percent annual average GDP growth between 2010-2015. Germany was the only country which performed similarly to the UK. UK and EU, both are very important for each other in terms of trade and commerce also. EU is the largest trading partner group for the UK so far. 44.4 percent UK export goes to the EU. UK's imports are more than its export as EU has a share of 52.9 percent in the total import of the UK. Though the UK had enjoyed some exemptions from the EU laws, it shares a considerable amount of the burden of the EU budget. According to the data of 2014 EU budget, UK ranked third after Germany and France in the Highest Net Contribution. UK was on the 8th rank in the list of countries for highest Net Contribution per Head (House of Commons 2016).

The above data throws light on the importance of Britain for the European Union and also indicates that how the Brexit is capable of shaking the Union. It is important to note that the economic benefits one can gain from joining the EU have always been the prime reason to entice the eager countries. The future success of the EU will also rely on its further attainment in the domain of economy. Given this situation, it is more likely that the Brexit will have adverse impacts on the EU Enlargement project.

## **THE SUCCESSIVE CRISES AND THE EU**

The European Project has faced a number of crises in past few years which have caused the current uncertainty about the future of the Union. One of the most affecting crises which EU faced in its entire history was the Eurozone debt crisis. The growth of the union was badly affected due to this crisis and the problem of unemployment came as a major consequence of it. This crisis also posed threat for the entire banking system of the Union. The debt crisis in Greece and the major economic slowdown in Portugal, Ireland, Italy and Spain was the outcome of the Eurozone crisis which complicated the overall economic scenario of the Union. Though the Union has taken several successful measures to overcome this crisis, many countries are still struggling with the problems of high unemployment, sluggish growth, and dissatisfied citizens. This crisis generated tensions and disagreement among the EU countries and they supported different policy measures on the basis of their national interests.

The way in which the Eurozone crisis was handled, uncovered the "Democratic Deficit" within the Union which made people sceptical about the capabilities of the Union. The people were disappointed as their voice had no role to play in the crisis

management. They were also worried about the negative impacts of globalisation and threat for European identity. These concerns of the people provided a platform for a quick rise of nationalist, populist and anti-establishment parties in the Europe. These parties are known for their “Euroskeptic” views and give preference to national sovereignty. The Euroskeptic parties took advantage of all these developments and gained ground in the different member countries. UK was among such countries where the success of the populist parties was increasing day by day (The Economist 2014).

Many analysts agree that the Eurozone crisis, economic stagnation in Europe and the unpopular austerity measures are largely responsible for the sudden rise of the Euroskeptic parties. The leadership of these parties support the curtailing of further integration of the EU and tightening of the EU immigration policies. They fear that immigration would provide the base for social unrest which will end up in violence. Jo Cox, the Member of Parliament of the UK became a victim of this fear when he was shot by an anti-immigrant far-right extremist on June 16, 2016.

As if it was not enough, a new problem knocked the door of the EU. Millions of people from the conflict areas of Asia and Africa and South-East Europe started coming to the EU countries as refugees. The violent conflict in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan compelled the citizens to look for a safe haven where they can attain peace and prosperity. They could not find any better option than EU and started moving towards it via all possible routes. Many of them choose the Western Balkans route so that they can reach the Schengen countries (BBC 2016: Europa 2016)

Deep divisions were created within the Union due to this crisis. Member countries which were situated on the frontiers such as Italy and Greece and some key destination countries which were located in the Northern part of the continent expressed deep disappointment over the lack of solidarity among the members of the Union on this issue. But countries such as Germany and Sweden showed unprecedented generosity towards the refugees. After several rounds of discussions and debates, an idea of a common programme for redistribution and resettlement of refugees emerged but it was also controversial. A plan to relocate the refugees was passed by the Union on the basis of qualified majority system lastly. This issue was directly related to territorial integrity and state sovereignty. Use of qualified majority to solve such a sensitive issue also raised concerns among some member states (Erlanger and Kanter2015). This crisis is still continuing and the EU leadership is in search of a viable and long-term solution to this problem.

The violent conflict in Syria and Iraq gave birth to one of the most dangerous terror outfits of the 21st century in form of ISIS i.e. Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, which is now famous as IS. The Rise of IS had a two-way impact for the EU. EU which was fighting in Syria against the Asad regime was forced to change the course of its action in this country. The EU was compelled to fight with the IS as it had brought terrorism on the boundaries of Europe. The IS did not only killed several EU citizens but also launched attacks in several member countries of the Union. The presence of the IS has intensified the fight in Syria and Iraq. It has resulted huge loss of lives in these countries. Many important cities have been completely devastated. Due to this, the natives of these two countries are escaping from the conflict zone and moving towards EU to save their lives.

At a time when the EU was facing successive crises, lack of strategic vision and strong leadership only turned the situation from bad to worse. Though the German Chancellor played a crucial role in responding to these crises, analysts criticise her for her tactical and hesitant approach. Apart from this, Germany remained the only powerful player during the crisis management period as the British Prime Minister and the French President were constrained by economic preoccupations and domestic politics. Absence of a shared vision and robust plan made the situation more vulnerable. In fact, the unity of the two important members France and Germany, which were considered as the drivers of the EU engine, was also affected by the issue of Greece crisis (Heisbourg 2015).

The resurgence of Russia in the aftermath of Ukraine crisis has also posed a threat to the EU. The 28 members of the Union share different kinds of relationship with Russia which is based on their history. Though the EU had supported the short-term sectoral sanctions against Russia, some of its member states want the Union to reconsider its stand on sanction policy.

While countries like France, UK and Poland rejected the idea of any such reconsideration until the Russian government fully implements the Minsk agreement. A long term strategy towards Russia is also an issue of difference among the member states of the EU (Taylor 2016).

## THE JUNE REFERENDUM AND BREXIT

For a long time, the UK has been considered as one of the most Euroskeptic countries. The citizens of the UK and the British politicians both had expressed their disapproval for the greater role of Brussels in their issues. The UK neither joined the Eurozone, nor was it part of the Schengen area. It also enjoyed the right to decide whether it wants to participate in the EU policies on justice and home affairs or not. People and the British leaders who wanted the UK to leave the Union asserted that the EU regulations have hindered the competitiveness of the UK and Brexit is essential to ensure her economic and political betterment. According to them, the contribution of UK in the EU budget is also very expensive and the UK is not getting anything substantial in return. Above all they were worried due to the high-level immigration which was causing the problems of lower wages and fewer jobs in their country.

While the supporters of the continuation of the EU-UK relationship believed that the UK will have to face dire consequences if she decides to leave the Union. According to them, the economic relationship between EU and the UK was so extensive and deep that Brexit might lead to higher inflation, slow economic growth, and pound depreciation. They also stressed upon the reality that affiliation with the EU helps UK to attract more Foreign Direct Investment and also strengthens her role in the international politics (Archick2016).

But the voices in support of Brexit gained much ground in the wake of the above successive crises and EU's inability to resolve them. There was a huge pressure on the Conservative Prime Minister of Britain, David Cameron from the outside and inside of his party to rethink about the relationship between the UK and the EU. Due to the mounting pressure, Mr. Cameron decided to hold a public referendum on June 23, 2016, to decide about the future relation between the two. The EU had reached a deal with the Cameron government before the announcement of the referendum. Exemption for the UK from the 'ever closer union' was one of the four major priorities; the UK had set in this deal. The deal faced strong criticism from the Euroskeptic blocks and could not stop the referendum. The result of the referendum was in favour of leaving the EU.

## EU ENLARGEMENT THROUGH UK PERSPECTIVE

Britain joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973. During that time the political clout in the European countries (except the countries of Central and Eastern Europe) was largely in favour of economic cooperation among the different nations. Due to this, the EU enlargement project received approval from all the member states. Britain which was a major supporter of the liberal economic policies also agreed for enlargement as it could provide the better opportunity for trade and investment. A strong EU support for enlargement goes back to Margaret Thatcher period when such idea was not even in fashion. But it was the early 1990s, when the Tory leadership of Britain vehemently opposed the idea of 'ever closer Union' presented by Germany, France and the Benelux countries. They feared that a big Union will make political cooperation very difficult. But the same party changed its stand on enlargement dramatically within a decade.

Tories supported the process of enlargement due to three main reasons. Firstly, they thought that it was the moral responsibility of entire Europe to integrate the Central and Eastern European countries which fell under the communist rule in post-war era. Democracy promotion in the countries of these regions was essential for ensuring security and long-term stability in the continent of Europe, which provided the Tories a valid reason to support enlargement. The third reason was the desire to include millions of the people from new member countries into the single market of the EU (Helm 2013).

The approach of the UK on the issue of EU enlargement before few years could be understood in a better way by the speech delivered by David Lidington during his Visit to Austria in 2011. Lidington was a British MP and Minister for Europe

under the Coalition government of Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats. In his speech, Mr. Lidington expressed UK's strong commitment to the agenda of EU enlargement. He rejected all the claims that Britain is opposing the EU's plans for further enlargement and demonstrated Britain's strong support for the same. Lidington also uncovered the official view of the UK on enlargement which believes that being outward looking is the only way through which the EU can remain powerful. This is the reason why the UK also supports the EU's neighbourhood policy (Government of UK 2016).

But this approach also gets changed during the 2013 Brussels summit of the EU. Under pressure from the British MPs, Prime Minister David Cameron announced to veto any further enlargement until the union agrees to limit the "freedom of movement" (Helm 2013).

## **INTEGRATION OF THE WESTERN BALKANS — THE CASE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

The popular view among the scholars and policy makers of Europe about the Western Balkans is that without assimilation of this region, the dream of a united Europe will remain a dream only. Therefore integration of this region should be considered as a necessary step for the EU enlargement project. In 2007, the Berlin Declaration, which was issued by the Union to celebrate the completion of the Rome treaty, stated that the division of Europe was unnatural and is a thing of past. This statement shows the desire of the Union to integrate the countries of the Western Balkan region (Euractive 2016).

The Western Balkan region is the most backward region of Europe. The countries of this region were part of former Yugoslavia and their genesis was a result of the break-up of Yugoslavia. The development of these countries is hindered by the continuous ethnic conflicts and their border disputes which often lead to political disagreement. The EU is using enlargement as a key strategy for achieving the twin goals of peace and prosperity in the Western Balkans. European policy-makers also trust that greater European involvement in the Western Balkans can have positive and long-lasting effects on the management of ethno-political conflict (Belloni 2009). The European Commission identified the prospect of EU membership as 'the ultimate conflict prevention strategy' and committed itself to maintain and increase its proactive presence in the region (European Commission 2006).

