

# INDIA FOUNDATION JOURNAL

## Op-Eds

- Cultural Nationalism of Pandit Deendayal
- Article 370: Origin and Implications
- Decoding Article 370 of the Indian Constitution

## Reports

- Discussion on "Decolonising The Indian Mind"
- BESA Center, Israel- India Foundation Dialogue on Iran's Nuclear Program- Implications for West Asia, Middle East and India
- Young Thinkers Meet (Western Zone)

## Book Review

- Magnificent Delusions: Pakistan, the United States, and an Epic History of Misunderstanding

## **Focus: Iran's Nuclear Program - Implications for West Asia, Middle East and India**

- An Israeli Perspective on the Iranian Nuclear Deal
- Saudi Arabia and Saudi-Israel Relations: Balancing Between Legitimacy and Security
- Iran's Nuclear Deal: Regional Impact
- Indo-Iran Relations after Iran's Accord with the West

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**India  
Foundation  
Journal**

Vol. II  
Issue No.2

March 2014

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**India Foundation**  
New Delhi

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*for private circulation only*

**Editor's Note**

Dear Readers,

The New Year at India Foundation has started off remarkably well. We are currently involved with a number of high impact events that we are proposing to hold across the year. It looks that the year will be both busy and exciting for all of us at the Foundation. This assumes greater significance as this will be in the backdrop of the general elections in the first half of the year. India is poised for a great future and we at the Foundation intend to play our part in both shaping the direction and accelerating the pace of this national march. We will endeavor to keep our readers posted of our activities through the Journal and also encourage those who wish to get involved to contact the Foundation.

The focus of this issue is Iran US Nuclear Deal- Implications for West Asia and India. In January the Foundation held its annual dialogue with the Begin Sadat (BESA) Center of Israel on the implications of the Nuclear Deal. The visiting scholars from Israel shared with their Indian counterparts their perspectives of the latest development and how in their view this would have a negative effect on the stability and peace in the region. While, the Indian side did appreciate their concerns they felt that engaging Iran was the only sensible option and that the peace deal with Iran may actually help in arresting the nuclear proliferation in the long run. The Indian perspective was that Iran was a natural ally of India than some of the other regional powers and that India needed her if she was to keep her unruly nuclear neighbor Pakistan under control. We are carrying in this issue the views of some of the speakers from both the countries at the event.

India Foundation organized a Young Thinkers Meet in Pune in which young minds debated the various issues facing the Indian nation. As usual such positive events fill one with a lot of hope and enthusiasm about the future of this country. During this time we had the honour of hosting Dr Koenraad Elst who visited us from Belgium and shared with us his perspectives on the impact of colonization of the Indian mind. For those of our readers who could not be with us in person at these sessions we have as usual tried to bring to you the quintessential elements of these programs through our event reports.

I wish you a happy reading and continue to seek your valuable suggestions and feedback on how this journal can be made more comprehensive and responsive in meeting your expectations. India Foundation remains committed to the national cause and seeks your support and partnership in its endeavors.



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## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

### **FOCUS**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| An Israeli Perspective on the Iranian Nuclear Deal<br>– <b>Prof. Efraim Inbar</b> .....                                   | 3  |
| Saudi Arabia and Saudi-Israel Relations:<br>Balancing Between Legitimacy and Security<br>– <b>Joshua Teitelbaum</b> ..... | 6  |
| Iran's Nuclear Deal: Regional Impact<br>– <b>K. N. Pandita</b> .....  | 10 |
| Indo-Iran Relations after Iran's Accord with the West<br>– <b>Alok Bansal</b> .....                                       | 15 |

### **OP-EDs**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Cultural Nationalism of Pandit Deendayal<br>- <b>S. P. Singh</b> .....         | 22 |
| Article 370 : Origin and Implications<br>- <b>Arun Kumar</b> .....             | 29 |
| Decoding Article 370 of the Indian Constitution<br>- <b>Guru Prakash</b> ..... | 35 |

### **REPORTS**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Discussion on “Decolonising The Indian Mind” .....   | 42 |
| BESA Center, Israel- India Foundation Dialogue on Iran's Nuclear Program-<br>Implications for West Asia, Middle East and India ..... | 44 |
| Young Thinkers Meet (Western Zone) .....   | 48 |

### **BOOK REVIEW**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Magnificent Delusions: Pakistan, the United States, and an Epic History of<br>Misunderstanding ..... | 52 |
|--|----|



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## An Israeli Perspective on the Iranian Nuclear Deal

\*Prof. Efraim Inbar

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Iran has pursued nuclear weapons in defiance of international law and UN Security Council resolutions. In late November 2013, the P5+1 reached a six month interim agreement with Iran over its controversial nuclear program, known as the Joint Plan for Action (JPA). The details of implementing the agreement were subject to additional negotiations for two months. The exact details are not known, as the US released only its summary of the accords, leaving many questions marks. This piece documents the wrong assumption underlying the nuclear deal, its deficiencies and analyzes several of its implications.

### The Wrong Assumption

The agreement with Iran was reached under the mistaken assumption that substantial political change has taken place in Tehran as result of the August 2013 inauguration of newly elected President Hassan Rouhani. He indeed changed some of the anti-Western rhetoric, which was well-accepted in most capitals of the world. But Iranian policies, domestic and foreign, have displayed remarkable continuity, and the dictatorial character of the regime has not change one iota. In fact,

Rouhani presided over an execution spree during his first half-year of rule. The Islamic Republic of Iran has continued supporting terrorist activities all over the world; Islamist terrorist organizations Hizballah and Hamas remain recipients of Iranian aid. Tehran's support for the bloody Assad regime in Syria has not ceased.

Rouhani also was instrumental in reaching agreement with the West. Yet, his rich record of over 20 years in nuclear dealings with the West seems to indicate that he is a master of deception. Moreover, in his 2011 book he boasts about his skillful negotiations with the Europeans in 2004 that allowed further Iranian progress in the nuclear program.

The JPA does not represent a change of the Iranian line on nuclear issues, but rather constitutes a clear continuation of the Iranian long-term strategy of talk and build. Iran's goal in its diplomatic efforts versus the international community has not been an agreement, but the provision of time to its engineers to make progress on the path to a nuclear bomb. The JPA indeed bought additional time when Iran was under crippling economic sanctions, without compromising any critical part of its nuclear program.

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*\*The author is the Director of Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Israel.*

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## **The Deficiencies of the JPA**

The main objection to the JPA is that it did not achieve a rollback of the Iranian nuclear program and thus implicitly recognizes Iran's proclaimed right to enrich uranium. It also allows Iran to retain enough key aspects of its nuclear program to continue progress toward nuclear weapons capability, including its 5 percent enriched uranium stockpile, existing enrichment capacity (20,000 centrifuges), and ability to improve the performance of its extant centrifuges. The JPA even authorizes Iran to construct an additional nuclear facility.

Moreover, there is no limit on the "military dimensions" of the nuclear program, which involves experimentation with nuclear trigger devices. In addition, Iran's infrastructure includes the development of a heavy-water plant, which is grossly inefficient for producing electricity but not for generating plutonium for nuclear weapons. While the JPA freezes the activation of this facility, it allows for the building of its missing components.

The JPA weakens US leverage to pursue even this flawed deal, both by beginning to unravel the existing international sanctions and by seeking to limit Congress' power to pass additional measures. These actions will complicate enforcement of remaining sanctions – including key prohibitions against Iran's financial sector – since they allow Iran to reconstitute its ties to the global economy. We already see many countries rushing to capitalize on the opportunities offered by the

Iranian economy, particularly in the two most lucrative sectors (energy and automobiles). It would be very difficult to reinstate a comprehensive sanctions regime if the US decides to put new economic pressure on Iran.

Finally, the JPA makes it possible for Iran to progress toward undetectable nuclear weapons capability without even violating the agreement. In the aftermath of the JPA, Iran is closer than ever to become a threshold nuclear state with an ability to rush its nuclear program and acquire a nuclear arsenal within months. It is a temporary agreement that, after its six months expire, forces no obligations whatsoever on Iran to continue adhering to the agreement.

## **Implications of the Interim Deal**

The JPA has been heralded in Tehran as a great diplomatic victory and even as a capitulation of the US. This is also how it is mostly perceived in Western Asia. Friends and foes of the US view the JPA as an additional step in the waning American influence in global affairs, particularly in Western Asia. Only a muscular American reaction to the Iranian nuclear program, unlikely under President Barack Obama, can restore American clout in the region. In its absence, Iranian influence is growing.

The growing Iranian clout is affecting not only Western Asia but also Central Asia, an important region adjacent to Iran. Following the collapse of

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the Soviet order, these countries adopted independent foreign policy orientations. In response to an Iranian nuclear threat they might look for a nuclear umbrella in Moscow or Beijing.

As Western Asian states read the JPA as sanctioning a future Iranian bomb, they prepare themselves for following a similar path. Saudi Arabia, which funded the Pakistani nuclear program and has purchased Chinese long-range missiles capable of delivering nuclear bombs, will probably join the nuclear race. Similar posturing is to be expected of Egypt and Turkey, which both have regional hegemonic aspirations. Therefore, the JPA undermines the Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Treaty (NPT) and threatens regional stability. A multi-polar nuclear Western Asia would be a strategic nightmare.

The JPA also makes Israeli military action more likely after six months. Israel has not hidden its disappointment with the American-led deal. Furthermore, Israel is threatened more than any other state in the region by Iran, whose leaders often express genocidal intentions toward the Jewish state. Jerusalem's threat perception is very high, and in the past has taken action against nascent nuclear threats. It is not clear what the final strategic calculus of Israel's government will be, but the military option is still on the table.



## **Saudi Arabia and Saudi-Israel Relations Balancing Between Legitimacy and Security<sup>1</sup>**

\*Joshua Teitelbaum

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**F**ollowing the signing of an agreement on Iran's nuclear development on November 24, the press speculated that Saudi Arabia and Israel - the most important US allies in the regions and the country's most jilted by Washington - would increase their cooperation. But given its history and concern for the legitimacy of its rule, particularly after the Arab uprisings, the Saudi royal family is more likely to draw closer to Iran than Israel.

Since the 1980 Saudi officialdom has evinced a relatively conciliatory stance towards Israel. Prince Fahd's initiative of 1981, the Fez plan of 1982, and King Abdullah's plan which became the Arab Peace Initiative in 2002, all offered recognition to Israel in exchange for a Palestinian state and full withdrawal from all territories captured in 1967. Israeli leaders publicly demonstrated some interest, and the press reported secret meetings between Israeli officials in 2006-2007 with an eye towards making the initiative more palatable to Israel. In 2008 Olmert offered to include Saudis in a committee of religious leaders administering Jerusalem's holy sites.

Riyadh and Jerusalem are therefore not beyond exploring the possibilities of advancing the peace process, although nothing has come of it and is unlikely to before Israel and the Palestinians reach an agreement.

Saudi-Israeli clandestine relations are old news. Both Riyadh and Jerusalem were pro-Western cold warriors. In the 1960's Israel supplied the Saudi-supported Yemeni royalists against the revolutionaries supported by their pro-Soviet foe, Egypt's President Gamal Abdul Nasser. Israel's Mossad coordinated supply flights to the royalists with Saudi intelligence.

The *Sunday Times* has been the source of several stories of Saudi-Israeli defense cooperation all citing anonymous Israeli officials since the Iranian threat has grown. It reported that the Saudis agreed to let Israel attack Iran via its airspace and that that they were practicing standing down their air defenses. This assertion dovetailed with remarks made to me by an American academic who had met with a top Saudi defense official.

In May 2013, it reported that a defense pact

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*\*The author is an Expert on the Gulf states, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Arab economies and Pan Arab issues.*

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was in the works with Israel, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, including the sharing of radar station and missile defense information. In October, Israel's Channel Two reported that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was supervising "intensive meetings" with prominent Gulf officials, one of whom who had even visited Israel. In November, the *Sunday Times* struck again, reporting Saudi Arabia would cooperate in the use of refueling planes, rescue helicopters, and drones. An Israeli minister told *Buzz feed* that it was Saudi Arabia that informed Israel about the secret US-Iran nuclear talks that preceded the Geneva agreement. The Saudis denied such contacts.

The Israeli leadership has recently made several statements expressing the common interests between Israel and the Sunni countries of the region. These include Amos Gilda, director of political-military affairs in the Ministry of Defense, and several other spokespersons. The most overlooked pro-Saudi reference was a few lines in Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's speech at the UN in early October, when he expressed his hope that Israel would build relationships with Arab countries equally threatened by Iran.

While the leaks are probably from Israeli sources trying to threaten Iran, the Saudis are most likely of two minds about contacts with Israel. On the one hand, a large part of the ruling family's internal and regional legitimacy is based on being

perceived as promoting Arab and Islamic causes. Palestine is just such a cause, and to be seen discussing anything with Israel is problematic. On the other hand, the Saudis have said that they have the right to do anything to assure their security, the implication being that talks with Israel should not be ruled out. Iran should therefore be put on notice.

The Saudis have always been reluctant to confront Iran. Although separated by a history of political and religious enmity, Riyadh sought to get along with Tehran. Since the Islamic Revolution of 1979, Riyadh has effectively opted against – or been deterred from – taking action against Iran, even when Tehran was organizing sedition amongst Saudi Arabia's own Shiites and making trouble at the pilgrimage. Not even Tehran's hand in the explosion at Khobar Towers in Dhahran in 1996 spurred Riyadh into action. In fact, relations with Iran actually *improved* after the bombing. The Saudis were running scared.

And they are still scared. That's why the official Saudi response was more muted than some expected: "If there is good will, then this agreement could be an initial step toward reaching a comprehensive solution to Iran's nuclear program."

With the US going wobbly on Iran and seeming not to understand the threat, Riyadh seems to be secretly reaching out to Israel, trying to firm up the moribund Gulf Cooperation



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Council, and improve relations with Iran.

Riyadh is doing a bit of “bandwagoning.” Bandwagoning is the idea that rather than balance against threats, states join them. In the face of Iran’s diplomatic coup, Saudi Arabia is trying to lower the flames with Iran and test the waters of a future rapprochement. While not actually joining Iran, it is trying to hedge its bets by just getting along.

Saudi Arabia has not gone to the lengths of the UAE, where the bandwagoning response is stronger. The UAE was the first Gulf country to express support for the agreement, and UAE Foreign Minister Abdallah bin Zayd was the first to visit Iran. The UAE’s quick response seems to have been rewarded: In the second week of December Iran removed jet fighters from Abu Musa, one of three islands in dispute between the countries. It was later confirmed that they were holding talks to solve the dispute.

The Saudi-led GCC is shaky, and the kingdom has been further weakened regionally. When the Saudis proposed on December 7 that the GCC form a political union, Oman objected publicly. A few days later the GCC announced the formation of a unified military command and police force, but no political union. The two former, like the latter, were unlikely to come into being.

Defending Saudi Arabia has always been outsourced – first to Britain and then to America. Disappointed with the US for its abandonment of

Mubarak and support of the Muslim Brotherhood, its fecklessness in Syria, and succumbing to the charm offensive of Iran, some Saudi officials and royals, led by the volatile former head of intelligence, Prince Turki Al Faysal, have been vocal about seeking new defense arrangements. But in the end they can only look to Washington. Washington knows this and has moved to reassure the Saudis. Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel has proposed new initiatives aimed at bolstering US-led defense cooperation in the region.

We should not overstate the implications of the confluence of interests between Riyadh and Jerusalem. Saudi Arabia is not about to give up its position in the Islamic world by forming an alliance with Israel – the perceived enemy of Islam. Yet quiet cooperation should not be ruled out. In the event of an Israeli attack on Iran, Saudi Arabia could stand down its radar. It could offer refueling and search and rescue backup for Israeli pilots. Above all, it could step up intelligence sharing with Jerusalem. In the future, the US could mediate possible cooperation in missile defense between Israel, Saudi Arabia, and other countries of the GCC. Theoretically, there is no reason that an anti-ballistic missile battery based in Saudi Arabia or Qatar could not intercept a missile launched at Israel from Iran. But such cooperation is extremely risky for the regime and would require a greater degree of trust in Israel than Riyadh probably has.

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When it comes to Israel, the Saudis will continue to balance their national security considerations with their internal and regional legitimacy concerns. The political cost of improving relations with Israel is much higher than improving relations with Iran. Even though the Saudi Wahhabis have no love for Iranian Shiites, the latter are at least Muslims. A bit of bandwagoning with Iran will therefore most likely

be the order of the day. In any case, the Kingdom knows that the US, for its own reasons, will have the Saudis' back. As for the Israelis, the public diplomacy and psychological operations value of leaking meetings with the Saudis is limited and counter-productive. Israeli leaders would be well advised to keep these arrangements under the tightest of wraps, lest the Saudis ditch them entirely.

### ***References:***

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<sup>1</sup> *The following is the text of the presentation made by the author in the Dialogue of BESA Center, Israel and India Foundation, New Delhi on Iran's nuclear program- Implications for West Asia, Middle East and India.*



## Iran's Nuclear Deal: Regional Impact

\*K. N. Pandita

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**A**fter thirty years of estrangement, mutual suspicions and bouts of hatred, Iran and the United States have taken a guarded step to move along the path of understanding. Signing of nuclear deal between P5+1 (Germany) and Iran in Geneva on 24<sup>th</sup> of November 2013 will be remembered as an historic day of successful cool and calculated diplomacy as against rant and rhetoric.

Iran's nuclear programme has been disconcerting to the US and her European partners for more than a decade.

Sanctions imposed on Iran in 2002 and upgraded in 2005 — grave affront to Iran — contributed to the hardening of postures. Its impact on Iranian oil earnings and financial assets has been critical; Iran's economy was dealt a severe blow.

This argument was pointedly highlighted by the hawks and the powerful Foreign Relations Committee of the US Congress when Secretary of State Kerry defended the nuclear deal in his briefing.

Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel, too, towed the same line arguing that more sanctions would have yielded the desired result of Iran making more concessions than what she has made or even

agreeing to put total halt to her nuclear programme.

Defending the deal, Kerry told the Congressional Committee that it took US ten long years to hammer out the deal with Iranians and that it was a sensitive diplomatic effort.

November 1979 sack of US embassy in Teheran, and a year later, a decade-long war with Iraq isolated Iran even though the ouster of the Shah had popularized the rule of the Ayatollahs. The clerics came to the conclusion that to deter regional and super power aggression and guard against ouster of the regime, the way out was that Iran developed nuclear capability. Nevertheless, well informed sources believe that from the very beginning viz. 2002, Iran has been seeking nuclear technology but not the nuclear weapon.

In the negotiations secretly held in Oman, P5+1 had insisted on controlling nuclear activities at the Arak reactor where heavy water facility has been created for advancing Iran's nuclear programme.

Soon after signing the deal, the contentious issue of whether Iran reserved the right to upgrade her nuclear technology to the extent of producing nuclear warhead or not is hotly debated in political circles. What the Iranian nuclear expert Salahi and Secretary John Kerry said on the subject has been

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interpreted by observers as the stuff for public consumption.

On Iranian side, the victory in presidential election of Hassan Rouhani — a moderate cleric with far deeper understanding of western sensitivity —, indicated civil society's inclination for decisive shift from hardliner posturing of his predecessor Ahmadinejad, whose vitriolic against Israel had degenerated into mockery, to positive realpolitik.

That the clerical regime would not graduate acquiring the technology to making the bomb can be substantiated as this: (a) it would invite quick and coordinated air strikes (b) lead to regional nuclear arms race obliterating Iran's primacy in the region, and (c) lead to total multilateral trade embargo on Iran. But more importantly, that would mean ouster of clerical regime which they want to protect at any cost.

Therefore the question is whether Iran's readiness to sign the deal now means that she has reached the final stage of technical capability of producing the bomb. The simple answer is yes she has. But it is rather difficult to accept that Iran might have even tested the nuclear weapon if the deal was delayed by a few weeks more. US' insistence on Iran halting heavy water plant programme at Arak nuclear reactor has to be understood in the totality of the concept of de-nuclearizing deal.

On economic front, the US, by virtue of 1996 Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA) cut off third party

investment in Iran by threatening expulsion from the US market. More importantly, 2005 financial and banking sanctions imposed ban on U-turn dollars flow to Iran. US achieved the objectives of cutting off Iran from international financial system, reducing flow of foreign exchange into Iran and pressurizing Iran currency downwards. After 2012, Iran oil exports were reduced by 50 per cent.

The nuclear deal allows Iran recoveries from marginally lifted ban on oil exports to the tune of 7 billion US dollars but the continuing sanctions deprive her of 30 billion dollars she would have made out of normal export. About a 100 million US dollars Iran earned from third party sale of oil remain frozen in US banks.

These are the compulsions for President Rouhani to avert escalation of crisis, economic as well as political, and redraw the roadmap for Iran in her relations with the US and European countries. Concessions given to Iran under the interim nuclear deal may not be matching with the gains she has conceded but the deal is only in its first stage as of today...

With this brief description of the background of the nuclear deal let us consider its impact on regional and international levels. Two regional states have viewed the Iranian nuclear deal with scepticism, albeit for different reasons. Prime Minister of Israel calls it "a big historical mistake." He doubts Iran's sincerity. It could be a cover for clandestinely carrying forward her nuclear

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programme; hence existential threat for the State of Israel.

The hawks in the US Congress and some in the Congressional Foreign Relations Committee also doubt Ira's sincerity. Allying their fears, Secretary of State Kerry told the Committee that if Iran reneged, economic and other sanctions would continue. He added that it had taken ten long years of hard work to bring about the deal.

Israel's scepticism arises from Iran's rabid hostility towards her. Ayatollah Khomeini had said that the road to Qods runs through Israel.

Unlike Israel, Saudi Arabia's disapproval of the deal is rooted in political threat. Saudis think the US has betrayed Riyadh, and kept the deal hidden from them.

Iran-Saudi acrimony stems from their long rivalry for monopolising ecclesiastical leadership of the Muslim world.

When Khomeini rose to power, he said that monarchy was alien to Islam, and that the stewardship of the holy twin-shrines (*haramain sharif*) was not the sole right of the Saudi ruling house. Don't forget that the Mecca riots then left nearly 400 Iranian hajj pilgrims dead.

Saudis look at Iranians as proselytes or second class Muslims because of their Zoroastrian ancestry. This is why the Ayatollahs in early post-revolution period initiated suppressing Pan-Iranism that had been painstakingly promoted by the late Pahlavi ruling house. It was done to project the

clerical regime more Islamic than the rest in the Islamic world. However emphasis was on Shiite Islam.

Rise of extremism in contemporary Islam is also traceable to Saudi-Iran horn-lock. Khomeini's slogan of export of Iranian Islamic revolution championed by Shiite *Pasdaran* was countered by Saudi initiated Sunni Wahhabi *mujahideen* groundswell. Both developed their legions functioning under different patents but closely controlled and guided by respective state intelligence agencies.

Iran's antagonism towards the US is rooted in latter's support to Saudi monarchy and its autocratic institutions. Quite naturally, it obstructs expansion of Iran's influence in the region. Political presence of world's most powerful country in such a close proximity of Iranian land and waters is a red rag to the bull.

Iran's animosity towards Israel is essentially rooted in US-Saudi-Israel tripartite tie-up. Since she cannot cross swords with the mighty US, she is conceitedly aggressive towards Israel. Her role in Lebanon and Syria is a reflection of this mindset.

Saudi reaction is pungent. They look for new assertive foreign policy and "defence doctrine" focusing on containing Iranian influence in the Middle East. They see the nuclear deal something that would keep Bashar al Assad of Syria in power.

Nuclear deal ultimately implies resetting of US-Saudi relationship. If the US downgrades



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alliance with Saudis, European Union would not, ordinarily, wait to fill the vacuum and become Saudi Arabia's chief ally. But the question is will European powers want to become an ally of a country pursuing rivalry with Iran across the Middle East? The Arab Spring is so far ineffective in the monarchical state.

Iran never reacted vehemently against Shia killings in Pakistan by Sunni fundamentalist outfits. Perhaps Iran would not want to open another front on her eastern border when she is already engaged in West Asian region. It is also amusing to note that like Saudi Arabia, Pakistan does not project Israel as threat to Islam. One will not forget that during Iraq-Iran war, Israel played a role in the transshipment of arms to Iran. Neither the Israel nor the US ever protested to Saudi Arabia providing enormous funds to Pakistan for making nuclear weapon. Pakistan called it "Islamic bomb". She is happy with the Iran nuclear deal as it rolls up "Shia bomb" leaving Pakistan with the monopoly of "Sunni Wahhabi Islamic bomb." India, another notable country in the region, will have to do some tight rope walking. India and Iran have a long history of cordial relations. India's pro-Soviet stance of cold war era resulted in freezing of Indo-Israel relations. Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991, and a year later, India established diplomatic relations with Israel. Oil plays major role in Indo-Iran relations. But with the lifting of trade sanctions on Iran, India is likely to revive her trade relations.