The Union's desire to integrate the countries of Western Balkans is the outcome of several reasons. The most significant among them are:

1. It was the failure of the Union to prevent the crisis in Yugoslavia in the 1990s which forced it to adopt conflict prevention and resolution as its prime agenda. Failure of EU in the Western Balkans will prove a blot on the face of the Union.
2. In order to attain peace within the continent and to achieve its objective of a prosperous and united Europe, the EU had to resolve the endogenous conflicts. A unified and thriving Europe was crucial to establish the EU as a potential player in international politics.
3. A peaceful neighbourhood is essential for EU's intention to expand its area of influence.
4. Since the revival of its economy after the 1990s, Russia has once again emerged as a competent global power which is continually striving to extend its influence in Central Eastern and South Eastern Europe. The crisis of Crimea is the most recent example of the resurgence of Russia. As a consequence, to keep Russia away from the border of Europe, EU decided to hold on to the Balkan states.
5. The entire Union is stressed with the refugee crisis. This crisis became a major issue of contention among the member countries. Western Balkans is crucial in this respect also. Kosovo and Albania, two countries of this region, are on third and fourth rank respectively for top ten origins of people applying for asylum in the EU. Apart from this, in 2015 the Western Balkans was the second most proffered region from where the illegal migration in EU took place. The Copenhagen Criteria is the most important way to resolve the problems of this region. Therefore, accession of the Western Balkans is critical for the internal security as well as for foreign policy of the EU.



Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina are the main aspirants for EU membership from this region. But the pace in which the countries of Western Balkans are moving towards the EU is very unequal. This is the only region in Europe, where we can find the existence of all phases of EU integration process. While negotiations for membership have started with Montenegro and Serbia, Kosovo has just started the enlargement process with the signing of the SAA in 2016; Croatia had joined the Union as its 28th member in July 2013. The prospect of membership for Bosnia and Herzegovina will be open whenever they will fulfil the preconditions for EU membership (Euractive 2014).

Bosnia is one of the most ethnically divided countries in the Western Balkan region which is also economically distressed. As a part of Western Balkans, having peace and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina, means a lot for EU's policy engagement. EU's intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an initiative aimed to foster the emergence of an EU whose international identity is that of a regional normative power.

The success story of the accession of BiH into the EU starts from 2005, when the negotiations for Stabilisation and Association Agreement officially opened. The signing of SAA by BiH with the EU in 2008 was the first major step towards its integration into the EU. It also paved the way for a Visa free travel for its citizens to the Schengen Area in 2010. But this agreement could not come into force as the BiH failed to meet the pre-requisitions set by the Union. It was the Anglo-German effort which persuaded the Union to re-engage with this region. The foreign ministers of both the countries wrote an open letter to the Bosnian people and offered them an opportunity for speedy reforms which will enable their country to join EU at the earliest (Euractive 2016).

The talks for the accession of the BiH reached to a high level in 2012 and the country finally applied for the EU membership on February 15, 2016. But when this potential member and the Union were trying hard sort out the differences and fulfil the criteria of enlargement, the exit of one of its most influential members, Britain decided to leave the EU camp. It was obvious for the Union to get shaken by the shocking British decision.

Now the question arises that what was the approach of the EU towards the integration of the Western Balkans in the Union? While expressing his government's stand on accession of the Western Balkan countries, British MP David Lidington said in his 2011 speech:

*"When I speak of the fracture of Europe in 1914, it was of course in Balkans that the first crack appeared with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. Both Austria and the UK share the strong conviction that an active and activist EU has an essential role to play in the Western Balkans: promoting modern, reformed states and institutions, and entrenching stability there. We are unequivocal in our support for all the countries of the region achieving future membership of the European Union.....We want to see the Western Balkans back in Europe, extending stability and success to a part of the world where conflict is still an all too recent memory".*  
(Government of UK 201)

He emphasized upon the fact that the EU should play a crucial role in the process of dialogue and formation of new coalitions and thereby pave the way for further reforms which will enable BiH, Serbia, and Kosovo to join the Union. According to him, the political leadership of Britain believes that the future of the EU's CFSP depends on its success in the Western Balkan region.

## IMPACT OF BREXIT ON EU ENLARGEMENT PROJECT AND THE INTEGRATION OF BIH

There are pessimistic as well as optimistic views among the political analysts about the possible impact of Brexit on the further enlargement of the EU. The pessimistic view can be broadly divided into three categories on the basis of the degree of pessimism. The first category of the political analysts believes that the Brexit might lead to the process of complete dissolution of the EU. The EU will go through the worst phase since its inception and to think about further enlargement in such situation

is just like daydreaming. Even many of the scholars of this category who support the European project have a fear that due to Brexit impact, the EU will either stop or reverse some aspects of EU integration (Euractive 2016: Balkan Insight 2016).

There are analysts who believe that Brexit could weaken the EU project. It will prompt other members to demand special conditions for membership and the right to opt-out from the EU policies. They further say that in absence of the UK defence capacities and her foreign policy influence, the EU's role as a global actor will also get diminished. This situation will equally impact the push and pull factors of the EU integration. When comes the issue of the integration of the Western Balkans, many analysts believe that Brexit might not stop the enlargement of Western Balkans completely but it will certainly slow down the accession process (Dabrowski 2016).

In spite of the gloomy picture of today, a considerable number of scholars and political analysts think that Brexit could have positive impacts for the EU enlargement and are optimistic about the future of EU. According to them, the consecutive crisis will encourage the Union for some valuable reforms which will open up the doors of the Union for further economic and political integration. They go on saying that the EU will emerge as a Union of more like-minded countries after the exit of Britain and it could freely pursue the policy of deeper integration. They mention the British opposition to the idea of 'ever closer union' in support of their prediction (Archick 2016).

But it seems that this view is overly optimistic due to two main reasons. Firstly, there are many members other than the UK, who are not supporting the further enlargement of the Union. They are not ready to share any larger burden and are adamant to keep their sovereignty intact. Secondly, the impact of Brexit will adversely affect the political-economic base of the Union. In such situation, it would be difficult for the Union to integrate any new member in near future. Apart from these causes, rise of Euroskeptical parties in some member countries will also extend the timing of any further accession (Dabrowski 2016).

## CONCLUSION

Brexit will not only bring major changes at the constitutional level for Britain, it will certainly have huge impacts on the EU framework and its strategies. The exit of the UK will lead towards economic uncertainty at least for sometime, which will decide the future of the prosperity of the Union. A weak and shaken Union will have less appetite to integrate new members in the near future and EU's ability to be more cohesive will certainly be impacted. There is a growing demand among the EU members in favour of liberalisation of internal markets for labours, goods, and services. But at the same time, some members of the Union see this approach as a hindrance for their national development. The sentiments of people of these countries are also against such initiatives. The exit of Britain has provided them one more reason to raise these concerns.

The Union is aware of the differences across the member countries on the various issues such as refugee crisis, asylum policy, single market regulations, free movement of workers and many others. The UK citizens who voted in favour of Brexit were also mainly upset by these problems. Though the Union has taken serious efforts in past to reform its institutions and to make the process of decision-making easier during the past two decades, its functioning is still complex. The decision making process is also very lengthy as the Union cannot take any decision without consensus. It has also impacted the EU enlargement policy to a great extent. Brexit has enhanced this impact as many member countries believe that EU is not in a position to take more burdens on its finances and its institutional capacities. They also see further enlargement as a threat to the overall European identity.

Thus it can be said that the Brexit impact will merge with the other problems facing by the Union and together they could push the upcoming EU enlargements. But as far as the integration of the Bosnia and Herzegovina is concerned, it could not be delayed for a longer period as it has already cleared many obstacles in the path of enlargement. Apart from this, the resurgence of Russia has increased the importance of the Western Balkans. It is evident from the fact that within half month of the shocking Brexit referendum, on May 4, 2016, the two major powers of EU, Germany and France said that the aspirations of BiH to join the Union would not get affected by this decision. The following month witnessed a meeting initiated by the EU where all the

stakeholders of BiH agreed to overcome the disputes related to reforms and a deal with the IMF. The US has also shown interest in this region after the Ukraine crisis. The fear of the spread of Russian influence in this area prompted the US to send Vice President Joseph Biden and John Kerry, the Secretary of State to visit the region in November 2015. Both the leaders expressed their support for the EU membership for the countries of this region. The US wants to diminish this influence with the help of EU membership.

Though the UK has decided to leave the EU, it cannot leave the continent of Europe. A peaceful and harmonious divorce and a balanced relationship in future is the key for the happiness of both the sides. The EU should understand that if it applies extremely harsh conditions for divorce, the damage will be felt by everyone. The EU also needs to look for the immediate reforms in the Eurozone and single market as the currency issue between the UK and the EU was a major roadblock for the EU economy. One of the key elements of the single market: the right of free movement for the workers played a key role in Brexit. A long-term strategy is needed to avoid the occurrence of any such problem in future.

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# CHINA'S QUEST FOR A Foothold IN NEPAL DODGING PAST INDIA

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**Abstract:** Over the years, one of the hallmarks of the foreign policy of Nepal is the capitalization of Sino-Indian rivalry. In the foreign policy formulation of Nepal, top priority is accorded to neutralizing India and China and addressing their interests and insecurities simultaneously. Nepal's foreign policy design is likely to foster two contrasting consequences: either it can serve as a bridge to India and China or become a proxy battlefield caught in the crossroads of vaulting regional ambitions of India and China in South Asia. The Nepali foreign policy will have to manoeuvre itself accordingly and tight-rope walk to keep the interests and aspirations of the two contending powers intact. To ensure long-term security of the three countries, in particular and of the South Asian region in general, the foreign policy of Nepal needs to rise to the occasion and bridge the conflicting concerns of China and India.

**Keywords:** Nepal, India, China, Geopolitical rivalry, South Asia, Left-wing extremism, Diplomacy.

## INTRODUCTION

The foreign policy of a country is guided by its national interest. Though also value-driven, by and large, it tends to be amoral rather than moral in its ultimate decision. A harmonious balance is never easy between a big power and a smaller power in geopolitics, all the more difficult, between a monopolist and a monopsonist in the sphere of trade and investment. Such is the geo psychology of Nepal's relations with India whose presence in Nepal is dominant, and compounded by India's asymmetry and Nepal's land lockedness. But this is changing, and changing dramatically, as the Chinese are increasingly making their presence felt in the Himalayan kingdom .

Geographically, Nepal sits uneasily hemmed between China and India. Caustically and appropriately, analysts have called Nepal as the yam between two boulders. Circumscription by two mega-states and their strategic ambitions have resulted in Nepal's vulnerability in defining its foreign policy options. The rise of India and China and their ambition to transform the

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structures of world politics has been a persistent headline but a concomitant worry is an impending clash for a strategic upmanship between the two.

There is no unified regional security in South Asia. Nor do common perceptions of external threats bind together the countries of the region. In the context of Nepal, India and China- balancing and band wagoning as strategic options for a country would not be beneficial since it contributes very little in terms of augmenting the material powers of any of the great powers in the region, and in return runs the greater risk of inviting great powers to meddle into its internal affairs. This dilemma of the small states with respect to dealing with bigger powers is aptly captured by Robert Keohane's 'lilliputean dilemma'. Although Nepal has sought to manoeuvre its diplomatic strategy to indicate cultivation of good ties with both countries, its record has been uneven with the effect that Nepal has neither been able to benefit from the growth of its two neighbors, nor has it been able to devise mechanisms to resist the intervention of these countries into its internal affairs.