The prospect of revitalizing Indo-Iran shipping effort will open up and with increase in crude oil imports, oil payments imbroglio will be resolved.

During his visit to India in January 2003, the then Iranian President Khatami signed Strategic Partnership Accord purporting mutual defence ties. It provided growing Indian access to Iranian bases in exchange of various Indian defence products, training and technology. Indian naval teams visited Iran for assistance in submarine maintenance and overhaul. Israel raised concerns on India warming up to Iranian defence requirements and also joint naval exercises in 2000. During his 2003 visit to New Delhi, Israeli Prime Minister Sharon Perez raised his country's concern about Israel-based military technology transfer to Iran and asked for explicit guarantees.

The 2005 Indo-US nuclear deal cast its shadow on Indo-Iran defence deals. Since then their defence ties have remained at a low key. No meeting of Joint Indo-Iran Working Group took place till date because of US pressure on India. Under US persuasions New Delhi voted against Iran in IAEA.

Barely two weeks after the nuclear deal was signed in Geneva, Iranian warships *Alborz*, *Bandar Abbas* and Russian origin kilo-class submarine *Younis* visited Mumbai port. Iran can lure Indian defence planners with a variety of defence equipment India would be interested in.

On the other hand, India's defence relations

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have steadily grown after 1992. Israel is India's largest arms supplier after Russia. During last one decade Israel has supplied India arms worth 10 billion dollars or on average one billion dollars a year. Indo-Israel defence exchanges are in a number of advanced areas including technology transfer and counter-terrorism. In 2008 India launched TechSAR, an Israeli surveillance satellite providing strategic information. Iran protested.

This notwithstanding, India and Israel have moved far ahead in defence ties. Israeli Chief of land forces paid a 4-day visit to New Delhi in November 2013. The sides discussed Saudi Arabia and Middle East regions. India looked for purchase of Rafael-made Spike ATGMs including 321 missile launchers, 8356 missiles and 15 training

simulations... Israel will be cooperating with India for high tech system at a cost of 3 billion dollars.

Hopefully after the second stage of the Iranian nuclear deal matures, sanctions against Iran will be lifted and India-Iran relationship can jump to new heights to be reflected foremost in oil transactions. Secondly, naval cooperation between the two will assume wider dimensions. Thirdly in all probability, the hitherto shelved IPI gas pipeline project may be revived.

In this scenario how will India-Iran-Israel tripartite relationship shape or withstand pressures? Can India use leverage for Iran-Israel détente and pave the road for new workable relationship? It is here that the Iranian nuclear deal throws a big challenge to India.



## Indo-Iran Relations after Iran's Accord with the West

\*Alok Bansal

One of the most difficult tasks that the Indian foreign policy makers faced was to balance their relations with Iran while enhancing their proximity with the global super power, the United States. To understand the dilemma it is essential to understand the importance of Iran. An ancient civilization, Iran lies at the crucial junction of South Asia and West Asia. It also links the Central Asian Republics and the Caucasus region to the Arabian Sea. Historically, Iran has always influenced its neighbours, irrespective of the type of government that has been in power. One of the oldest continuously inhabited civilizations; it forms a bridge between the Semitic world and the Indo Aryan civilization of South Asia. It has had strong historical linkages with Indian civilization. Despite strong convergence, Indo-Iran relations in recent times have been subdued on account of Iranian belligerence with respect to its nuclear programme. Its reluctance to abide by the commitments made under the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) had led to numerous economic sanctions being imposed on it by the West. Consequently, Indian engagement and trade with Iran has come down. However, with the change of president in Iran, things have started looking up. Iran and the five

permanent members of the Security Council plus Germany (P 5+1) signed a historic deal at Geneva on 24 Nov 2013. The deal has halted Iran's move towards a nuclear weapon and has relaxed the sanctions imposed on it.<sup>1</sup> This paper looks at the Strategic importance of Iran and Indo-Iran relations after the recent pact between Iran and P 5+1.

### Geography

Geographically Iran has a strategic location. It virtually controls the access to the narrow confines of the Persian Gulf, which is the largest energy exporting hub in the world. It controls the land access between fast growing economies of South Asia and the energy rich states of West Asia. It can also provide the former Soviet states in the Caucasus with a much shorter access to the warm water ports of the Indian Ocean. Similarly, it can possibly provide Turkmenistan and through it the other Central Asian Republics an access to Indian Ocean Region without traversing through conflict ridden Afghanistan or Pakistan.

From India's point of view, India's indifferent relations with China and Pakistan ensures that Iran provides the only access to the untapped markets of Afghanistan and Central Asia for Indian goods,

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as well as India's only option for tapping the vast untapped energy and other mineral resources of the region. On account of its own geo-political imperatives it is almost mandatory for India to maintain good relations with Iran if it wants to have any role in Afghanistan or Central Asia. Iran also provides India the shortest access to the vast energy resources of the Caspian basin and the Caucasus region. The growing Indian economy not only requires the vast untapped markets of central Eurasian landmass, but also needs newer sources of energy supplies.

### **Population, Religion and Culture**

Historically, there has been a strong influence of Iranian culture over South Asia. Centuries of cultural interactions have made the Iranian art and architecture omnipresent across the length and breadth of South Asia. In India, cities like Lucknow and Hyderabad have emerged as the citadel of Iranian culture. Consequently, significant section of population identifies itself with Iran and has a close cultural affinity with it. For long Persian language was the second language and the language of the elite in numerous princely states and the medium for higher education in most of South Asia. Urdu language, which is the official language of Pakistan and is spoken widely across India is written in Persian script and is deeply influenced by Persian language. There are similarities between oldest Indian scriptures Vedas and Iranian Avesta.<sup>2</sup>

Of late however, Iran has come to symbolize the aspirations of Shias worldwide.<sup>3</sup> Though Shias like Sunnis are not a monolith, yet in recent times after the Iranian revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini, Iran has come to represent the entire Shia community within the great Islamic divide. After 1979, as Iran emerged as a powerful revolutionary state, the Shias across the world started identifying with Iran and began to asserting themselves. Though IthnaAsharris or Twelver Shias have serious ideological difference with other Shia sub-sects, Iranian Twelver clergy has been taking up issues on behalf of Shiite groups as diverse as Zaidis and Alawites.

Similarly, in India there is strong support for Iranian viewpoint amongst Shia clergy as well as the masses. In cities like Lucknow, this pro-Iran sentiment is clearly discernable to any observer. There are approximately 25 million Shias in India, who visit various places of pilgrimage in Iran and look up to Iran and Iranian clergy for spiritual guidance.<sup>4</sup> Besides Shias, the miniscule but economically significant Parsi (Zoroastrian) population of India has its centres of pilgrimage in Iran. It also has a small Zoroastrian minority still living there, with which Indian Parsees have emotional bonds.

The identification of Shiite masses with Iran enables Iran to draw upon their support cutting across national frontiers and enhances its significance considerably. This also gives Iran a significant role in Afghanistan, which is not only a

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neighbouring country, but also has a substantial Shia population. Twelver Shias are believed to comprise 10 to 15 per cent of Afghanistan's population and are ideologically pitted against the puritanical aggressive Sunni ideology practiced by Taliban. Common anti-Taliban interests in the past had brought India and Iran together to support the anti-Taliban grouping in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is strategically significant for India and as the US and NATO troops prepare to withdraw from Afghanistan, India will need to join hands with Iran and CARs to halt the Taliban juggernaut.

### **Economic Resources**

The main significance of Iran emanates from its huge hydrocarbon resource, which account for 80 per cent of its exports. These resources have gained further significance as the energy resources in other oil producing states, especially those that are outside Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) have been depleting fast. Iran possesses 10 per cent of world's proven oil reserves<sup>5</sup> and approximately 15 per cent of the global gas reserves.<sup>6</sup> Within the OPEC, Iran is the second largest exporter of crude oil and is the fourth largest producer of oil in the world. Although Iran has the second largest reserves of natural gas in the world, it has not been able to exploit them optimally and its exports are fairly limited.<sup>7</sup> Apart from being the third largest consumer of natural gas, the absence of foreign investment and committed markets, have prevented development

of gas fields. There are therefore strong complementarities between India and Iran. Indian investment, technology and markets can enable Iran to develop its gas reserves, which could be used to quench the growing thirst for energy in India. Iran used to supply 17 per cent of India oil imports and was the second largest source, but under US pressure, Indian imports from Iran have come down drastically to 6 per cent and its position has slipped to fifth as far as Indian oil imports are concerned.

Iran's energy resources provide one of closest and cheapest energy resource available to fuel India's growth and India has been considering North South Transport Corridor and Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline to meet its energy requirements. IPI was proposed as a pipeline would transport 36 billion cubic metres of gas every year from Bandar Abbas to Calcutta. Of this 70 per cent gas was meant for India while 10 and 20 percent were meant for Iran and Pakistan respectively.<sup>8</sup> The pipeline is ostensibly stuck up over the pricing of the gas, although the primary reason appears to be the US sanctions on Iran and the ongoing turbulence in Balochistan, which the pipeline will have to traverse. After the recent Iranian accord with the West and if things improve further, India can look at this pipeline to resolve its energy crisis to a great extent.

In spite of its enormous oil reserves, Iran does not have adequate refining capacity and can refine only 43 million litres of petrol against an annual



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consumption of 64.5 million litres. It therefore imports approximately one third of its consumption. Some Indian refineries, which are unable to market their products locally as the petroleum products being sold by public sector companies are subsidised by the government, export their products to Iran.<sup>9</sup> The total trade between India and Iran in 2012-13 was \$ 14.955 billion, which included Indian exports of \$ 3.351 billion and imports of \$ 11.603 billion. The main goods being exported by India besides petroleum products are chemicals, pharmaceuticals, iron and steel, synthetic yarn, tea and rice. However, the trade value has come down from \$ 15.968 billion in 2011-12 under sustained US pressure and consequent problems of making payments for Iranian imports.<sup>10</sup> The problem is fairly acute as Indian exports to Iran are miniscule as compared to the imports. To some extent the sanctions facilitated greater Indian export to Iran as Iran had to resort to bartering of goods.

## **Persian Gulf**

Iran's ability to disrupt maritime access to the Persian Gulf through the narrow Strait of Hormuz, in response to the western sanctions, can create biggest problems for India. Persian Gulf and its coastal areas are the single largest source of crude oil in the world. According to OPEC, as of 2012, Persian Gulf contained 798 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, which represents almost 54 per cent of world reserves and the Persian Gulf states were producing around 23.8 million barrels of crude oil

per day, which was over 32.5 per cent of global oil production. Besides oil, the region had around 80,000 billion cubic metres of proven natural gas reserves, which accounted for around 40 percent of global gas reserves. The countries of the region exported over 18.165 million barrels of crude oil per day in 2012, which was approximately 45 per cent of the global exports of crude oil. The disruption of oil and gas production or its transportation through the Strait of Hormuz, would lead to a big spurt in the prices of oil and gas, which in all probabilities would create a major global economic crisis. Even if the Strait is not closed, any conflict in the region could increase the global oil prices drastically.<sup>11</sup> For a developing country like India that has huge dependence on energy resources from the region, either the closure or even a threat of closure could be economically catastrophic. It needs to be appreciated that the US energy imports from the region are negligible and the EU imports are limited.

As the strongest country in the region, Iran can create disturbances in any of the Persian Gulf states, which have substantive Shia population. India has a huge Diaspora in the region, whose remittances are a major source of foreign exchange earnings for India. India is the top destination for global remittances and in 2013, received \$ 71 billion in remittances, which contributed to over 3 per cent of India's GDP.<sup>12</sup> Going by the past trends, over half of this amount should have been sourced from GCC states. Any turbulence in the region could

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dry up this valuable source of Foreign Exchange and could have a debilitating effect on Indian Economy.

Additionally, 18.49 per cent of India's exports were destined for the Persian Gulf States of United Arab Emirates (UAE), Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, Oman, Iraq, Bahrain and Qatar in 2012-13. UAE is the second largest destinations for Indian exports and in first nine months of 2012-13 accounted for Rs160,367.77 crore of exports. More significantly, these states accounted for over 28 per cent of India's total imports during the first nine months of 2012-13.<sup>13</sup> Any disruption in the region or the blockage of the Persian Gulf will affect this huge trade adversely and also raise the costs of shipment of goods in terms of increased freightage and insurance cover.