### **INDIAN ENGAGEMENT WITH NEPAL: SPASMS OF PATRONAGE AND DESTABILIZATION**

Nepal's geopolitical constraints plus rulers' imperatives have determined the structure of India- Nepal relations. Nepal became a nation state in 1769, while in India in 1947, with the withdrawal of the British Empire from the Indian sub-continent. Ironically, India inherited and built on the 1923 Treaty of Sugauli signed between Britain and Nepal had been recognized by Britain as a sovereign, independent nation. India signed the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship with Nepal from a position of strength. Similarly, other economic treaties cannot but be manifestations of both geographical reality and the deep-rooted belief that, by undertaking such actions, the independence of Nepal was preserved.

Nepal, being not only landlocked but 'India-locked' from three sides, accepted the terms of the treaty for its security. Basically, the 1950 treaty bound Nepal to a perpetual provision of 'special relations' under which borders were kept open, thus living under the Indian security umbrella with no right to an independent foreign policy. This treaty made Nepal a virtual Indian dominion.

India-China bonhomie that existed in the 1950s, captured in the rhetoric of Hindi-Cheeni Bhai Bhai (India and China are brothers) eroded in the 1960s with the Sino-Indian War of 1962, where Nepal maintained neutrality. Nepal witnessed hardening of the Indian stand vis-à-vis Nepal's relations with China. In Nepal, Mahendra succeeded his father Tribhuvan to the crown who sought to maximize Nepal's international leverage by diversifying Nepal's foreign policy. This was mainly done by establishing bilateral relations with countries outside the region. Domestically, the new King strengthened his power by imprisoning the elected Prime Minister, B.P. Koirala, Nehru's favorite and a figure widely known for his closeness to India. This greatly circumscribed the Indian influence in Nepali polity. Expectedly, India raised concerns about the trampling of democracy in Nepal. Meanwhile, King Mahendra hedged against India by drawing closer to China concluding a boundary treaty with China and also signing an agreement for building Kodari highway linking Nepal and Tibet. However, he categorically dismissed any apprehensions of Chinese entry into Nepal by stating 'Communism doesn't come in a taxi'. India, while keeping concerns for democracy rhetorically alive, soon came to understand that it would have to cultivate, rather than antagonize, King Mahendra. Soon, India signed four aid agreements with King Mahendra's regime.

In 1971, India successfully managed to defeat Pakistan and create another state in the region- Bangladesh. This was also the first time India was able to conclusively assert its superiority in the South Asian sub-continent. Lok Raj Baral highlights this as a moment when India's rise as a preponderant power in the region was acknowledged. A few years later in 1975, India integrated Sikkim, into the Indian republic. This raised concerns regarding 'Sikkimization of Nepal'. At the same time, King Birendra proposed that Nepal be declared a 'Zone of Peace'. It would be worthwhile to mention here that the idea of 'zone of peace' was strongly proposed for the first time by Jawaharlal Nehru to draw out the developing countries from the Col War loop of fear. He argued that the countries designated as 'Zone of Peace' would agree not to threaten anyone and not enter into alliances with any of the major

powers. The Post-Nehru India shot down the same idea when proposed by Nepal. India interpreted such a move as Nepal's attempt to ignore the security arrangements made in the 1950 Treaty. Moreover, the ZOP was viewed by India as a strategic attempt by King Birendra, with active support of China and Pakistan, to bring an end to the 'special relations' with India. King Birendra sought a policy of equi-distance between China and India, much to the dislike and disappointment of India. In the hindsight, it is clear that India chose to dislodge this strategic move by Nepal by patronizing the leadership of political parties with political and material support.

In 1980, a national referendum led to the formation of the reformed Panchayat System with a narrow defeat of the initiatives of Nepali Congress to restore multiparty, parliamentary democracy. The Nepali congress led by the charismatic statesman B.P. Koirala lost by a small margin of ten percent. Koirala accepted the verdict in good faith seeing that the communist parties were not supporting the movement for parliamentary democracy, spearheaded by him. Nor was he actively supported by Indira Gandhi since he was viewed as a follower of Jaiprakash Narayan rather than the Nehruvian ideology.

India-Nepal relations reached the nadir when the Indian government refused to renew two separate treaties of trade and transit in March 1989. 19 out of the 21 trade routes and 13 of the 15 transit routes were closed down. On the face of it, the reasons given for the blockade were related to renewal of trade and transit treaty; however the underlying cause was intransigence of India's security concerns by Nepal. With no treaty in place, a de facto economic blockade resulted, causing unprecedented economic hardship to the people of Nepal. The people in turn were forced to go against the political order in support of multi-party, parliamentary democracy and a constitutional monarchy being espoused by all political parties. It needs to be underscored that the bottom line for retaliatory action was reached when King Birendra went ahead with procuring anti-aircraft military hardware from China in 1988. Procurement of arms from Chinawas considered by India as an attempt to discard the Indian security umbrella to seek an independent defence policy, which the 1950 treaty curtails. To this Nepal insisted that the provisions of the treaty only required consultation if the import of arms was done in transit through India.

In April 1990, the panchayat system in Nepal was overthrown with a people's uprising restoring multiparty parliamentary system. During the struggle for democracy in Nepal, Chandra Sekhar, a senior leader of the then ruling Janata Dal in India declared that India would stand by Nepali people on the question of democracy and human rights. However, in complete contrast to this assertion, India was willing to support the monarchy rule against the people, if the monarchy relented to the demands put forth by India. Contradicting its won idealistic posturing of supporting democratic forces, India forwarded a draft treaty proposal to Nepal which sought major concessions in exchange for support to the King.

India did propose a new Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1989 as quid pro quo to King Birendra to save the Panchayat system and quell popular movement. The treaty proposals forbade Nepal to enter into any military alliance with any other state or organization without prior consultation with India; obliged Nepal to consult in advance with India when importing arms, training military personnel and raising additional military units; to accord first preference to India in Nepal's development and industrial projects and ensured India's preferential involvement in exploiting water resources originating from shared rivers. However, King Birendra, decided instead to give in to the demands of the pro-democracy activists rather than surrender the country's sovereignty to India. This finally led to the establishment of a multiparty democracy. It was when he refused to accept the draft revised Treaty of Peace and Friendship that full scale destabilization of the polity occurred, forcing the King to discontinue the Panchayat system in totality. In this way, India strategically sought to undo all that was achieved by King Mahendra, who was the Father of the Panchayat System that came into existence in Nepal in 1961. It also succeeded in Nepal discontinuing its ZOP foreign policy in 1990 and restore the principle of 'special relationship'. Hence the period of active monarchy and an assertive foreign policy came to an end.

India-Nepal relations generally remained cordial since the introduction of multi-party democracy in 1990 . India showed a very accommodating policy toward the democratically elected government of Nepal. In December 1991, India and Nepal signed separate treaties on trade and transit and an agreement for co-operation in controlling unauthorized border trade. These treaties and their

consequent amendments in 1993 had positive results. During 1992-1994 period, India's commitment to Nepal's economic development continued to be expressed through various programmes.

The most sensitive issue for Nepal was the execution of water resource projects in its best interests. India and Nepal signed a treaty on the development of Mahakali Project during Prime Minister Deuba's visit to India in February 1996. This project represents a major breakthrough in the harnessing of river waters for mutual benefit. Economic relations between the two countries further improved on account of liberalization of their economies.

The introduction of democracy was unable to change the socio-economic condition of the majority of people. The new political system failed to transform its political mandate into a viable socio-economic order. Poverty was rampant, unemployment increased and no improvement was noted in the general living conditions of the people. The new found enthusiasm of the people quickly degenerated into disillusionment and dissent. Capitalizing on this discontent, the Maoists in 1994, abandoned their legislative seats and their leaders went underground. In 1996, the Communist Party of Nepal- Maoist (CPN-Maoist) waged a violent 'people's war' to establish a communist republic in place of constitutional monarchy. The Maoists submitted the now-famous 40-point demand memorandum to the Nepali government, and the top three demands directly related to India. The first demand proposed the removal of all unequal stipulations and agreements from the 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship. The second urged the Nepali government to admit that the 'anti-nationalist' India-Nepal Tanakpur Hydro-electric Agreement was wrong and together with the Mahakali (river) Treaty, which incorporated the former, which should be nullified. The third demand stipulated that the entire Nepal-India border should be systematically controlled, and vehicles with Indian number plates should be denied entry. All these demands were categorized as demand related to Nepal's nationalism. However, today, they have rarely been an issue for the Maoists, and anti-India rhetoric is practically non-existent in their official documents.

Thus, between the two- a self-centred attitude based on principles of realism (on the Indian part) and a suspicious and confused attitude emanating from lack of sincerity and rationalism (on the Nepali part)- lie a number of bilateral issues. These include Nepal's insensitivity towards India's security concerns; on-going reviews of the 1950 treaty, trade, transit and water disputes; India's construction of dams in the bordering region and its alleged encroachment into Nepali territory at several places. However, such issues have come and gone. Relations have been strained and normalized, but attitudes that form the root cause of these problems have remained constant for the past half-century of India- Nepal relations.

The responsibility for changing these attitudes largely lies in the hands of India, because of its size and power. With this realization, the Indian Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral attempted to change India's regional foreign policy between 1996 and 1998, first as the foreign minister and then as prime minister. The so-called 'Gujral Doctrine' argued that India should not insist on reciprocity with its immediate neighbors such as Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka but give and accommodate what it can in good faith and trust. Gujral's time in office is often referred to as a period of good neighborliness, and if this doctrine had continued to steer Delhi's foreign policy after his departure, there might have been positive changes in Indo-Nepali relations. However, since Gujral's departure, his doctrine has largely been confined to foreign policy debates among commentators and scholars.

In 1998, the public, press and politicians first began to suspect a link between the Maoists and India after the Maoists' lukewarm reaction to the India-Nepal Kalapani border dispute that grabbed national attention. The status of Kalapani, an arid mountainous region on the Nepal-India-China (Tibet) tri-junction in Nepal's northwest, where India is alleged to have been stationing its troops since 1962 Sino-Indian war, was first reported in 1996. But it gathered momentum only after 1998, after several follow-up reports on the subject. This dispute still remains unresolved. In 1998, during the height of controversy of nationalistic sentiment in Nepal, the Maoists did not capitalize upon it, unlike the other political parties. Most interestingly, they remained conspicuously absent from the whole saga, fuelling suspicions that Maoist leadership had taken shelter in India and hence, were not in a position to wage anti-India activities from there.

By early 1999, concrete evidence surfaced regarding links between the Maoists and like-minded groups in India. On the third



anniversary of People's War in Nepal, Indians and thousands of expatriate Nepalis staged a solidarity rally in the Indian capital, New Delhi. Following the Delhi rally, suspicion and anti-India sentiment swept the Himalayan Kingdom. Complicating matters further, Indo-Nepal relations came under a shadow when in the last week of December 1999, an Indian Airlines plane IC-814 was hijacked by some Islamic terrorists who had boarded the plane at Kathmandu airport. India decided to suspend the flights of Indian Airlines to Kathmandu and called upon Nepal to beef up security at the airports as well to launch a crackdown on activities of Pakistan's ISI backed terrorist groups which were engaged in cross border terrorist activities. In March 2000, G.P.Koirala became the Prime Minister and immediate contacts were established for the resumption of Indian Airlines flights to Kathmandu. The suspension had hit hard the tourism sector of the Himalayan Kingdom. The new government decided to give first priority to the security needs of Nepal as this was considered vital for checking the growing violent acts of Maoist revolutionaries and the activities of Islamic Jihadis from the Nepalese soil. In 2000, Nepalese PM Girija Prasad Koirala visited India and discussed various issues with his Indian counterpart PM Vajpayee. In 2005, the king of Nepal terminated the government of Sher Bahadur Deuba and imposed emergency in the country. PM Manmohan Singh sent Dr. Karan Singh as peace messenger to Nepal. Following the meeting, the king made an announcement to reinstate the Parliament in 2006. The Nepal House of Representatives passed a proclamation in 2006 declaring itself the sovereign and supreme body and in the process clipped the powers and privileges of the King. The House of Representatives in Nepal unanimously passed a resolution calling for elections to a Constituent Assembly, effectively placing the fate of the country's monarchy in the hands of its people for the first time in its history. Sustained political protests against the absolutist monarchy finally forced King Gyanendra to stand aside and hand over power to a seven-party alliance led by Nepali Congress and the NCP-UML.

With the Comprehensive Peace Accord, the decade long civil war ended and the Maoists were transformed from a belligerent to a mainstream political force. The sweeping victory of the Maoists, in the election for Constituent Assembly, was a surprising outcome for political observers. The overtly anti-India foreign policy positions of the Maoists and their ideological affinity to China were to be the new realities of India-Nepal relations. Not very surprisingly, the trust deficit between India and Nepal only widened during the Maoist rule. The worry in the Indian establishment is not only the proximity of Maoists to the Chinese but also their close linkages with the radical left in India. Given the fact that more than one-third of Indian states are battling left-wing extremism (LWE), home-fed Maoists at the moment are India's biggest internal security worry.

While in government, Maoists did become more mainstreamed in their foreign policy postures towards India and acknowledged India's role in the region. In his visit to India in September 2008, Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal stated that Nepal's relationship with India was unassailable. However, he insisted that the 1950 treaty and other similar treaties that were detrimental to Nepal be scrapped and reworked. At that point, the Indian government responded positively stating that it was ready to renegotiate and rework the terms of the 1950 treat. As is alleged by Nepal, this was also the time the Indian establishment was working clandestinely to topple the first Maoist government. After his resignation as Prime Minister in May 2009, Prachanda openly criticized India for meddling into internal affairs of Nepal and covertly ensuring his ouster from power. His accusations only helped to feed the belief that India is reluctant to accept the new important players in Nepali politics whose legitimacy comes directly from the people .

In 2014, the BJP-led government headed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi took over. Modi's decision to go on a state visit to Nepal early in his tenure, left no one in doubt that India was serious in recharging age-old ties which had lost focus and momentum in the recent years . During his two day stay at Kathmandu, Modi created conditions for taking bilateral relations to a new level, interacting with a broad spectrum of political leadership. Keeping India's interests and needs in focus, the Prime Minister intelligently drove a significant point with his hosts that Nepal's hydel power potential, could be, rather should be, harnessed for the benefit of the two people and offered New Delhi's help and support in this area. Cooperation in this area was a win-win situation for both countries and their people, he stressed. The Prime Minister did his best to put to rest justified and unjustified fears and apprehensions about India's interference in the internal affairs of Nepal and promised all help and support to the neighbour to 'scale

heights greater than the Himalayas'. Modi said he wanted to HIT Nepal with 'H' for highways, 'I' for information ways and 'T' for transmission ways and that India was ready to share scientific applications in agriculture, even its soil health care initiative to help the farmers of Nepal. This visit by an Indian Prime Minister after a gap of 17 years could indeed usher a new era of bilateral relationship if words were translated into action on ground.

Nepal promulgated its new Constitution in September 2015. Rather than being a cause of universal celebration, this event led to increased polarization within the country. The Terai region, for instance, which has been in the throes of an agitation since mid-August of 2015, has witnessed different parties hardening their position and showing very little signs of compromise. Unfortunately, Nepal's relations with India have been on a downward spiral. Nepal's economy, already battered by the massive earthquake in April 2015 is suffering more as supplies of essential goods from India have slowed to a trickle. India blames the insecurity caused by the Terai agitation for this disruption, even as it urges the Nepali government to find a compromise. Meanwhile, the popular perception in Nepal is that such disruption in supplies is the result of an informal Indian blockade. For the first time in the history of their bilateral relations, India and Nepal have exchanged serious allegation against one another before a UN Human Rights Council session in Geneva. There has thus been a marked shift in Nepal-India relations, falling from the high of August 2014 when the view was that Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit at that time had won the hearts and minds of Nepali society and a new chapter in India-Nepal relations had begun. The visit of Nepal's Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli in 2016 was the first serious initiative to grapple with issues that had soured bilateral relations.

While the bilateral relationship was gradually improving by holding bilateral mechanisms, the CPN (Maoist Centre) second largest coalition partner in Oli-led government, withdrew support from the CPN-UML. India was again dragged into sudden domestic political upheavels in Nepal. Pushpa Kamal Dahal took over as the Prime Minister of Nepal and made a four-day official visit in September 2016 to reset relations. Analysts both in Kathmandu and New Delhi feel that the visit might help in re-setting India-Nepal bilateral relations. The India-Nepal relationship has always been regarded as one of the most successful examples of bilateral relations, as a unique template in inter-state relations. The most pertinent question, therefore, which arises is whether Prime Minister Prachanda walk the extra mile for a warmer relationship. Meanwhile, New Delhi is cautiously waiting for the next political move.

According to S.D. Muni, Indo-Nepal relations have been shaped by two factors- domestic political challenges in the two countries and regional dynamics. These two states have cultural, political, economic and social linkages, which connects the internal dynamics of the two countries. The internal changes in one country have ramifications for the other country. This makes India acutely sensitive to any changes in Nepal. Moreover, India considers South Asia as its own sphere of influence. In the last decade, Chinese activity in the region has increased manifold, generating huge concerns and anxieties in New Delhi about India's preponderance in the region. However, the major lacuna in New Delhi's foreign policy has been its inability to generate enough will power, resources and acceptability in the South Asian region. Regionalism as is proved elsewhere, is an answer to many bilateral comforts. A successful regional mechanism thus could ensure better prospects for bilateral relations between India and Nepal. A strong region makes weaker states less apprehensive of the stronger states.

## **CHINESE ENGAGEMENT IN NEPAL: AGGRESSIVE GRAND PLAN VERSUS GENUINE BENEVOLENCE**

China-Nepal relationship is relatively new. The two are geographically separated by a 1415-km Himalayan border. Despite ethnical-cultural semblances of the people of Upper Himalayan region in Nepal and Tibet, the interaction is limited due to the Himalayan segregation and is not as intense as Indo-Nepal interactions. As China seeks to translate its economic clout into major geo-political advantage in Asia, Nepal makes it to its priority list. Of the four Ts that dominate China's global engagement- Tibet, Taiwan, Tainanmen and Trade. Nepal's fits into China's strategic calculus due to its proximity to Tibet. According to Kumar the Chinese engagement with Nepal can be listed in three phases. The first phase lasted from 1955 to 1989 when the main objective of China was to create infrastructure for Nepal. China also committed to protect Nepalese community from a third country. The

second phase of Chinese policy focused on ending Nepal's overdependence on India. In the third phase, the focus is more on encircling India. Understandably, from the Indian perspective, Chinese dealings with Nepal are viewed solely as a counter-weight to India. In policy terms, however, this has also been the view of the Indian government. As a result of this, Indian apprehensions have always cast a shadow over Sino-Nepal relations and are primarily responsible for their limited reach. To put it in simple words, the concerns and interests of India loom large in Nepal, but the inability of Nepal to successfully ally Indian apprehensions (and more generally the inability to correctly manage the India-Nepal-China triangle) can itself be understood as one of the main factors undermining Nepal's capability to build a more meaningful partnership with China.

Till 1950s, China was least interested in Nepal. The Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950 significantly increased Nepal's strategic importance for China. In 1955, with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, innumerable avenues for the friendship and co-operation between China and Nepal. The foundation of Nepal-China relations are the Five Principles, or Panchsheel, according to which China will not intervene in Nepal's domestic politics and Nepal will respect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity with respect to Tibet and Taiwan. Nepal, likewise, has ardently adhered to 'One China' policy. Moreover, Cold War dynamics have also been instrumental in shaping China's interest in Nepal. The strong diplomatic presence of western diplomats and aid agencies in Nepal was seen as a threat to China, given Nepal's proximity to Tibet.

China's foreign policy objectives in Nepal are predominantly strategic. Following the annexation of Tibet by China in 1950, China needed Nepal in order to secure its presence in Tibet. The communist regime always feared that an Indo-US alliance was threatening its presence in Tibet. The presence of Dalai Lama and his followers in India since 1959 gave the Chinese a strong pretext to believe this assumption. Moreover, a number of Tibetans also migrated to Nepal and were deemed dangerous. Tibetan Khampas residing in Nepal conducted various rebellious activities along the Nepal-China border. However, Nepal committed itself to One China principle and ensured that its territory was not used for anti-China activities. The Khampas were controlled by Nepal Army. Tibetan refugees in Nepal were denied any right of property and citizenship. Even today, they are denied property and citizenship rights.

Another equally worrisome issue for China is India's increasing geopolitical clout and dominance. Any ambitions of a global hegemony on China's part cannot proceed without first establishing its own regional supremacy. Traditionally, China has seen East Asia and South Asia as its region of influence. However, its ambit of influence is expanding. It has followed, what Indian observers, have rightly termed as a 'string of pearls' policy meant for encirclement of India. China is helping India's South Asian neighbors develop strategic ports - in Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Pakistan- as nodal points through which Indian influence in the region can be circumvented. An American South Asian expert made startling revelations in 2010 alleging that estimate 7,000 to 11,000 soldiers of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) were being deployed in Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir, apparently to work on the highways, the rail road, dams and other projects. While there are no concrete evidences which corroborate such claims, China has outrightly denied these allegations .

China's foreign policy in Nepal can be classified under three main objectives: political, strategic and economic. The first two terms cannot be acutely differentiated. Political motives could be broadly placed under a broader category of strategic objectives. As far as economic objectives are concerned, it is debatable whether China has any with Nepal. China doles out economic aid and supports developments projects in order to project itself as a reliable and non-exploitative partner. As rightly put in the words of Kanti Bajpai, China's involvement in Nepal more perceptively has managed to project itself as disinterested neighbor and a remarkably attractive alternative to 'big Brother' India .