### **Defence and Nuclear Issues**

Prior to attack on the World Trade Centre, Indian and Iranian defence forces closely cooperated with the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan to evolve a joint approach against the Taliban. In addition, for past two decades, the two countries have been collaborating in the field of military hardware. Iran sought Indian assistance to develop new batteries for its Kilo-class submarines in 1993. In addition it requested upgrades for various Soviet origin weapons and platforms including Mig-29 fighter aircraft. In 2001, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on defence cooperation between the two countries was signed and sale of

Indian weaponry and spare parts to Iran was being considered. The two countries also carried out joint naval exercises in 2003 and 2006. Iran also sought advanced radar systems for fire control and surveillance from Bharat Electronics Limited. However, despite enormous potential, large-scale Indian defence exports to Iran have not fructified on account of serious US pressure.<sup>14</sup> In case the sanctions ease, there is enormous scope for bilateral defence cooperation between India and Iran.

In recent times, the issue that has drawn maximum attention on Iran has been its attempt to set up uranium enrichment facility. However, despite sanctions Iran has continued with enrichment of uranium to Low Enriched Uranium (LEU). Considering the relationship that Iran and the US have shared since Iranian Revolution, Iran's bomb does pose a grave threat to the US and the western world. Israel particularly has reasons to be wary of an Iranian Bomb. Even the Sunni Sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf have reasons to be worried about a nuclear armed Iran. The Gulf Sheikdoms believe that Iranian nuclear bomb might make their Shia population recalcitrant, as had happened after the Iranian revolution. It is not in India's interests to have another nuclear state in its vicinity. Despite recent bonhomie between India and Iran, successive Iranian regimes have by and large taken anti-India stance on Kashmir. Iran had provided material support to Pakistan during both 1965 and 1971 wars.

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## Conclusion

To conclude, it would not be incorrect to state that Iran's unique geography, its population and the nature have bestowed upon it a unique strategic significance, making it one of the important players in the global arena. From India's perspective good relations with Iran are an essential imperative for India's sustained growth and development. Its energy resources could easily speed up India's growth and its landmass could provide Indian manufacturers' access to Central Asia and Caucasus.

On the other hand Iran's nuclear weapons programme does pose a threat to the regional and global peace. It could also irrevocably disturb the balance of power in geo-strategically significant Persian Gulf. Any disturbance in the region could adversely affect India's economic wellbeing. The recent accord between the West and Iran has given diplomacy a chance, although many in the West as well as in the Middle East are unhappy with it.

It needs to be appreciated that Iranians are proud people who take pride in their glorious past and are unlikely to succumb to brute pressure being put on them.

As a result, the accord gives Iran a way out, which does not appear to be surrender in the eyes of its population. As the Western sanctions are impacting many Indian companies, which have been trading with Iran, India has a lot to gain from prolonged peace between Iran and the West. With the US slated to become energy self-sufficient and the recent accord with Iran, the entire geo-politics of Middle East appear to be getting transformed. If things work out well the US and Iran could be collaborating against Al Qaeda and the Wahabi thought permeating from Saudi Arabia. India is uniquely poised to benefit from this policy shift. Despite enormous benefits, at this point of time the rapprochement between Iran and the West look tentative and consequentially India is following a wait and watch policy.

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## **Cultural Nationalism of Pandit Deendayal**

\*Dr. Shriprakash Singh

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*Ideals of Swaraj set before us are very same ideals of divine democracy. The spiritual aspect of our nationalist movement originates from Vedantic thoughts.*

*- Bipin Chandra Pal*

Nationalism and its significance are not confined to the realm of politics. “It is also cultural and intellectual for the world of nations”.<sup>1</sup> Nationalism or the concept of nation today is much contested idea and has attracted number of intellectuals, writers, historians, philosophers, politician and political thinkers, who have been trying to define nationalism. The standard academic works that provided a theoretical exposition of the concept of nationalism deserves special mention are: Hans Kohn; *The Idea of Nationalism*, New York 1944, Boyd C. Shafer: *Nationalism, Myth and Reality*, New York 1955, E Kedowrie; *Nationalism*, London 1960, K R Mingoue London 1967 and A.D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*; London 1971 & *Nationalism* Blackwell UK, 2003. Describing the outcome of this academic exercise Prof. R. I. Rothberg says that Nationalism as a concept is a “morass of misapplication” and along with ‘nation’ and ‘nationality’ has been used “to describe a multitude of situations, human conditions and status of mind”.<sup>2</sup> What is needed is not so much a definition rather identifies the

fundamental feature of this phenomenon. How nationalism originated and ran its course in India. Why this is described as cultural Nationalism. How it is different to European concept of nationalism. In this paper, an attempt has been made to identify the fundamental features and sources of all creative cultural life which forms the basis of cultural nationalism with special focus on the view of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya on Indian nationalism.

In accepting that nationalism is “first and foremost a state of mind” Kohn explains that this sentiment grew out of some of the oldest and most primitive feeling of man namely a love for his birthplace, a preference for his own language, customs and food, and a deep attachment to his own religion, and race. He does not deny the fact that the idea and the form of nationalism had their roots in the history but give primacy to supreme loyalty and his supreme loyalty was accorded to the nation state.

However Kohn’s claim that nationalism is founded upon the principle of popular sovereignty and that it permeates a majority of the people

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claiming to be a nation, has been disputed by many scholars. Karl Marx, for instance, portrayed “nationalism as no more than a bourgeois enthusiasm and depicted the government of a nation state as ‘nothing more than a committee for administration of the consolidated affairs of the bourgeois class as a whole.’”<sup>3</sup> Sri Aurobindo associate nationalism with religion and said that “nationalism is not a mere political programme. Nationalism is religion that has come from the God; Nationalism is a creed which you shall have to live. Let no man dare to call himself a Nationalist if he does so merely with a sort of intellectual pride, thinking that he is more patriotic, thinking that he is something than those who do not call themselves by that name. If you are going to be a nationalist, if you are going to assent to this religion of Nationalism, you must do it in the religious spirit. You must remember that you are the instruments of God. What is this that has happened in Bengal? You call yourselves Nationalist, but when this happen to you, what will you do? This thing is happening daily in Bengal, because in Bengal. “Nationalism has come to the people as a religion, and it has been accepted as a religion”.<sup>4</sup> Explaining the relevance of nationalism he said that “Nationalism is not going to be crushed. Nationalism survives in the strength of God and it is not possible to crush it. Whatever weapon is brought against it, Nationalism is immortal; Nationalism cannot die; because it is not human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to Jail.”<sup>5</sup> Elaborating Indian Nationalism and

movement in 1908 in the meeting of the Society for the Protection of Religion he said that “I spoke once before this and I said then that this movement is not a political movement and that nationalism is not politics but a religion, a creed, a faith. I say it again today, but I put it in another way. I say no longer that nationalism is a creed, a religion, a faith, I say that it is the ‘Sanatan Dharma’ which for us is nationalism. This Hindu nation was born with the Sanatan Dharma, with it it moves and with it it grows. When Sanatan Dharma declines, then the nation declines, and if the Sanatan Dharma were capable of perishing, with the Sanatan Dharma it would perish. The Sanatan Dharma is nationalism.”<sup>6</sup>

Scores of thinkers and their definitions can be discussed but I would like to discuss recent writings of Ernest Gellner (1983) and Benedict Anderson (1983). Gellner talks about starting inversion of the common sense historical sequence between of the state and the nation. Anderson gives conception of the nation as an imagined community. Gellner’s theory cannot explain the origins of Indian nationalist sentiments. The view of Sudipta Kaviraj may be eye opener for nation-state theorists. He writes that “European powers reluctantly introduced limited representative institutions, but these cannot be confused with democracy. — to think theoretically about Indian Nationalism we get limited assistance from the western social sciences”.<sup>7</sup>.... Anthony D. Smith (2003) talks about two types of nationalism as “ethnocentric’ and ‘polycentric’ nationalism fundamentally opposed to each other. For the

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ethnocentric nationalist, Smith explains “both ‘power’ and ‘value inhere in cultural group’ which is vessel of wisdom beauty, holiness and culture.”<sup>8</sup> Annie Besant in her book “How India Wrought for Freedom?” (1915) explains that Indian nationalism is product of ‘national consciousness, deeply embedded in its ancient past, notably the civilization nurtured by the Aryans. The Aryan civilization is depicted as the true breeding ground of Indian nationalism\*.. Besant concludes that Indian national consciousness was “not a plant of mushroom growth, but a giant of the forest with millennia behind it”<sup>9</sup> Historian Suntharalingam, (1983) in his book, *Indian Nationalism: An Historical Analysis*’ describe Besant’s version as ‘romantic’ school of Indian Nationalism. This school of Indian historical writing started on the premise that India is the inheritor of an ancient and glorious civilization. Sri Guruji, second Sarsanghachalak of RSS, used to describe the attributes of people to constitute a nation: “common history common traditions, common feelings of friendship and enmity, common aspirations about futures and common set of heroes, a society having these in its homeland as the progeny of that homeland constitutes a nation.”<sup>10</sup>

When Cultural nationalism was vibrant, according to Guruji “our arms stretched as far as America on the one side, that was long long before Columbus discovered America! And on the other hand China, Japan, Malaya, Cambodia, Siam, Indonesia and all the South East Asian countries and right up to Siberia and Mongolia in the North. Our powerful political empire too, spread over

there South-East areas and continued for 1400 years”<sup>11</sup>

According to Golwalkar, “Our leaders were not prepared to revise and correct their territorial concept of nationalism which led to the unprecedented tragedy of partition of our motherland with all its continuing and growing dangers, and the uprooting of over two crores of our brethren resulting in their indescribable miseries of desolation, distress, dishonour. This is the price we have paid and are ever now paying for their wrong and unnatural concept of nation that we have adopted.”<sup>12</sup> Guruji felt that the evolution of nation, nationhood and nationalism in India has been unique and distinct from the history of Nationalism in Europe. There has been a unique way of life in India emanating from the ancient time, which may be called Indian civilization, Indian culture, Hindu culture or Hindutva or Hinduism. Hindutva or Hinduism is the essence of Indian cultural nationalism.

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, the propounder of “Integral Humanism” was worker of RSS before joining Bharatiya Jansangh. In 1968, he became President of Jansangh and was always conscious of his cultural legacy. “Integral Humanism” is collection of his four lectures delivered at Pune and Mumbai. It is synonym of ‘Bharatiya Sanskriti’ stated explicitly by him. The outlook of Bharatiya Sanskriti is integral. It accepts the seeming differences among various entities and aspect of life, but it seeks at the same time to discover the unity underlying them and takes an integrated view of the whole scene. In

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the manifold activities of the world, Bharatiya Sanskriti sees interdependence, cooperation and concord rather than conflict contradiction and discord. Its perspective is all comprehensive, not partial; It wishes and work for the well-being of all...,”<sup>13</sup> Deendayal ji, as an interpreter and advocate of Bharatiya Culture, saw the inadequacies of the modernism and western civilization and reinterpreted the Bharatiya philosophy in the changing context and pattern of world civilization.