If closely analyzed, China has followed a very low-risk policy in Nepal. It has always followed a pro-establishment policy in Nepal. Nepal's tilt towards China began during the reign of King Mahendra. Nepal and China signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship and a road linking Kathmandu to Lhasa and Lhasa to Beijing. From here on, the Kings learnt to play the 'China card' to effectively counter-balance the Indian influence in the region. Chinese support to Kings continued even during the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. In 2005, China was the only country to supply arms to King Gyanendra's reign to suppress the Maoists. Interestingly, India along with UK and US, had refused to supply arms. With the abolition of monarchy in Nepal, China lost an 'all-weather ally'.

Over the last few years, the Chinese interest in the Himalayan Kingdom has increased manifold. While its traditional approach towards Nepal has been one of the low-key engagement, recent developments have pushed it to take a more pro-active approach. First, China's spectacular rise in the international system has driven more attention to its human rights record. Consequently, the Tibet issue has also got more attention. China's Olympics spectacle was slightly marred by the protests by Tibetans all over the world. Moreover, the protests even within Tibet have also been garnering international attention. This has important ramifications for China's control over Tibet. Naturally, this has troubled China and the nation is more worried about the stability in Tibet. It can no more solely rely on the Himalayan frontier to discourage any external infusion of instability. Therefore, Nepal becomes a crucial cog in the reconfigured strategic calculations of China with regard to Tibet.

To gain stronger foothold in Nepal, the Chinese are planning major investments in Nepal. A dry port at Tatopani and the improvement of Ring Road (Eight-Lane Proposition) are being discussed at a higher level. The proposal of construction of fly-overs in Kathmandu is also in the pipeline. Plans are also underway to construct a railway line from Lhasa to Kathmandu, which will reduce independence on India. China has already assisted in the building of China-Nepal Boda Hospital, Civil Servants Hospital, several roads and instituted many Chinese study centres to promote Nepal-China cultural interaction. What is interesting is that Chinese investments follow a 'no strings attached' model, due to which it has generated considerable goodwill in places like Africa. In Nepal too, the same pattern is followed which has helped to build a good public perception of China's role in Nepal.

Another equally important development is the emergence of Maoists in Nepal which has raised certain ideological issues in China. As already mentioned, the Chinese policy with regard to Nepal is pro-establishment. So when the Maoists were aligned against Nepal's government and monarchy, China chose to remain in the background, even if its tacit support was with the government. As India chose to ally explicitly with anti-Maoist factions in Nepal; understandably so, given India's own internal security scenario, the ideological closeness of Maoists to China and the Maoist demand of redefining India-Nepal relationship on equal terms, the Maoists looked towards China. Interestingly, all this while China was backing the Maoist faction only clandestinely. But after the Maoists emerged as the single largest party in Nepal in 2008 elections, the Chinese came out in support of the Maoists. Strange enough, but the fact remains that the Maoists miserably failed to see the real Chinese opportunism, which was more pragmatic than ideological.

Certainly, the Maoist overtures towards China have been favorably responded to by the Chinese. In fact, there have been news of Chinese interventions in Nepal's internal affairs. In September 2010, various TV stations in Nepal aired a controversial and explosive audio tape, supposedly of a telephonic conversation between Maoist leader Krishna Bahadur Mahara and a Chinese official. As claimed by media, Mahara is supposedly asking for a financial help of 500 million rupees from a man, who spoke with a Chinese accent. Allegedly, he needed this money to influence fifty law-makers to vote in favour of the Maoist Chairman in the upcoming election for the post of Prime Minister. Not surprisingly, the Maoists refuted all such allegations. However, this audio tape controversy brought the Chinese into the internal political debate of Nepal, for the first time. The visit of Chinese delegation, coming close on the heels of audio tape controversy, indicates that China may involve itself more actively in Nepalese affairs and serve as a check on interference in Nepal's internal matters by any other external powers (read India)

Despite clear indications of China's increasing clout in Nepal's internal affairs, public perception of China remains largely positive. This could be attributed to the willingness of China to mould, attune and transform its foreign policy to the needs of the time. Clearly, Indian approach to Nepal has been much more rigid. China has maintained a very cordial and working relationship with all factions in Nepal whether it is monarchy or the military or the different political factions including the Maoists. China has revisited its foreign policy whenever desired, as evidenced in the case of transition from Monarchy to Maoists.

China has until now only maintained a distant relationship with Nepal. Nepal has been geo-historically secluded from China. Therefore, Nepal-China relationship is very recent. This ambiguous relationship can be attributed to lack of contact in cultural terms. The fact that Nepal does not share any historical, cultural and emotional proximities with China, only leaves the option of political or strategic engagement with Nepal, be it the Maoists or the army. Nevertheless, the burden of such reasoning becomes manifest only

when we hypothesize about the future of China-Nepal relationship. As China's regional ambitions become stronger, it will have to entrench itself deeper into Nepal and it is to be seen if it can then maintain its positive image.

## REGIONAL SECURITY PROGNOSIS

The regional aspects of Nepal's security are basically centred on the economic aid doled out by friends and international financial institutions. Nepali official circles attach much value to the Nepal-US relationship however symbolic it might be. US policy in South Asia revolves around encouraging smaller states reduce their dependence on bigger powers like India. All smaller states including Pakistan are anxious to enhance their security through their extra-regional options. Under these circumstances, the two principal neighbors- India and China, both can be benefactors if they move towards Sino-Indian entente. Nepal's external maneuverability would probably be circumscribed because a smaller country's flexibility in foreign policy is generally greater if its neighbors follow contradictory policies. But all this depends on the future relationship between China and India.

The future establishmentarian elites of Nepal should understand that relations with neighboring countries should not be guided by ideology or emotion but instead be based on pragmatic considerations. The only way for Nepal, then, is to reflect on its own shortcomings and put as much effort as it can into safeguarding its national interest through a more mature and sophisticated use of diplomacy. Because of its geopolitical location, Nepal cannot expect to completely remove itself from India's influence, at least in the foreseeable future. However, with more wisdom in dealing with New Delhi, the degree of that influence can be reduced. Or else Nepal will continue to suffer more from exogenous interferences than endogenous imperatives.

As mentioned earlier, Nepal's geo-strategic location has an overarching impact in defining its security perceptions. The description of Nepal as the 'Yam between the two boulder' by Prithvi Narayan Shah, the founder of the Shah dynasty, still hold true in the Nepalese perception. He had realized the vulnerability of Nepal's landlocked location between India and China and advocated a policy of friendship with both the nations. The Indian effort has been to use a strong economic and social leverage which results from the open border, Nepalese working in India and reliance of Nepal on India for transit facilities to ensure that Nepal's behavior corresponds to the Indian strategic requirement. The Nepalese, on the other hand, have tried to maintain closer relations with China and to thin out their defence co-operation with India to suit their purpose at various levels in an attempt to achieve their aim. If for India, a secure northern border is essential for its security, for Nepal, it is sovereignty and independence. Though, many a times, regime security was equated with state security. The fear emanating from fear and suspicion of each other has brought tensions in the relations. In India-Nepal relations their own set of priorities and interests come in the way of mutual understanding on security interests.

## CONCLUSION

The security policy of Nepal hinges on three areas: a modest and correct Indo-Nepal and China-Nepal relationship, internal cohesion, and the successful handling of extra-regional and regional policies for maximizing economic benefits. In the past decades, the policy of adopting an assertive foreign policy by Nepal, has shown its limits and has produced negligible or no results. In the foreseeable future, India-China relations will continue to be competitive, if not characterized by intense hostility. Nepal then, has to deal with two immediate neighbors with great restraint and dexterity. A relationship marked by civility may enhance the prospects of national security better than a policy of expediency. Moreover, Nepal should also be careful that no external forces play active roles on its domestic front. If Nepali power elites become too enthusiastic about averting domestic crises through their external policies without giving any consideration to their roots, the external forces may be inclined to capitalize on the situation in their own favour.

India's de facto leverage on Nepal continues as long as geography dictates the relationship pattern, and in no significant way jeopardizes the security interests of India. Because China has already become a significant factor in Nepal's foreign security policy, India's unchanged policy towards the 1950 treaty does not have much meaning. Unless the two traditional neighbors- India and Nepal- who have so much in common can assess their relationship with entirety and with equanimity, their perceptual differences

will persist. Furthermore, Nepal's security cannot be separated from its internal situation and viewed in isolation. Faced by the dilemma of modernization and change, Nepal's performance, in certain crucial areas, particularly economic, are not as promising as many political elites tend to plead. Their remedies lie more in internal determination and commitment rather than external strategies. What is more pertinent here is that Nepal has to cope with the spill over effects of changes underway in both China and India. Unless it is internally capable of managing crises, diplomacy as a tool of statecraft can do very little to extricate the country from its deep-rooted malaise. Above all, the security of a country like Nepal lies in the hearts of the people, not entirely in foreign or security policies.

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## AYODHYA DISPUTE: CONTROVERSY, CONFLICT & NO CONCLUSION

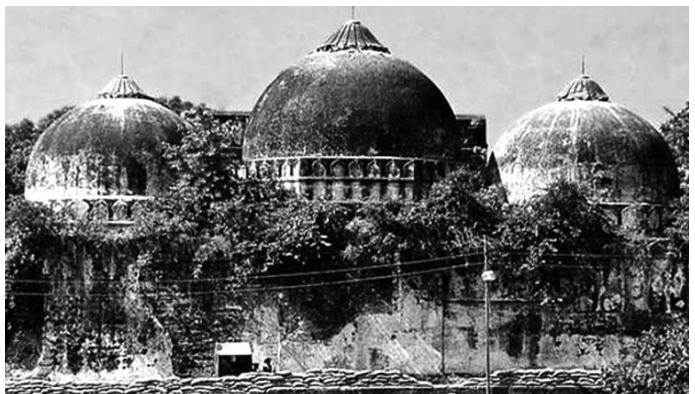
PRIYANKA TOMAR\*

It has been 25 years since the demolition of Babri Masjid. There has not been a legal outcome to the dispute yet. From what happened on December 6, 1992, to December 5, 2017's hearing of the case at Supreme Court, let's dig deep into the matter of this long-standing Babri Masjid issue.

With the BJP securing a landslide victory in the recently concluded Assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh and placing one of its star campaigners and Hindutva mascot Yogi Adityanath at the helm, the matter has once again come to the forefront as the Ram Mandir-Babri Masjid row has resurfaced yet again.

On 5th December, a day before the 25th anniversary of the demolition of Babri Masjid that was followed by communal riots in which around 1,000 people were killed -- a special bench of CJI Dipak Misra and Justices Ashok Bhushan and Abdul Nazeer heard the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid case at the Supreme Court.

Senior Advocate Kapil Sibal, appearing for the Sunni Waqf Board, told the SC that the matter should be heard by five or seven-judge bench but after the 2019 general election as the issue has been politicised. "Construction of Ram Temple is part of BJP manifesto in 2014, court should not fall into the trap", Sibal said.



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The Sunni Waqf board believed that the atmosphere is not conducive to hear the matter. The Supreme Court gave another date for hearing of this case - February 8, 2018.

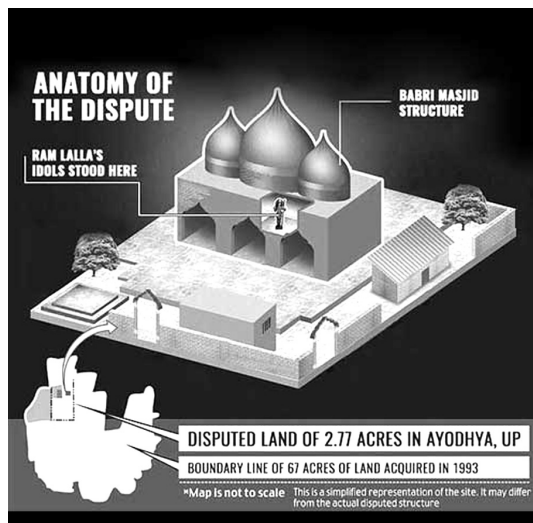
Supreme Court verdict has added further weight to the issue. Demolished in 1992, Babri mosque situated in Ayodhya has always been a controversial dilemma that no one has been able to solve yet.

The dispute has played out for almost seven decades, climaxing in the late 1980s and early 90s.

**The Conflict, Contest And Controversy:** *Here is all you need to know about Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid case.*

At the core of the nearly 70-year-old Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute is the belief that Lord Ram was born 9, 00,000 years ago in the Treta Yuga, in a room located under what was the central dome of the Babri Masjid.

The masjid was built on the orders of Mughal emperor Babur in the 16th century and had occupied 1,482.5 square yards before its demolition by karsevaks on December 6, 1992. The dispute erupted and escalated into full blown violence, when around two lakh karsevaks (volunteers to a religious cause) demolished the Babri mosque, inciting communal riots across the country. More than 1,000 people were killed in these riots. Twenty-five years have passed since the demolition of the Babri mosque but it has left a lasting impact on the socio-political fabric of India.



## THE CONFLICT ON HISTORY

It boils down to a plot of land in the city of Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh. The site that is regarded among Hindus as the birthplace of Lord Rama also historically locates Babri Mosque. Now whether a previous Hindu temple was demolished or modified to create the mosque is a question. The conflict of history.

According to the Hindus, the land on which the Babri mosque was built in 1528 is the 'Ram Janmabhoomi' (birthplace of the god-king Rama). But, Mir Baqi, one of Mughal king Babur's generals, is said to have destroyed a pre-existing temple of Rama and built a mosque called Babri Masjid (Babur's mosque) at the site.

## THE TIMELINE OF THE LONG-STANDING DISPUTE

In 1528, Babri mosque was built on the orders of the then Mughal emperor Babur on a site which few Hindus claimed that was the birth place of Lord Ram. Both the communities have worshiped at the "mosque-temple", Muslims inside the mosque and Hindus outside it.

However, the first recorded incidents of religious violence at the site, was in 1853. In 1859, British colonial administration built a fence to separate the places of worship, allowing the inner court to be used by Muslims and the outer court by Hindus.

Thereafter, it was in 1885 that a petition was filed by the head of the Nirmohi Akhara asking for permission to offer prayers to Ram Lalla inside what was known as the Babri Masjid.

The permission was not given but in 1886, district Judge of Faizabad court FEA Chamier gave his verdict and said, "It is most unfortunate that a masjid should have been built on land specially held sacred by the Hindus, but as that event occurred 356 years ago, it is too late now to remedy the grievance."

After that the idols of Ram Lalla were placed "surreptitiously" under the central dome of the Babri Masjid in 1949. The idols were placed in order to stake claim and convert the existing mosque into the Ram temple. Then prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, reached



out to the then Uttar Pradesh chief minister, GB Pant, asking him to address the issue and remove the idols as “a dangerous example is being set there.”

But many Hindu nationalist leaders quickly dismissed Nehru’s concerns and declined request to remove the idols. Following this dispute, the gates of the mosque were locked and remained shut for the next 40 years.

But it was in 1950 that a local resident Gopal Simla Visharad filed the first suit in the Faizabad civil court for rights to perform puja to Ram Lalla. Paramahansa Ramachandra Das filed a suit for continuation of puja and keeping idols in the structure.

In 1959, Nirmohi Akhara filed a third suit, seeking a direction to hand over charge of the disputed site. The U.P. Sunni Central Wakf Board filed the fourth suit in 1961 for declaration and possession and a fifth was filed in 1989 in the name of Ram Lalla Virajman for declaration and possession. Again in 1989 only, Nehru’s grandson Rajiv Gandhi, in an attempt to appease voter-sentiment, ordered for the gates to be reopened.

In 1991, the Uttar Pradesh government acquired land around the structure for the convenience of devotees coming for Ram Lalla darshan.


The wave escalated over the next three years until 6 December, 1992, when LK Advani organised a rathayatra to Ayodhya, culminating in the demolition of the 400-year-old mosque. On this, just ten days after the incident, on 16 December, 1992, the government established the Liberhan Commission to investigate the demolition of the Babri Mosque. The report delivered several years later found many BJP leaders culpable including Atal Bihari Vajpayee, LK Advani, Muri Manohar Joshi, Kalyan Singh, Pramod Mahajan, Uma Bharti and Vijayaraje Scindia, as well as VHP leaders like Giriraj Kishore and Ashok Singhal.

Then in 1993, the Centre took over 67 acres of land around the area and sought the Supreme Court’s opinion on whether there existed a Hindu place of worship before the structure was built. In 1994, the litigation reached the Lucknow Bench. The suits were heard from 1996 till September 2010.

**BABRI MASJID DEMOLITION**

The 16th century Babri Masjid in Ayodhya was brought down on December 6, 1992, triggering riots across the country. Here’s a look at how it all began.

<p><b>1527</b> The mosque was built and named after Babur, the first Mughal emperor of India.</p> <p><b>1949</b> The site was declared disputed after Hindu groups claimed that idols of Lord Ram were found inside the mosque.</p> <p><b>1984</b> VHP spearheads movement to construct temple at the site, claiming it to be the birthplace of Lord Ram.</p> <p><b>1992</b> Over one lakh Hindu activists raze down the mosque. Riots break out across India killing over 2000 people.</p>	<p><b>2002</b> 58 Hindu activists returning from Ayodhya killed in Godhra, triggering Gujarat riots. Nearly 2000 people killed.</p> <p><b>2009</b> Liberhan Commission Report on Babri demolition blames top BJP leaders, including LK Advani, for instigating activists to raze the mosque.</p> <p><b>2011</b> Supreme Court suspends Allahabad High Court’s ruling to split the site equally between Hindu and Muslim groups.</p>
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In 2010, the Allahabad High Court pronounced its decision on four title suits relating to the Ayodhya dispute on 30 September 2010: Ayodhya land to be divided into three parts of which 1/3 goes to Ram Lalla represented by Hindu Maha Sabha, 1/3 to Sunni Wakf Board, 1/3 goes to Nirmohi Akhara.

After that in May 2011, Supreme Court suspended High Court ruling after Hindu and Muslim groups appeal against the 2010 verdict.

Then in February 26, 2016, the Supreme Court permitted BJP leader Subramanian Swamy to intervene in the pending matters related to the Ayodhya dispute with his plea seeking construction of Ram temple at the site of the demolished disputed structure.

Recently, in March 2017, the apex court with a bench of Justices, Nariman and PC Ghose heard a CBI plea to invoke

conspiracy charges against the top politicians but the court indicated that the charges won’t be dropped.

And, now the final hearing over the disputed Ayodhya site, claimed by Hindus and Muslims, will begin on February 8 next year by a three-judge bench of the Supreme Court.

**Points to help understand the Ayodhya Ram Temple-Babri Masjid Issue:**

- The 16th-century Babri Masjid was razed to the ground in on December 6, 1992 by thousands of right-wing volunteers or karsewaks, claiming it was built after demolishing a temple marking the birthplace of Lord Ram.

- In April 2002, a 3-judge Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court began hearings to determine who owned the site.
- The high court delivered its ruling in 2010, holding that two-thirds of 2.77 acres area should be allotted to two Hindu organisations, Nirmohi Akhara, and Ram Lalla; and the remainder to the Sunni Central Waqf Board of Uttar Pradesh.
- Both Hindu and Muslim organisations involved in the dispute were unhappy with the decision and filed appeals against it to the Supreme Court which stayed the high court decision in 2011. In March this year, the top court suggested that the dispute was best resolved through negotiations and not a judicial verdict.
- In its 2017 Uttar Pradesh election manifesto, the BJP said it “will explore all possibilities within the purview of the Constitution to construct a Ram Mandir in Ayodhya”. The BJP returned to power in UP after 15 years. Newly appointed Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath asked his officials to begin work on implementation of the poll promise.
- In May this year, senior BJP leaders LK Advani, Union Minister Uma Bharti and Murlidhar Manohar Joshi faced a court in Lucknow in the demolition case and were charged with criminal conspiracy. They had argued that they had no role in the demolition and had tried to stop it, but their discharge petition was rejected.
- In August, the Supreme Court judges said they will start final hearings in the case on December 5 and asked for all relevant documents to be translated by the Uttar Pradesh government into English within the next three months.
- In November, Art of Living founder Sri Sri Ravishankar, offered to mediate in the Ayodhya dispute and said that he is meeting all the stakeholders and discussing the issue with them to find a solution. He also met Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath. “As far as the Ayodhya issue is concerned, Yogi Adityanath’s stand is very clear. We welcome any settlement and will honour the decision of the court,” a senior Uttar Pradesh government official said after the chief minister’s meeting with Sri Sri Ravishankar.
- Last month, the Shia Waqf Board submitted a draft proposal in the Supreme Court that sought an amicable resolution of the Ayodhya issue and envisaged the construction of a ‘Masjid-e-Aman’ in Lucknow’s Hussainabad area. However, Sunni Muslim organisations have not backed the offer.
- Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the BJP’s ideological parent, chief Mohan Bhagwat last month made a strong and passionate pitch for building the Ram Temple on the disputed site at Ayodhya, saying only the temple should come up there and not any other structure. “Ram Mandir only will be constructed and nothing else. It will be constructed there only (what is believed to be the birthplace of Lord Ram),” Mr Bhagwat said.

## **CONCLUSION**

The dispute over this piece of land has time and again defined and then redefined state politics and influenced the mindsets of people throughout the country. Spanning across half a millennium, it predates empires - Mughal and British - and now even threatens to disrupt the fabric of modern India.

It is definitely surprising to see how a country like ours has managed to survive and develop at the same time, with the constant presence of such a massive communal tension for 70 years now.