Deendayal ji, like Swami Vivekananda, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Bankim, Sri Aurobindo, and Gururji, was also of the opinion that culture and nationalism are interwoven and one cannot even think of nationalism without culture. Deendayal Ji associates progress and happiness with identity, and said that “it is essential that we think about our national identity, without this identity there is no meaning of independence, nor can independence become the instrument of progress and happiness. As long as we are unaware of our national identity, we cannot recognise or develop all our potentialities. Under alien rule, this identity is suppressed. That is why nations wish to remain independent so that they can progress according to their natural bent and can exercise happiness in their endeavour..... The natural instincts cannot be disregarded but it is possible to elevate this nature to the level of culture. The basic cause of the problems facing Bharat is the neglect of its national identity.”<sup>14</sup> Deendayal ji in his speech in 1949 has said that “every nation had its own individuality and some

special features for the development of which freedom was essential. We need economic, social, cultural, as well as spiritual freedom. Freedom must include self-realisation, for; culture pervades every facet of our national life just as life pulsates in our entire body. Man’s culture is reflected in his constructive view of life while conquering the high peaks and deep pits of difficulties and hindrances coming in the way of life. Culture is not something static. It is always in motion just like the flow of a river. With this fluidity some characteristics are associated. These characteristics of his cultural thought find expression in all literature, are, philosophy and social history. If we have acquired freedom, this flows of our culture which transcends national boundaries and binds a nation with the rest of humanity. Therefore, cultural freedom is most important. Without this, our freedom will be meaningless and it will not last.”<sup>15</sup>

Deendayal Ji asserted that independence becomes meaningless unless it becomes an instrument for the expression of our culture. For him, from “national as well as human standpoint, it has become essential that we think of principles of the Bharatiya culture which is holistic in nature.”<sup>16</sup> He believed in the perennial vitality and relevance of Indian Culture. In fact, the very structure of his political thought stands on the bed-rock of our ancient wisdom and practices. Deendayal Ji never accepted the view that we are a new nation or a nation in making, he, rather, worked all through his life to establish India as a nation of the immortal past. He was of the view that Bharatiya culture is

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holistic and looks upon life as an integrated whole. Unity and diversity, and the expression of unity in various forms, have remained the central idea of Bharatiya Culture. This becomes the basis of his concept of nation & nationalism and says that “when a group of persons lives with a goal, an ideal, a mission, and looks upon a particular piece of land as motherland, this group constitutes a nation.”<sup>17</sup> Deendayal clears the ground further ‘by taking up the question of ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’. For, he says. It is with that question that India’s future is linked, even as that future is linked with India’s contribution to mankind. But the first thing to do is to remove the very many crippling misconceptions with which, in the Indian mind, ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’ have come to be surrounded. Nation is not just a political concept, a changing construct of the mind, much less just a territorial concept. Nation is not a collection of the people that have historically lived together; nor is the people, jana, simply a collection of human beings living in a geographical space. Nor is nation just a geographical space. It is not born out of social contract be abrogated. “Nation arises out of a deeper life force; it is self created, swayambhuha. It has a historical growth, of course, but history alone cannot explain it. Language, culture, literature, is undoubtedly the basic elements of a nation’s unity, but they are basic because they reflect something even more fundamental that gives life to a nation-its Chiti, or consciousness. They are attributes with cause, the western thinkers, then, believe that a nation can be created by putting together somehow those

attributes. That cannot be done, for the common elements of an inherent consciousness at work, which cannot be created artificially by political means. Each nation has its own unique consciousness. That is what distinguishes it from others. So long as that consciousness, the Chiti, lives, that nation lives; when it dies, the nation dies. A nation dies, not by the loss of territory, or by decrease in its population; a nation dies when its consciousness ceases to exist.”<sup>18</sup> In other words “fundamental principle of a nation is its soul.”<sup>19</sup> Chiti word was used by Deendayal ji for the soul of nation in his ‘principles and policies’ of the Janasangh. ‘Chiti is fundamental and is central to the nation from its very beginning. Chiti determines the direction in which the nation is to advance culturally. Whatever is in accordance with chiti is included in the culture.”<sup>20</sup> Chiti is the touchstone on which each action, each attitude is tested, and determined to be acceptable or otherwise. “Chiti is the soul of the nation. It is on the foundation of this Chiti (Soul), nation arises and becomes stronger and virile and it is this chiti that is manifested in the action of every great man of a nation.”<sup>21</sup>

The laws that help manifest and maintain chiti of a nation are termed as the Dharma of that nation, hence it is this ‘Dharma’ that is supreme. Dharma is the repository of the nation’s soul for Deendayal ji. He said that “if Dharma is destroyed, the nation perishes. Anyone who abandons Dharma, betrays the nation.”<sup>22</sup> Perspective of Dharma of Deendayal ji is different from religion. Religion is not Dharma.

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Dharma is much wider and Sanatana is nature. He argues, “Dharma is not confined to temples or mosques. Worship of God is only a part of Dharma .... Just as school’s themselves do not constitute knowledge, so also temples do not constitutes Dharma. A child may attend school regularly, and yet may remain uneducated. So also it is possible that a person may visit temple or mosque without break and yet he may not know his Dharma. To attend temple or mosque constitutes a part of religion, sect, creed, but not necessarily Dharma. “Many misconceptions have originated from faulty English translations, and the most harmful of them is due to the confusion of Dharma with religion.”<sup>23</sup>

The fundamental principles of Dharma are eternal and universal. Yet their implementation may differ according to time, place and circumstances. The political philosophy of Deendayal ji is dominated by dharma and morality as much as it is dominated by nationalism. In his analysis of nationalism, Deendayal ji said that “Everything must have its own focal point . . . . . no one knows what is the focal point of our life is.

What is it that binds us together? Every country has such a binding factor. This focal point is the nation.”<sup>24</sup> .... Who constituted the life of this nation? Here we shall have to concede that our nationality is none other than Hindu nationality “If any outsider comes into this country he shall have to move in step and adjust him with Hindu nationality. It shall have to be decided as to what should be the basic criterion of this exercise. Then only shall we be able to decide whether a person’s nationalism is on the plus or minus side. It is like measuring our body temperature with a thermometer. The thermometer has a mark indicating normal temperature. It is with reference to this mark that we say whether the temperature is high or low. In the same way, Hindu nationality is the standard here. Everyone knows this, whether anybody says it in so many words or not, that our nation hinges on Hindu nationality. This is the unifying force here since ancient times.”<sup>25</sup> The perspective of cultural nationalism is extension of Hindu Nationalism and its philosophical aims and objects are very much part and parcel of Deendayal’s concept of Integral Humanism.

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## Article 370 : Origin and Implications

\*Arun Kumar

Article 370 is an article of constitution of India and it has become of greater significance since it is concerning the Indian state of Jammu & Kashmir.(the most important Article of our Union Constitution as far as the state of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned.) Much have been spoken and written on it, both in and outside the Country. But still even after 64 years of its drafting, there is no consensus on the interpretation of this Article in the Constitution. Like other issues related to Jammu and Kashmir, Article 370 has been also misquoted and misinterpreted.

26th January is **observed** as Republic day in our Country **since it was on 26<sup>th</sup> Jan 1950 that** Constitution of India came into force and this day is referred to in Constitution of India as the commencement day. This day the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and the Government of India Act, 1935, together with all enactments amending or supplementing the latter Act, but not including the Abolition of Privy Council Jurisdiction Act, 1949, were taken as repealed.

Article 370 falls in the part XXI of the Constitution of India. The title of the Article “*Temporary provisions with respect to the State of Jammu and Kashmir*” clearly indicates that this Article was Temporary and had to be repealed as soon as the process of constitution drafting

was over like it happened with some the other parts and articles of Constitution of India after 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950

Here, question arises, why it was listed as Temporary provision? Was there any other Article in Constitution of India that was also named as Temporary provision? No, there was no other Article named as temporary although a number of articles have been later repealed.

As regards Article -370 that is still there even after 64 years although it was a Temporary provision, let us go through the historical sequence behind this Article.

After the accession of Princely States of erstwhile British Indian Empire with Bharat, it was decided that the representatives / Princes of all the States would participate in Constituent Assembly for framing the Constitution of the Union. It was finally decided that Bharat would be a Union of States drawn out of the Governor provinces and acceded Princely States (of all categories). When the process for unification was started it was decided in principle that the states would have their own Constituent Assemblies to draw procedures/ internal constitution for the purposes of the matters/ subjects of governance that would fall in the jurisdiction of the States of the Union.

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Though it was outside the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, the then Congress Government as well as Congress Party had held the opinion that the people's view as regards any princely state joining India Dominion may also be given consideration. The Constituent Assemblies of the acceded States, where ever constituted, were also to take decisions for offering the subjects to Union for extending the jurisdiction of Union/ Parliament of India over such subjects that may otherwise fall in the 'State list' in terms of the accession documents. Same process was designated for the State of Jammu and Kashmir also. It is not out of place to mention here that some of the Princes had in total agreed at the first instance itself to go with the Union Constitution and accept a common plan that Union Constitution may contain for all such states.

The local conditions in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir were not normal while the Constitution of India was being drafted since before the Maharaja of J&K acceded to India the state had been attacked by an any of Pakistan aided and abetted invaders and a large territory of the State had been in a way occupied by Pakistan. A large population of the State was displaced from the areas occupied by Pakistan.

**The circumstances as then prevailed and the related facts can be traced out particularly from the Constituent Assembly Debates on Article 306 (A) as of 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1949. While speaking in the Constituent Assembly Gopala Swamy Aiyangar said "The States have been integrated with the federal Republic**

*in such a manner that they do not have to accede or execute a document of Accession for the purpose of becoming units of the Republic, but they are mentioned in the Constitution itself; and, in the case of practically all States other than the State of Jammu and Kashmir, their constitutions also have been embodied in the Constitution for the whole of India...."* . **From this it emerges that many Princes had in total agreed at the first instance itself to go with the Union Constitution and accept a common plan that Union Constitution may contain for all such states.**

**In reference to the J&K, Maulana Hasrat Mohani resisted and asked why such discrimination? In response** Gopala Swamy Aiyangar further stated that *"There has been a war going on within the limits of Jammu and Kashmir State. There was a cease fire agreed to at the beginning of this year and that cease-fire is still on. Part of the State is still in the hands of rebels and enemy. We are entangled in the United Nation. The legislature which is known as Praja Sabha in the State is dead, neither that legislature nor a constituent assembly can be convoked or can function until complete peace comes to prevail. Till a constituent Assembly comes into being, only an interim arrangement is possible and not an arrangement which could at once be brought into line with the arrangements that exists in the case of the other States..."*

Though the reasons extended by Gopala Swamy Aiyangar in the Constituent Assembly of



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India do not stand to test of logistics but still from the contents one thing clearly and plainly emerges is that, that Article 370 was merely a timely procedural mechanism for completing the process as was done for other states for (i) performing as regards the subjects lying within the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of India / Union Government and (ii) also enable the State to take decisions for offering the subjects to Union for extending the jurisdiction of Union Government/Parliament of India over such subjects that may otherwise fall in the 'State list' in terms of the accession documents.

**Gopala Swamy Ayyanger also mentioned in his speech that “We have said that Article 211 will not apply to the Jammu and Kashmir State. But that cannot be a permanent feature of the Constitution of the State”. It was clear that once the needed functions were over or the State Constituent Assembly is convened and had performed all the required tasks, Article 370 was to be abrogated/ repealed ( like it happened to Art- 238). No Constitutional amendment by Parliament is/ was needed for the purpose and could be done through a simple presidential order. By has not been done so far could be no more than non seriousness on the part of those who held the reins of governance.**

White Paper published by the Ministry of States also declared that Article 370 is not a permanent feature of the constitution. Legally and constitutionally, therefore, the position of the Indian State of J&K is / was the same as that of the other acceding states.

**No special status or ‘Autonomy’ has been granted to the State of Jammu and Kashmir by any means , may it be through instrument of accession/ Art-370 or Constitution of India where as the Separatists have very cleverly used such nomenclatures for projecting their claims. This needs to be carried deep into the masses. In fact the temporary provisions that were made were just interim to deal with the conditions that arose due to ongoing war in the State and as prevailed during that period. It was assumed that once the conditions will get normal this ‘contentious’ temporary Article shall either cease to be operative, or shall be operative only subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be ordered by the President.**

In fact the agony of Jammu Kashmir started with her becoming a victim of personal ambitions of Sheikh Mohd Abdullah, mishandling of the affairs by the National Leaders and international conspiracies going on to separate Jammu and Kashmir from the Bharat. Sheikh Mohd appeared like becoming a pawn of CIA. Leaders in Delhi turned blind eyes to the ignoble deeds of Sheikh. Maharaja Hari Singh was forced to stay out of the State. Encouraged with the personal favours he received from Central Government and the central leaders, Sheikh started to blackmail the leaders of Bharat and in a way started working for retarding the process of offering more subjects for inclusion in the Union list from the state list even after coming into an agreement with the then Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru in 1952. Nehru

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succumbed to the ill will of Sheikh, that is how the 1952 Delhi agreement came into existence and was even given some consideration though it had no legal relevance. It was just an understanding between two political persons. On the ground level, Nationalist people of the State were not at the back of this accord because; they were instead more for having Union, State and concurrent list like other Indian states.

Hence Nationalistic movement erupted in the State against the local government and that also received some support from other parts of the country. Even in the Parliament, the attitudes of local leaders and the style in which the Central Government was handling J&K affairs was opposed by senior Parliamentarians and constitutional experts like Dr Shayama Prasad Mookerjee and NC Chatterjee. Dr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee even sacrificed his life in Jammu Kashmir that made the immediate designs / conspiracy of Sheikh Abdullah to fail in 1953.

**But still the images of the Nehru- Sheikh Delhi Agreement 1952 did reflect in the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order 1954 of 14 May 1954 of President.** The Constitutional Order of 1954 issued by President was in a way an unconstitutional order issued by the President under the cover of Art-370 of Constitution of India that had gone to the extent of even amending the Constitution of India where as no such authority could drawn by President from Art-370 of COI. The **said Presidential order even committed a fraud on the people of India when it also created roads**

**for the J&K government to tread the rights of Indian people living in states other than Indian** state of J&K. Constitution could be amended only by Parliament under Article 368. But by the said presidential order A new Article named as Article 35 (A) (*Saving of laws with respect to permanent residents and their rights.*) was added in the **Constitution of India after Art-35** which gave power to Legislature of the State,— (a) defining the classes of persons who are, or shall be, permanent

Residents of the State of Jammu and Kashmir; or (b) conferring on such permanent residents any special rights and privileges or imposing upon other persons any restrictions as respects— (i) employment under the State Government; (ii) acquisition of immovable property in the State; (iii) settlement in the State; or (iv) right to scholarships and such other forms of aid as the State Government may provide, shall be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with or takes away or abridges any rights conferred on the other citizens of India by any

provision..... and the like. It is under this Article of COI that lacs West Pakistan refugees staying in J&K since 1947 are not entitled for property rights, state jobs and admission in J&K Government run professional colleges. This article divided the citizens of the country in two categories. By This order amending powers of the Parliament has been curbed in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. It has limited the powers of Constitutional institution such as Election Commission. Powers of conducting delimitation

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has been ceased. Supreme Court of India has only Appellate Jurisdiction for J & K. Article 370 which was to be used for extension of Union Constitution in the State, continuously misused as a tool to create hindrance in application of the Union Constitution in the State.

Need of the hour is to discuss and understand whether the Article 370 has benefitted the people of the State or not? Has Article 370 has contributed towards National Integration?

It is due to the abuse of Article 370 that more than 130 Central laws are not applicable in J&K and there is also no equivalent better State law there. The elite ruler class irrespective of their parties adopt /implement/ make only those provisions, laws or act which suits them without any concern for the welfare of people. Emergency (1975) is remembered as the darkest phase of Indian democracy. In 1976, the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi with the help of the then President, Sh. Fakr-ud-din Ali Ahmed, managed the infamous 42nd Amendment (1976) to the Indian Constitution simply to defer elections to Parliament as well as State legislatures and thus to facilitate uninterrupted continuance of the autocratic rule unleashed by her. However the Amendment was promptly reversed when the Janata Party Government took over under Prime Minister Morarji Desai. Ironically, the then J&K Government headed by Sheikh Abdullah promptly made the state to adopt the Centre's Amendment (Parliament's) extending Assembly's term from 5 to 6 years. But later on the Local Government conveniently turned a blind eye to the 44<sup>th</sup> Constitution Amendment reversing the

Amendment to restore the term back to 5 years. As a result, the J&K Assembly term continues to be 6 years ever after the 1977 elections.

**Today we as a country have entered an era where empowering weaker sections, women children and Panchayats are the key indicators to assess the quality of governance.** Panchayati Raj is being vocally cited as the dream of Late Rajiv Gandhi by Congress but the same congress is in power for the last 12 years in J&K along with the main regional parties (first with PDP and then with NC) as a coalition partner but failed to adopt the 73rd and 74th Amendments to Constitution of India concerning Panchayati Raj or to incorporate similar features in the J&K Panchayati Raj Act.

Not only this, there is no reservation for OBCs in the state of J & K. The political reservation for Scheduled Tribes is not there in J & K in spite of their being nearly 15 % ST population. Therefore, Article 370 has proved to be a direct hurdle in the way of flow of benefits of policies of social justice and equitable distribution of opportunities for the deprived/ weaker sections of people like, STs, OBC, children, women, refugees, etc since the process of offering more subjects from the J&K specific 'State List' to Union list has been stalled by not purposefully using the provisions of Art-370 and state on her own is also not making better welfare laws. Total population of STs in the State is around 14-16% but no political reservation has been given to them.

The Article-370 has also indirectly provided a means (Art-35A) to violate the social, legal and property rights of even the local permanent resident

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woman. Ironically before 2002 woman was bound to lose her Permanent Resident right if she marries to a Non Permanent Resident. It was only after the verdict of Jammu Kashmir High Court that the local law was turned down. But look at the mind set of State Government that challenged the verdict in the Supreme Court but withdrew it later on. Then the local leadership made another attempt by bringing “The Jammu and Kashmir Permanent Resident (Disqualification) Bill 2004” which got passed in the Legislative assembly but fell in the State Legislative Council. But still in case a PR woman of J&K marries a resident of Punjab, their children will not get the permanent resident rights in their maternal lands.

Issue of corruption is being discussed all over but till now Prevention of corruption act, 1989 is not implemented in the State. The Lokpal too is forgotten and does not seem a priority. No financial accountability is there in the State. CAG has reported it many times. The reports from the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) have at occasions pointed to systematic institutional misgovernance in J&K. All these indicators do discourage institutional investment in the State.

The Constitution (Eighty-sixth Amendment) Act, 2002 inserted Article 21-A in the Constitution of India to provide free and compulsory education of all children in the age group of six to fourteen years as a Fundamental Right in such a manner as the State may, by law, determine. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009, which represents the consequential legislation envisaged under Article 21-A, means

that every child has a right to full time elementary education of satisfactory and equitable quality in a formal school which satisfies certain essential norms and standards. But the same is not implemented in the State nor does the state on her own has any such affective provision in force.

West Pak Refugees (200000) are still facing the heat of inhuman Governance. They are still leading a life of second class citizens. They are the citizens of Bharat but Jammu Kashmir Government does not consider them as Permanent Residents. Article 35A is the sole reason for the atrocious discrimination to the people of the whole country in general and the refugees from West Pakistan in particular. But ironically, National Human rights Commission has no jurisdiction in the State and the State Human Rights Commission is not effective. As a result, along with the West Pak refugees other categories of displaced persons even such as Chhamb displaced are suffering.

The constitutional amendment introducing “fundamental duties” is not applicable for J & K and this defeats the purpose of including “fundamental duties” in the Constitution of India; and may be some local leaders use this to show that they are different.

Time has come to evaluate, what Article 370 has contributed towards the cause of the people of State and development of the State. If it is established that Article 370 has not any good and has only provided tools to local leaders for their self preservations, then it must be looked through the mirror of only legal documents and constitutional angles for its retention/ modification/repeal.



## Decoding Article 370 of the Indian Constitution

\*Guru Prakash

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*The present paper deals with Article 370 of the Indian constitution which confers a separate status and a superior legislative autonomy to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. I would also attempt to highlight the Socio-Legislative damages of the separate status to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. I strongly maintain that there is more of political rhetoric and less of research available on the present topic. There is a need of rigorous debate on the continuation of the present Article in the constitution which is temporary both in nature and its objective.*

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There is a lot of curiosity and misplaced controversy over Article 370 of the Constitution. Politicians who have an unholy stake in the issue are often misguiding the existing curiosities of people for their own benefits. The Indian Constitution is the lengthiest constitution of the world. We have graciously accepted it, considering the diversity it caters to. It lays the foundation for the governance of the world's largest democracy.

At the very outset, I would endeavor to briefly elucidate upon the origin and birth of Article 370. On the eve of Independence, we were fragmented into a number of princely states who were provided with three alternatives in the cabinet plan— join India, join Pakistan or be an Independent state. Sardar Patel and his team concluded some tough negotiations for the integration of India. In the course of annexation of states, Jammu and

Kashmir had some peculiar circumstances and the state acceded to India with special terms and conditions. Hence, the state was provided with considerable autonomy in the Constitution. The special status accorded to the state of J&K entitles it to certain privileges in law making with a separate provincial constitution and some exemptions from provisions of the union Constitution. The framers of the Constitution made some special provisions with respect to the state of J&K to meet the unique situation.

Maharaja Hari Singh the then ruler of the State acceded to the Dominion of India by signing an Instrument of Accession on October 26, 1947. It is imperative for us to know that the Maharaja signed the Instrument in the same form as was done by the rulers of other Indian states. The accession of the State was thus final, irrevocable and legal making it an integral part of India.

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There existed a period of extreme turbulence between the State becoming a sovereign and the signing of Instrument of Accession. With any stretch of imagination it was not speculated that this period of turbulence would be guiding the course of history of hostile relationship between India and Pakistan over the issue of Kashmir. Azad Kashmir Force engineered and manned by *Pashtoons* attacked Kashmir with the blatant support of Pakistan with a view to force Maharaja to accede to Pakistan. Maharaja realized the repercussions of the attack and then politely turned to India to defend its territory. The Indian government obliged the Maharaja after the signing of Instrument of Accession and thereby gaining territorial jurisdiction over the area. The signing of Instrument of Accession is still a cause of debate among separatists and the detractors. It was alleged that Maharaja was forced to sign the Instrument of Accession and it was a result of forceful negotiations with representatives from India. My understanding of the history of annexation unequivocally discards these baseless allegations formulated by the detractors. The signing of Instrument of Accession to India was the only reasonable alternative available to the Maharaja at that point of time to save his people and territory from the barbaric and atrocious *Pashtoons* who destroyed everything on their way towards Kashmir. The voluntary act of the Maharaja was accepted and appreciated all over the globe. The circumstances under which the Accession was done were fully appreciated in spirit

by the then Indian government too. The national government assured the people of J&K of elected constituent assembly for drafting a constitution. Thus came Article 370 into existence and the state constitution came into force.

This Constitution forcefully declares that the State of J&K is an integral part of Union of India. The territory of the State will comprise all the territories, which on August 15, 1947, were under the sovereignty of the Ruler of the State. This includes the Pakistan occupied areas of J&K also.

The Parliament of India adopted a unanimous resolution in February, 1994 under the then Prime Minister declaring that areas illegally occupied by Pakistan are not acceptable to the national will and the government would aspire and work to integrate those part with the Indian Union. It was only violation of standstill agreement and the invasion of *Pashtoons* that resulted into the occupation of Pakistan over the POJK. We also saw a similar resolution unanimously passed in August 2013 by our parliament against the resolution passed by national assembly in Pakistan blaming our forces and countrymen for political instability.

The geography of the POJK is highly significant from the perspective of security and defense. The areas wrongly occupied by Pakistan include Gilgit, Baltistan and Hounza. It would have been possible for a person in New Delhi, India to travel to Europe in a car had those areas been in India. People in POJK are living under constant threat of sectarian violence as it is the area with Shia majority unlike

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the rest of Pakistan. Apart from communal clashes, the area under the illegal occupation is highly affected by lack of proper administration and governance. The government of India has shown little interest in the recent times to acquire these areas which were once part of the erstwhile State of J&K. whereas the Chinese has developed envious infrastructure and plans to build a silk route in this area.

### **Impact of Article 370**

Jammu & Kashmir is the most autonomous state in India. It even has its own State Flag, allowed by Nehru in the Delhi Agreement of 1952. This flag is hoisted on the State's Council Hall and on the Ministerial vehicles along with the Indian National flag. The State also has its own anthem called *Qaumi Tarana*, which takes six minutes of singing time and during which senior police officials are required to keep standing. Article 370 is solely responsible for generating a feeling of separatism and exclusion amongst the Kashmiris. They believe "*we are different*". It then benefits people who want power like the Abdullah family; they have exploited this Article, not allowing outside people to come to the State. They have thus created their own sheikhdom.

Because of Article 370, there are a number of national laws which are not applicable to the state.

**IPC, 1860-** This is the most comprehensive and exhaustive criminal enactment which applies to everyone without any discrimination of any kind. After independence, Indian Penal Code was

inherited by Pakistan (now called Pakistan Penal Code) and Bangladesh, formerly part of British India. The direct absence of Indian Penal Code gives the State ample room to exercise its discretion in sensitive matters pertaining to law and order. On various occasions attempts have been made to dilute Armed Forces Special powers Act by amending the Ranbir Penal code.

### **Citizenship Laws**

There is only one system of citizenship for the people of the country but in case of J&K, it is dual citizenship, one of the state and the other of India. The citizens of J&K are citizens of India but the citizens of the rest of India cannot be citizens of J&K. They do not have the right to property and the right to vote in J&K. If a girl belonging to J&K marries a boy from outside the State, who is not a State subject, she loses all her rights in the State. Even the wealth tax cannot be imposed in the State. The Urban Land Act, 1976, which is in force in the entire country, is not applicable to J&K. The result of it is that rich landlords, belonging to the majority community in the Valley, indulge in economic exploitation of the poor and the Indian citizens, who are non-State subjects and live in the valley as they cannot even secure loans from the financial institutions. The presence of Article 370 has inevitably created psychological barrier between people of India and People of J&K. We are still haunted by the ghosts of the two nation theory by the mere presence of special status to the State in the form of Article 370.