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# PALAYAN- MANY FACETS OF MIGRATION

BRIG C S THAPA (RETD)\*

**Abstract:** The reasons are just, but pause for a second and ask oneself a question, “Did our ancestors not face similar or more daunting challenges”? Of course they did but yet they soldiered on because, firstly they had less choices, secondly education levels were less. An educated person it seems in the hills is less likely to work on the fields. Thirdly, there were enough hands to do the manual work, and lastly and most importantly the women folks who worked the hardest too have left the villages in search of better opportunities. It thus can be summarized that migration is also a social issue, in addition to it being a development issue and one of the key areas of concerns to check it may well be *“to take the home maker back to the hills, the men folk will follow”*.

## GENERAL

In the recent meet of Chief Ministers’ held at New Delhi the Chief Minister of Uttarakhand Mr Trivendra Singh Rawat highlighted the state of “migration or Palayan”, from the hills. He not only asked for a green bonus of ₹4000 crores but also stated that as a test case he wanted to try and check this unabated migration in 37 of the worst affected villages with due central assistance.

The word “Phalayan or migration”, is singular and so it seems, the answer should also be singular, but that is far from the truth. To understand this complex problem and living in a quick fix environment, “development or lack of the same”, becomes a convenient whipping point. The blame in a society where everything’s onus rests with the government quickly shifts to the ‘sarkars’ or government. Is it all that simple or are there social, economic, and human aspirations also, to this complex web that is fast turning the villages of Uttarakhand to ghost villages.

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\*Social & Political Commentator

## HISTORICAL RECORD

There was always migration from the hills in search of better opportunities, the yonder lights of the plains, and the glitter of the built up areas, always attracted the youth. The youth from the hills have always gone out in search of better opportunities, which existed historically in the plains below. The hills have constantly been devoid of opportunities, although Shimla was the summer capital of India, but development in the hills required intense capital which the British were not ready to shell out. Independent India did get freedom but the colonial legacy continued thus the hills still till date lack a “hill model of development”.

This lack of development forced the youth who are fully aware that “migration lowers the status of an individual”, yet they can be seen in any corner of the nation, eking out a living. This area was home to the traditional money order economy. One or two of the male members would be out of the home due to lack of opportunities and send their respective salaries as the family subsisted on the same. The male member/s’ would come back home help in farming and be connected with the land.

## WHAT IS DIFFERENT NOW

The difference this time is in the nature, magnitude and the speed of the migration. It has become an issue of raging political debate, with no easy answers? As far as the nature is concerned the migration is more permanent and that is what alarms the society at large and policy makers in particular, Uttarakhand is losing trained manpower. The magnitude is stupendous with villages becoming ghost villages.

Ghost villages lead to low productivity, high infrastructure cost and will increase the cost of maintenance for the government and people. Everyone who is educated wishes to go to the greener pastures of the plains below. This time the statistics say it all, which are alarming?

The state of Uttarakhand is losing its trained manpower boys and girls, to other places thus development will suffer. A survey conducted recently found that every village had at least two members outside and 90% were long term migrants. A long term migrant is one who does not come home even once a year, which implies a total disconnect with ones roots. A walk to any village also shows that the women folk who formed the back bone of the hill economy too are deserting the hills in search of better opportunities, and that is the problem, families going away and not returning for more than a year.

With the families too going away in search of better health, schooling, and job opportunities, the women folk who were the key to the rural economy of Garhwal and Kumaon, the hills have become barren. The severity of the situation can be gauged from the fact that 9 per cent of the villages of the state are virtually uninhabited.

As per Census 2011, of Uttarakhand 16,793 villages, 1,053 have no inhabitants and another 405 have a population of less than 10. The number of such ghost villages has reportedly risen particularly after the earthquake and flash floods of 2013. Recent media reports put the number at 3,500 . The situation is indeed alarming.

## HILLS VERSUS PLAINS WITHIN THE STATE

The initial cause of alarm is the internal dynamics itself within the state, the hills versus plains divide. The state has a total of 13 districts of which only four are in the plains and the balance nine are hill districts, thus logically it should be a mountain state. The population on the other hand lives mostly in the plains thus the huge controversy over the delimitation issue.

The delimitation exercise (2006) to redraw electoral map of Uttarakhand tried its best via law 282/UTA/2006 which closely monitored the difference between the population in the hilly areas and the plain districts. It fixed the average population per constituency for the hills at the lower level than that of the plain areas which was 109148 versus 133404 about 18% adjustment.

The commission has boosted the number of seats in the hills by 3, while subtracting one each from Dehra dun, Haridwar and Udham Singh Nagar districts respectively. Still the plains have 36 seats in a 70 member legislative assembly. On the other hand hilly districts cover 92.7% of the state's total geographical area of 51,125 km square. While the plain area comprises only 7.43% of the total land area which is almost half of the state's population, i.e. approximately 8.49 million.

On the contrary, more development work is done in plain areas than hilly areas . The hills have been neglected which has hampered the growth pattern and created a regional imbalance. By adopting such policy injustice is being done with the under-developed hilly areas, giving rise to many socio-economic issues which have affected the stability of the border state of the country.

### THE FACTS STATED BRIEFLY

The reasons why the people are leaving the hills is lack of opportunities, which is a spin off from lack of development. It is just that the hill folk fell left off. It manifests as farmers turning away from farming, scattered land holding, lack of irrigation facilities, and crop raiding by wild animals. The reasons are just, but pause for a second and ask oneself a question, "Did our ancestors not face similar or more daunting challenges"?

Of course they did but yet they soldiered on, because, firstly they had less choices, secondly education levels were less, an educated person it seems in the hills is less prone to work on the fields. Thirdly there were enough hands to do the manual work, and lastly and most importantly the women folks who worked the hardest too have left the villages in search of better opportunities. It thus can be summarized that migration is also a social issue, in addition to it being a development issue and one of the key areas of concerns to check it may well be "*to take the home maker back to the hills, the men folk will follow*".

### DEVELOPMENT VERSUS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The current model of development creates a lot of destruction, trees are felled, rivers are dammed, all this causes landslides and agriculture suffers. The land in the hills is very fertile and the produce in a well irrigated field is roughly ten times.

It implies if a villager sows ten kgs of potatoes the produce will be 100kgs enough for his needs as well as enough to sell also. The British and the descendants of Guru Ram Rai gave Dehra Doon an excellent canal system. This was destroyed in the name of development in five years without improving the water supply and consigning to history Basmati aromatic rice and Leechi orchards.

Not a single effort has been made by the government to do anything with irrigation, in fact NGO are very active as far as rain water harvesting is concerned. There are enough rushing water mills of yesteryear's which are fast running dry and some of them could generate electricity as per the HESCO model.

### THE WAY AHEAD

The answers are known to all, most of our CM are sons of the soil, yet migration continues. Life in the hills is tough and it is common to come down to the plains, even at the cost of "*migration lowering the status of an individual*". The hopes and aspiration of the hill people have to be taken into account first in a hill centric state. They must get all the indicators that matter for human development indices that are principally health and education centric development.

As far as farming is concerned besides sorting out the fragmented land holding, there is a need to cater for irrigation. As hands are less there is a need to provide better and newer agricultural tools that assist single users in cultivating and managing the fields. Agriculture needs to be highly subsidized and introduction of aromatic plants are a step in the right

direction. The role of the “Beeti” needs to be enlarged. There was always migration from the hills; the situation is alarming because our daughters and homemakers are leaving the hills. There is an urgent need to emancipate them as is happening yet there is a greater need to retain them, as they light the candle of hope in the hills.

## **CONCLUSION**

There was a saying that I once chanced upon in someone’s office, “Cows will come and cows will go but the bull in this office will go on forever”. Governments may come and governments can go but Palayan in the hills will go on forever, is a view. The need of the hour is to create choices and opportunities for the hill folk, by a variety of means including eco-tourism. It must take an effort for the person to leave the hills, and if he does so, he should return at least twice a year once for religious functions and once to help while working on the fields.

## **R E F E R E N C E S**

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- Pragti Chauhan : Delimitation Issue; Representation of the Hills.

## *On World Philosophy Day*

### **PHILOSOPHY IN PUBLIC LIFE**

*India's struggle for freedom was animated by humanistic philosophy  
Gandhi invested the political struggle with quintessentially Indian ethos*

PRIYADARSHI DUTTA\*

**T**he UNESCO instituted the World Philosophy Day in 2005 to be observed on the third Thursday of November. This year the day falls on November 17. What was the need for dedicating a day to a discipline believed to be divorced from reality? “Philosophical reflection is above all a call to humility, to take a step back and engage in a reasoned dialogue, to build together the solutions to challenges that are beyond our control”, says Irina Bokova, the UNESCO’s Director General. She adds “The greater the difficulties encountered the greater the need for philosophy to make sense of questions of peace and sustainable development”.

Philosophy, the UNESCO maintains, belongs to everyone, everywhere, who cares for it. Therefore the international body leads the World Philosophy Day but does not own it. Philosophy might be viewed in two



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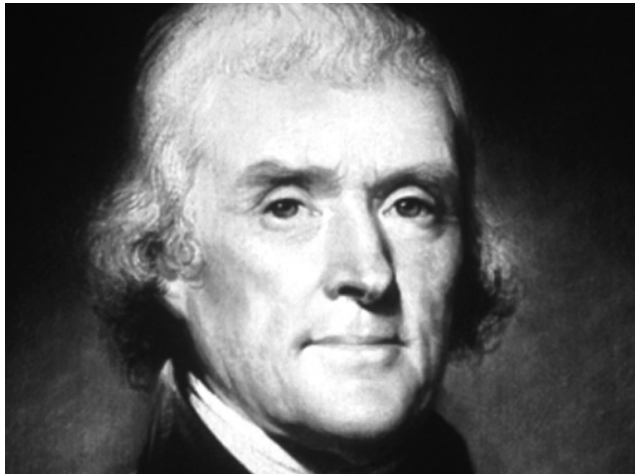
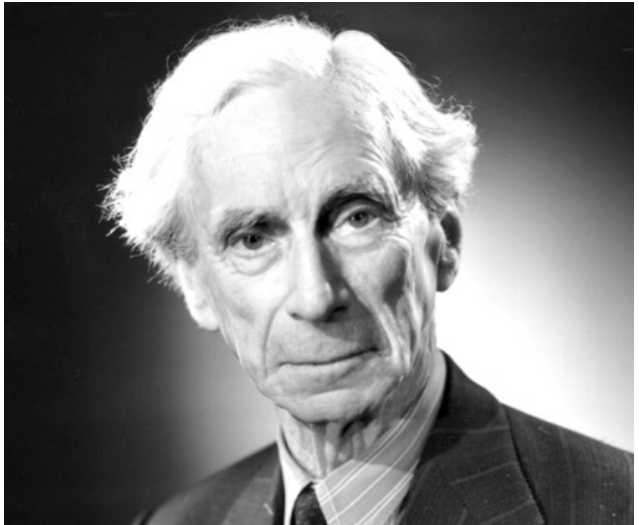
different ways. At one plane, it is speculative rather than empirical. It believes in discovering the intangible order of things. It peaks into spirituality. It is for individual edification, satisfaction and understanding of things. But at another plane it is about engagement with human civilization. It is about moulding the future of civilization by discovery of some sublime principles. "My purpose is to exhibit philosophy as an integral part of social and political life: not as the isolated speculations of remarkable individuals", says Bertrand Russell in his classic *A History of Western Philosophy*.