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## **Right to Information Act, 2005**

As J&K RTI act does not provide appointment of Information Commission, the complainant is not only deprived of any guidance about the procedure of filing a complaint, there is also no compulsion on public authority to supply the information sought. However, autonomy would be justified only if it can make better laws and prevent imposition of unjust laws and decisions of the Centre on it. Nevertheless, as far as Right to Information Act of the State is concerned, it is in every sense much worse and regressive than the central act and is thus clearly misuse of the powers that the state enjoys under the cover of autonomy. Autonomy is supposed to safeguard the interests of the people of the State and not of its rulers. Good governance has proved to be a mirage for the people of State of J&K as the veil cannot be lifted by its own people. It reflects the feudalistic mindset of the rulers of J&K. Absence of accountability amounts to anarchy and lawlessness.

Other important laws that are not applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir include Commission of inquiries act, Representation of peoples act and the national human rights act.

## **Social Costs of Article 370**

By Social costs I mean the plight of weaker section of the society in the State. Centralized welfare schemes and constitutional safeguards meant for the deprived have not reached to the people of J&K. There is an urgent need to carry out a

detailed research on the status of the deprived section in J&K. Women, scheduled caste and scheduled tribes constitute the vulnerable group in Indian societies. Evidently, the social cost of Article 370 has been huge. The weaker and vulnerable section has been rendered voiceless by the virtue of Article 370. I would touch upon the status of welfare mechanism available for the vulnerable section in the absence of uniform national supervision and constitutional safeguards.

It has been widely reported that “because of Article 370, J&K does not have industries and progressive measures like Mandal report on backward classes cannot be implemented”.

The foundation of decentralized governance is found in 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendment act. The Local self-government phenomenon was manifested in these constitutional amendments. This is not applicable to the State. The State is at full liberty to frame guidelines governing the nuances of local self-governments. It displays a serious lapse on the part of the State government.

## **SC/ST**

Our Constitution has recognized the plight of weaker segments in the society by empowering them. Scheduled castes have been socially, culturally and historically been deprived of a dignified existence in the Indian society. Scheduled tribes people have stayed away from the geographical mainstream. Unthinkable level of discrimination has been done to these classes. Acknowledging this, Our Constitution makers,



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Dr Ambedkar in particular ensured that for creation of an equitable society, a level playing field is imperative and included policies of affirmative action in the Constitution.

It is pertinent to mention here that the above stated data clearly shows a substantial presence of SC's and ST's in J&K. They together form almost 18% of the population.

Article 370 has devoid the present group of Scheduled caste and Scheduled tribes from direct central assistance and Constitutional safeguards. No justification can substantiate the deprivation of our brethren in the state of J&K. Together both the group constitutes 20% of the state population. The Separatist argument of distinctness has caused dearly to the interest of the marginalized in the State. Article 335 of the Constitution exclusively dealing with providing reservation to Scheduled caste and Scheduled tribes in Services have yet not been made applicable to the State of J&K. To meet the Provision of Article 16(1) of the Constitution "There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matter relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State", the State government has miserably failed. Another point, which is imperative to mention here, is that whereas rules for reservation in recruitment and promotion for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled tribe candidates were made effective w.e.f 21-09-1947 in India, these rules came into existence from April 1970 in J&K. The most unfortunate part connected to this executive order was that it covered affirmative action only for Scheduled Caste and

not Scheduled Tribes candidates. The percentage of reservation for Scheduled Caste in State cadre post were worked out on the basis of Census report of 1961 and no efforts to revise it has been undertaken thereafter.

The Constitutional empowerments of Panchayat are found **in 73rd and 74th** Constitutional amendment act, which are not applicable to the state of J&K by the virtue of Article 370. India lives in its villages. We have been a village centric nation. Mahatma Gandhi envisioned an equitable society on the touchstone of self-sufficient villages. The Non-compliance of the said amendments clearly reflects the political conviction of the provincial government to empower grass root governance. It is hard to imagine an inclusive society by excluding Panchayats and other decentralized organs of governance.

There is no political reservation to the Scheduled tribes in the State of J&K.

They constitute 11 percent of the population. That is a substantial number that can hardly be ignored. Despite being geographically handicapped and suffering locational disadvantages since a long period, no protective measure has been undertaken by the state government to safeguard their interest. The position in the rest of the nation is much better for them as in the state. They have been accorded 7.5% reservation in opportunities of education and employment apart from requisite political representation. A good amount of bureaucrats belongs to this category that is responsibly and

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dutifully running our nation. Efforts for mainstreaming the tribal people are not encouraged by the State government. Recently, a private member bill seeking political reservation for communities from scheduled tribes was vociferously rejected by the voice votes in the State assembly.

**Social Justice is the cornerstone of a Constitutional democracy.** It is unfortunate on the part of our leaders and policy makers in the rest of India who have failed to acknowledge the plight of the deprived section in the state of J&K. Injustice and exploitation would be understatement with respect to the status of vulnerable in the state. The much-hyped Interlocutor report also failed to realize the needs and demands of the marginalized in the State.

There is an urgent need to revisit the present minimal policies of affirmative action in the State of J&K. The Provincial government is not being accommodative in its endeavors. India as a nation is committed to the values of social justice.

## **Conclusion**

Article 370 has put the state of Jammu and Kashmir to an upper pedestal as compared to the other states of the union. The provincial government has consistently misused the constitutional superiority guaranteed to it. There exists a lot of misguided legal illiteracy over Article 370. The confusion over Article 370 is being perpetuated by the separatist forces for their ulterior motives. It has been a tool in the hands of

certain section of separatist groups. It is imperative to note here that the usage of the present article has failed to be in harmony with its objective of creation. Article 370 has been nothing more than a legal handle in the hands of enemies of unity and integrity of India. It has profoundly served as a source of discontent. Apart from this around 130 articles of the constitution of India has failed to make penetrate in the state of Jammu and Kashmir because of the draconian 370. Welfare and development is not just getting through. The tunnel is getting constricted.

There has been a school of thought that has evolved an approach that attaches paramount significance to constitution and legal bonds and satisfaction of aspirations of the local people. The movement for full application of the Indian Constitution to the state has gained significant momentum in Jammu and the rest of nation. By now, it has been established that no provision in the Indian Constitution has been subjected to such heated controversy within states and India as Article 370. The passion aroused for and against the present issue is responsible for disrupting the emotional unity of the state. The loss caused by Article 370 has been huge. Governance and administration has failed in maintaining the requisite level of law and order in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. With the non-applicability of centralized POCA and RTI act, corruption has been rampant in the state. Militancy and sectarian violence has together amounted to plethora of deaths and human rights abuses. The time has come to rethink on the

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continuation of Article 370. The biggest victims of Article 370 have been the socially and politically deprived sections of the society in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It has miserably added to the woes of the deprived and the vulnerable of the state. Non applicability of Constitutional safeguards delivering affirmative action has caused pain and injustice of untold proportions. Women, Scheduled caste and the Scheduled tribes have been the worst sufferers. There exists a strong need of a nationalized support system for the development of weaker sections of the society in the state. Article 370 is solely responsible for the backwardness of the vulnerable groups in the state.

Now, I would like to conclude the paper by

reiterating the fact that Article 370 has done more bad than good to the state and the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir. I have no qualms in admitting that the autonomy has served as the greatest source of threat to the unity and integrity of India. There is a scope of a Consensual, Constitutional and legitimate solution to this deadlock. The mere existence of Article 370 in the Constitution of India is a testimony of disunity. I HAVE attempted to cover the possible impacts of the said autonomy in the present paper. The call for discontinuation of Article 370 is not unscientific or unsubstantiated. I repose full faith in the Constitutional democracy of our nation and have high hopes from the political executives.

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## Discussion on “Decolonising The Indian Mind”

15<sup>th</sup> January 2014, New Delhi

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As part of a series of thought provoking discussions and lectures, India Foundation organized a brainstorming discussion on the topic of “**Decolonising the Indian Mind**”. The discussion was led by Dr. Koenraad Elst, a Belgian Scholar and renowned orientalist and Dr. Makarand Paranjape, eminent poet and Professor at Jawahar Lal Nehru University.

After the formal introduction of the guests and the topic by Shri Pradeep, Dr. Elst was invited to initiate the discussion. Dr. Elst observed that there is a great need to prevent colonial influence while studying history. We should focus more on what happened in the last five thousand years rather

than just the 19 century. Orientalists might have been the agents of colonial projects. Their studies do not necessarily mean that they came here to know about our societies but more to interpret the society in a way that suits colonization. The Imperialists have essentially based their *modus operandi* through governance and administration on the pursuance of their colonial interests. After laying down the foundation for the discussion, he summed up his observations and invited comments and interjections from the audiences.

Dr. Paranjape said that we should stop blaming the west for what it has done and get ahead with our own task of researching and writing. We should

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also praise the western scholars for bringing us out of a defeatist mindset. He said that decolonization is a negative term. Swaraj is a better term to describe the mind and perspective that we aim for. Indian nationalism is not about dominating others. It is different than other forms of nationalism. For India, it can be said that 'In my Swaraj lies your Swaraj'. He also cautioned the audience against misunderstanding or misinterpreting the process of decolonization. If Indian decolonization is chauvinist, it will be great loss to the mankind. He also said that there are various levels at which we need decolonization. It is not just in our history textbooks or education system. Are we also decolonized spiritually?

There are different societies for which colonization meant different things. For example, the tribal population in the North-eastern regions of the country remained unaffected from the hubris of the colonial empire. Recollecting the glorious past that India has had is not sufficient. That past was brutally defeated. We have to think what was missing in the past and that was a lack of political unity.

We had spiritual, cultural unity but no political concept of an Indian state. The thesis of total self-sufficiency of Indian past is not feasible and is misleading. However, throwing it away will also not suffice. We have to take up different elements

from the world including our own past and build the Indian state. He ended his submissions by maintaining that while there is a strong need to do some introspection of our history and it's glorious past we must also question whether it is appropriate to harp on the continuing legacy of it with no acknowledgement of the present.

After the two presentations, the house was declared open and questions were invited from the audiences. The first question was how well is the notion of Swaraj practiced in academics? Has it changed in the recent past? To which the speakers responded that centers for Indian studies have shifted out of India. Scholarly editions of Indian intellect are foreign. There is no confidence in Indian scholarship. West has bought top Indian scholars and is perpetuating their dominance. It is hard to find Indian scholarship. With respect to the question on effects of colonization on Indian youth, the speakers responded that though the youth of India maybe westernized, but they are not colonized. They could be culturally less Indian, but are able to think more independently.

Speakers summarized the discussion by asserting that nationalism is a wonderful concept but it is not enough. We have to be of top quality if we want to attract talent. We need soldiers at various levels. We cannot expect everyone to be a patriot. We have to give incentives.



## **BESA Center, Israel- India Foundation Dialogue on Iran's Nuclear Program- Implications for West Asia, Middle East and India**

23<sup>rd</sup> January, 2014, New Delhi



**I**ndia Foundation organized a dialogue program with Begin Sadat (BESA) Center, Israel on a much contemporary and a widely contested subject of Iran's nuclear program and its implications for West Asia, Middle-East and India. The delegation from India Foundation comprised of Shri M.J. Akbar, Ambassador K.C. Singh and Professor K.N. Pandita. BESA Centre, Israel was represented by Professor Efraim Inbar, Professor Eytan Gilboa, Professor Joshua Teitelbaum and Mr. Uzi Rubin. Mr. Shaurya Doval, Director, India

Foundation formally initiated the dialogue by introducing the subject and the representatives from both the institutions.

Shri M.J. Akbar started the dialogue with a brief introduction of the subject. Iran is a difficult nation to examine. He asserted that the starting point of discussion for this purpose has to be 1979 when the Iranian Revolution took place. Iran under the Shah regime had a strategic understanding with Israel which almost finished the region. He said that the biggest Berlin wall in the form of Pakistan

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hinders the interaction between India and other Central Asian nations. He further stated that the Pakistani nuclear program was created by the Sunni Arab world and India's 'officially recognized discourse' with respect to nuclear program is Chinese centric. With this brief introduction Shri Akbar rested his submissions.