This year is the 141st year of American Declaration of Independence (1776). The Declaration disavowed the divine right of kings, which George III, the then monarch of Britain clung to. It brought common people into the foreground of history. It is an argument in favour of democracy and equal rights for all citizens. Bereft of this uplifting philosophy, America's war of independence might have reduced itself to crude military campaign against the British.

The document, drafted by Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), abounds in original political philosophy. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. - That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, - That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness".

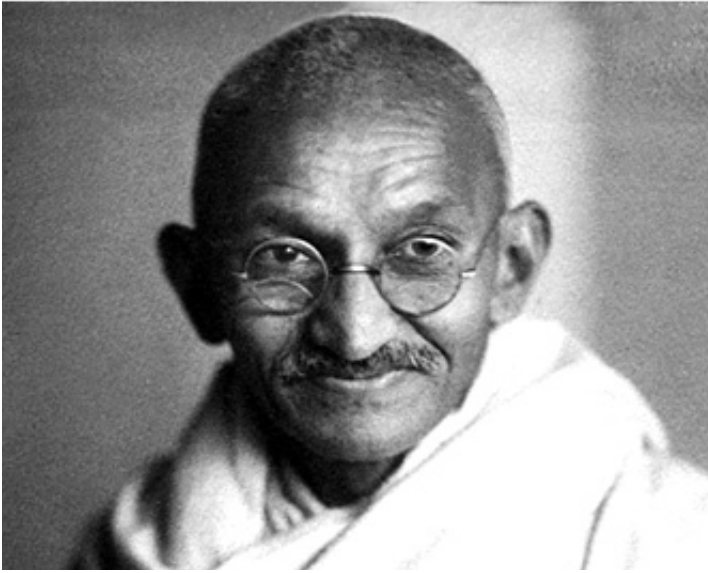
Our own struggle for freedom was animated by humanistic philosophy. "This was no crude demand for the ending of foreign rule and the elevation of self-chosen leaders absolute authority, such as we have seen in other emergent countries. This was a genuine dialectic argument about the nature of freedom, the character of nationhood, the obligations of individuals to society", observed the late Oxford historian Hugh Tinker.

The intellectual discourse that marked freedom movement guided India's course to become an inclusive democracy. India was the first nation to implement universal adult franchise in 1951-52. Some were even skeptical of its wisdom, in a nation with literacy rate of meager 16 percent. But it could not have been any other system, given our freedom movement was fought in the name of everyone, high and low, rich and poor, men and women. The universal adult franchise, like democracy itself, was thus the outcome of the philosophy of freedom struggle.





It is a pity that India's ingenious schools of philosophy got caught in time warp. The Sankhya, Yoga, Nyay-Vaisesika, Purva Mimansa, Uttar Mimansa and Vedanta are considered six orthodox systems that upheld the Vedas. Buddhism and Jainism were considered heterodox systems. Though all of them were rich in content, they did not inspire any political evolution unlike what we see in the West. Therefore we see no political evolution in medieval India, which might have modernized India without British intervention. But in the 19th century, in colonial India, Vedanta and Buddhism emanated as gospels of humanity and universalism. Swami Vivekananda spoke of the glories of Vedanta and Buddhism in the West. They were projected as remedial answers to the needs of the epoch. Yoga, originally a school of philosophy, is now fascinating the world. Instituting the 'International Day of Yoga' (June 21) in 2015 should reinforce our attention to Indian holistic philosophy.



Gandhi changed the rules of the game in politics. When he arrived on the scene a century ago, the national leaders were actually following western assumptions of state, nationhood and political destiny. The more enthusiastic nationalists wanted to establish that Indians had a history of military and political superiority like the Europeans. Those who gave an alternative perspective based on Indian ideas like Rabindranath Tagore and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy were not men of masses. It was Gandhi who with his ideas of Satyagraha, Ashram, Charkha, Khadi, Daridra-Narayan Seva, Swachhata (Cleanliness), Ram Rajya, Hartal, Sarvodaya, Prarthana (Daily Prayer), Go-Raksha (Cow Protection) invested the

political struggle with quintessentially Indian ethos. He created a different political idiom. While one might disagree with his policies, one could not deny the uniqueness of his approach.

The debate whether philosophy is for self-elevation or service of mankind might remain. It could actually be both. It is only when we elevate ourselves can we create a better socio-political discourse. Philosophy can build a public discourse based on reason and empathy rather than force and strength.

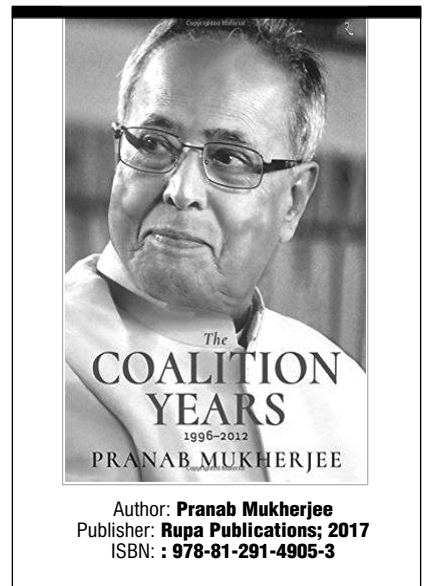
### THE COALITION YEARS 1996-2012

This memoir of Pranab Mukherjee, third of the trilogy, is a detailed and frank narrative about the clandestine orchestration in the government and the Congress party during 1996-2012. Mukherjee, the veteran insider, was once described by a magazine as ‘the man who knew too much’ and in this part he spews his knowledge and experiences in the corridors of power covering the period of 1996-2012, just before his ascendancy as the 13th President of the Republic of India. It gives a vivid account of his role in the party and the government and the trajectory of the Congress party since 1996 which he considers a threshold period marking the advent of coalition politics in India.

In the introductory chapter, he warns against disturbing trends in today’s politics, such as the declining time in Parliament devoted to debate, and legislation passed without proper discussion. He says that effective parliamentary democracy relies on 3Ds - Debate, Dissent and decision. However, disruption has taken over the system, negating the very purpose of a Parliament. He is also concerned about the tendency to pass ordinances ignoring the Parliament.

The author is critical of the period of Emergency when he says that "self-correction in such situations is always a better option than self-justification". But as a matter of fact, he took a principled stand and refused to give evidence when he was summoned by the Shah Commission which was investigating the alleged excesses of the Emergency.

In the Chapter ‘The Congress after Rajiv’, he shares the reasons for the decline of the Congress in the 1990s, viz. the economic reforms which largely affected the elite, and the potential benefits which were yet to percolate to the masses.



This led to the rise of the BJP in the 1990s as an alternate to the Congress. It also coincided with another significant development across the nation's political landscape - the formation of alliances by smaller parties to constitute a bulwark against the Congress.

Because of his long experience and knowledge of both the government and the party, his services were often sought by the Congress for crisis management. The case of Sitaram Kesri who refused to step down as the Congress president in 1998 is an instance. Through his astute handling of issues he brought the party out of this fix and ultimately Kesri had to face an unceremonious ouster as the party president, paving way for Sonia Gandhi. The book succinctly brings forth the episode of Sharad Pawar's failed venture to be the PM as well. While describing Sitaram Kesri's election and ouster as Congress president, Mukherjee traces the party's history and says, "Certain offices should not be sought; rather they should be offered. I consider Congress presidency to be one such office."

Talking of the 1999 elections, he brings forth the differences he had with Sonia Gandhi on several occasions and issues, viz. the way Congress should function as the Opposition party in both the Houses. He says that, "While she and the Congress members in the Lok Sabha took the obstructionist path, Singh and I held a differing view. We felt that conciliation and engagement would work better". However, he maintains that "her detachment and her decision of not being aligned with anybody in particular is her greatest strength".

In the Chapter '2004', he brings forth the changing political landscape in the country which was clearly visible in the party's change of stand from the Pachmarhi Conclave where "we had agreed that 'Coalitions will be considered where absolutely necessary'." As a result, before the 2004 elections, Sonia Gandhi had come to the conclusion that pursuing alliances was the only option left.

He also raises the pertinent issue of budgetary allocations to the Defence and says that "sporadic bursts of sharp increase in the aftermath of crises did not serve the real security needs of the nation." He also favours the building of a credible arsenal. He has also written about his endeavours in the clearance of the India-US Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement and has lauded the Congress for the NREGA, the UID Mission and the Food Security Bill.

The author admits that he was reluctant to work under Singh, who had been his junior when he was the finance minister. He has clearly shown his disappointment at not having been called upon to head a government in spite of his vast knowledge and experience in administration and party affairs. However, he writes about Manmohan Singh in good light to the extent that he says, "I say this out of personal experience, of the prime ministers I have worked with - Indira Gandhi and Narasimha Rao - I got the maximum autonomy when I worked with Manmohan Singh." Whenever Dr Singh was not in New Delhi, Mukherjee chaired the Cabinet. It was, thus, not unusual on his part to think of being the PM candidate in 2012. He has openly vented his emotions in the book. Moreover, Sonia Gandhi had reservations about Mukherjee as a Congress candidate in 2007 and 2012 presidential elections as well. The reason she cited for her reluctance, against the general consensus on his name, was that there was no substitute for Mukherjee as leader in the Lok Sabha and that no one else was as knowledgeable about party affairs as him. But finally she agreed to his name only after Mamta Banerjee spoke out vehemently against Mukherjee's candidature.

That he often lost his cool is reflected by an instance when he writes that at one stage he asked all officials to leave the cabinet room. He then yelled at his ministerial colleagues that, in his long experience, he had never seen such cabinet meetings where endless discussions led to no decision. Some shocked allies threatened that the UPA government could collapse as they would not accept dictatorship. In another incident, he was angry at the arrest of Kanchi Shankaracharya just before Diwali and considered it insensitive to Hindu sentiments.

On the question of war against black money, he says that, "I have always believed that we must work with individual countries to recover the unaccounted wealth stashed away in their banks." At the same time, he was also unwilling to be a part of any committee on Lokpal because he did not view it as a solution to the festering issue of corruption.

In this memoir, the author has narrated many engaging and riveting events and accounts of his personal experiences in the corridors of power. In general, the book provides a comprehensive picture of the last part of his journey in the day-to-day affairs of the government and the Congress party. His journey is, in itself, a benchmark and noteworthy sojourn. Though he has glorified all the accolades of his government but remains reticent on the scams that took place during the UPA-I and UPA-II regimes.

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