Professor Inbar from the BESA Centre was invited to put forth his views on the issue. He said that Israel is not concerned with the Shia-Sunni conflict of the Islamic world. Iran's Shia-ite component is totally irrelevant to the national interest of Israel. We consider it a dangerous proposition to dismiss the '**threat perception**' of Iran's nuclear program. He outlined two essential political elements of the Iran's nuclear deal. 1) Existential threat to Israel and 2) What would a nuclear Iran mean to the Middle East and Central Asia. Israel is clearly displeased with Iran's agreement with P5+1. We maintain that it is like a North Korea type of agreement. The agreement nowhere dismantles the enrichment facility of the reactors. It also does not prohibit the weaponization program. The agreement has received the legitimacy of the world and Iranians are proud on reaching this agreement. We have to keep in mind that Iran has got regional ambitions. The disastrous deal would further have its impact on central Asia. It will create a nuclear umbrella with China. Nuclear Iran will also affect Pakistan and eventually influence India. It also has greater

international repercussions too. Iran is a revisionist and a revolutionary power hence the negative impact on Caspian and Gulf region cannot be ruled out. It was also stated vociferously that a multi-polar nuclear Middle East would be a strategic nightmare. Keeping in mind the worst case scenario, Israel would continue to live and flourish with uncertainties. On a cautionary note, Professor Inbar ended his address.

Professor K.N. Pandita from the Indian side was invited to present his views on the issue. Professor Pandita started by quoting the Prime Minister of Israel, who said, the deal is a 'historical mistake'. John Kerry also made some reassurances with respect to the deal i.e. it is a temporary first step agreement and the P5+1 retains the right to stop the supply. Saudi Arabia has said that US has betrayed it. Iran- Saudi acrimony has a long string of history attached to it. It can be understood by Khamenei's declaration that a Saudi Arabia as 'Monarchy is not allowed in Islam'. There has been a systemic effort for exporting the revolution from Iran to Saudi. The deal would add new dimensions to the country's defense doctrine and also provide assertion to their foreign policy. India's stance should be on 'pragmatism' and not on 'rhetoric'. Here Shri M.J. Akbar offered to interject with few substantive submissions. He said Indian Muslims face the same problems as Iranian Muslim. He observed that 'Mughal court was Persian'. He also

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mentioned that Iran has a diversified learning curriculum while Arabic is taught for instilling faith, Persian for appreciation of art and Turkish for understanding the nuances of power. Doubtlessly, all the nuclear weapons are existential threat to the world at large. He drew the attention of the house by mentioning a rather lesser known fact that Pakistan is the world's fastest growing nuclear power. India's central concern now is Pakistan's strategic ambition of nuclear deal with China.

Professor Eytan Gilboa was then invited for presenting his views on the subject. He stated the multipronged strategic position of the US in this regard. There is a broad agreement in the US on the following-a) Diplomacy and Negotiation as a tool b) Economic sanctions as a deterrent c) Covert operations and d) Military operations if required. Iranian nuclear threat is a cause of concern for the entire Middle East and it is not just Israel's business. He questioned the motivation of Iran behind it. US's purpose is to prevent Iran from possessing a nuclear weapon. According to him the latent agenda of US is to develop Iran as a regional power and instigate a civil war in Iraq. The prevailing narrative in Iran is that western way of life is a major threat to Islamic way of life. He termed the American approach to strengthen Iran as a huge strategic mistake. After a cautionary address, he rested his speech.

Ambassador K. C. Singh was then invited to present his views on the subject. He said that

election of Ahmadinejad was a significant event for Iran. Iran is an age-old civilization. In 2003 US dislodged Taliban and Saddam but again in 2005 Taliban resurfaced in Afghanistan. He reminded the house of a relevant fact that Iran is not a bigger danger than Pakistan. Pakistan is receiving active assistance from China and passive consent of the US. It has recently dedicated its 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> reactor for the production of plutonium. The Pak danger is enormous in every aspect. The prevalence of Wahabism has tended to target the *Ahmadiyas*, the *Sufis* and the next could be the *Shias*. Iran with the nuclear power counterbalances the Pakistani threat. He quoted Haqqani on recent developments in Pakistan and said 'No Shia officer has been promoted after a certain level'. No missile test of Pakistan has ever failed which clearly displays the hand of China. India's problem in this regard is the rise of radical Islam in Pakistan and the rise of China. He said Muslim community in India is not homogenous. Incidents of violence are seen more in the North and less in the South of India. The whole region has been re-pivoted in the spectacle of Geneva-2. India's prerogative lies in deliberating upon finding the relevant partners who can balance the mushrooming of radical Islamic thoughts and actions which is essential for peace and stability in the region. A rethinking is very important. One thing is clear that these nations cannot be converted into western liberal democracy. With this illuminating



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address the ambassador rested his speech. The chair then invited Mr. Uzi Rubin for putting forth his views on the subject.

Mr Rubin concerned himself with the missile program of Iran and rightly observed that missiles are a great threat to humanity. He gave a vivid description of missiles. Iran's missiles are not precise but capable of causing mass scale effects. It is appropriate to overestimate the threat perception of Iran's nuclear program. After a detailed power point presentation on missiles, he ended his address. The last speaker, Professor

Joshua was invited by the chair to put forth his views. He made it clear that Israel neither has a border conflict nor any territorial aspirations with Iran. Israel sill considers the recent nuclear deal as a crowning insult. He then deeply elucidated upon the Israel and Saudi relations.

After the presentations, the chair concluded the proceedings after expressing his deepest gratitude to the representatives from both the institutions and seeking furthers opportunities for greater bilateral engagement for a safe, stable and a better world.



## Young Thinkers Meet (Western Zone) - 2014

18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of January, 2014, Pune



India Foundation organized the third edition of the Young Thinkers Meet at the Sinhagarh fort, Pune on 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of January, 2014. After receiving encouraging participation from the north and south zone, the two-day event was organized on the remains of a historical Sinhagarh fort at Pune. The Western zone included over 40 young intellectuals from Maharashtra, Madhya-Pradesh, Gujarat and Chhattisgarh.

The first session of the meet was initiated by introductory remarks of Shri Ram Madhav ji wherein he outlined the relevance and significance of huge youth population of India and how it can

be harnessed in the right direction for the growth and development of the nation. He also briefly elucidated on the need of organizing this series of young thinkers meet. After the introduction, he laid out the central theme for the meet. Idealism in younger generation is presently at its best and is a great indicator of the well being of society at large. Social challenges were listed out i.e. live in relationships, interests of the LGBT community, prostitution and the interests of other fringe groups of the society. Economic challenges to the nation were also listed out i.e. impact of land reform legislation, challenges and opportunities to the

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national economic policy. He also mentioned about the prevailing activism in the youth operating at various levels. An example of localized activism was provided as “Operation Black Dot” which has a substantial outreach and is working for electoral enrolment amongst the youths. He proposed to harp on indigenous ways of thinking through relying upon our age-old cultural and spiritual genius to deal with the contemporary challenges to our nation. “Native genius” is deep rooted in our society and instead of looking at the west for new techniques; we should reinvigorate and introspect upon what we already have.

With this the house was declared open and the issue of ‘brain drain’ was proposed by a participant. The thoughtful debate was premised on the proposition that *‘whether individual liberty can be compromised at the cost of national interest’*. Various statements were made about the advantages and the disadvantages of the phenomena. Young ones are lured by indulging lifestyles and impressive remunerative packages being offered by the multinational corporations outside India. The financial benefits in the form of economic remittances coming from the workforce beyond the territory of the nation cannot go unacknowledged. An effective interjection was made by the chair wherein it was proposed to reserve 20 percent of seats in the professional institutions to exploit the Indian intellect. To substantiate the propositions examples of France,

Germany and Japan were mentioned who still treat their mother tongue as the primary language.

After the discussion on brain drain, Shri Jigar Inamdar from M.S. University, Baroda made a brief presentation on his integrative initiative for assimilation of northeastern region into the mainstream culture. After his consistent efforts on this front the university administration sanctioned an annual fund for endorsing the noble cause. The house also suggested various measures for cultural engagements and national integration through more frequent institutional interactions with them. Deliberations were then made on effects of Armed Forces Special Powers act in Manipur. It was unanimously agreed that without any external interventions the matter has to be decided internally through interactions between the residents of Manipur and the State government. The next presentation was made by Ms. Kaynat Kazi on Islam and terrorism. The idea behind the presentation was to strive for a stable and a peaceful world. This ended the first day of the event with rigorous discussions on the relationship between Islam and terrorism.

Shri Ram Madhav ji introduced the theme for the first session on the second day of the meet. Security both external and internal was taken up as a matter of discussion. The following external security threat were listed out and discussed by the participants – Chinese nibbling on the frontline, constant pressure from the western border from

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Pakistan, post 2015 scenario of Af-Pak region after the complete withdrawal of troops from the region, reemergence of Taliban and security and stability of the Indian ocean region in the light of excessively assertive China. Many among the participants noted the outward belligerence of China as an indicator of threat to stability in the region. More intensive engagement with France and Japan was suggested as an immediate measure to contain China as they traditionally have been at loggerheads with China. The chair intervened and suggested 4 E's to appropriately tackle the Chinese threat i.e. engagement, encroachment, encirclement and encouragement of enemies. Also readings were suggested to the participants for formulating an informed opinion on China like Kissinger's book called *On China, The Party, and the Prisoner of State* by Zhao Ziyang. The second half of the session was dedicated to the discussion on the biggest threat to the internal security of our nation i.e. Naxalism. The rise of the movement from Naxalbari in the 70's was targeted to hoist the red flag on the red fort by 2050. It waged a war of liberation against existing democratic system. Another interesting facet of the movement was brought into discussion by the chair called 'Urban Maoism'. The present phenomena aim at intellectual indoctrination of cultural and educational institutions at the urban centers. Classical Maoism was discussed by the members of the house wherein it was observed that the

naxals are the followers of classical theory of Maoism which does not believe in the existence of state itself. Measures to counter both violent and urban Maoism were discussed by the house. The suggestions included phased eradication of misleading literature fuelling anti establishment agendas, exposing the unholy nexus between Maoism and religion like in Kerala where the detractors are successfully exploiting the fault lines and by actively engaging with the residents of naxal infested areas like Bastar, Gadchirauli, Dantewada etc. The session was concluded by a collective assertion that there exists a need to fundamental and a more nuanced understanding of the theory and practices of naxalism. The chair again suggested readings for the issue such as 'On Naxalism' by Shri K. Aravind Rao, Vishwaranjan's series of articles on Maoism etc.

Shri Apurv Kumar Mishra made a detailed presentation on the significance of toilets. He underlined a glaring and hard hitting fact that there are more mobiles than toilets in our nation. The presentation also showcased the relationship between basic hygiene, sanitation and mental and physical development of a child. Shri Ashish Bhawe made a presentation on the insurgency in the northeastern regions of India wherein he listed out instances of women and weapon trafficking and the urgency of having border fencing. The chair concluded the issue by suggesting 3D's i.e. detection, delete and disenfranchisement. The next

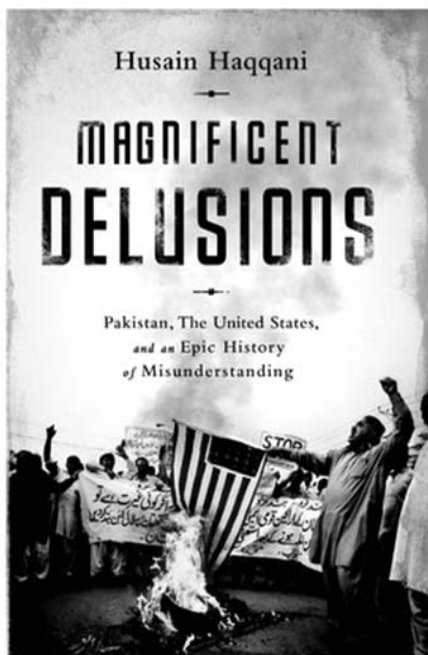
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presentation was made by Dr Mukesh Maru on river Ganga. He stressed upon the need for having a careful approach to natural resources. Also a mention was made on the spiritual and cultural significance of the river. He said that the great river Ganga is a symbol of civilization. The chair concluded the session by suggesting a massive rethinking on the model of development, construction of chunk-dams and utilizing the rivers for inland waterways for goods and passenger transit.

The concluding session was themed on recent political developments in the nation and the way ahead. The emergence of AAP was comprehensively discussed. It was unanimously believed that they were successful in the capturing the disenchantment of the masses with the current regime. The credibility of AAP is questionable as they have sufficiently displayed the difference between their thoughts and actions in the capital. Earlier also there have been drastic political transformation of socio-political movements like the JP movement and the Student movement in Assam; they have not sustained long enough to serve the rightful purpose. Thus there is a need of a strong grounded organization with a deep sense of history of our great nation to take the centre-stage and guide the nation forward. Shri Ram

Madhav ji explained the reasons behind the growth of AAP as they were the first and the fast movers; they inculcated the spirit of down the line democracy, their openness and responsiveness and politics on signature issues such as hassle free provision of basic amenities. After the culmination of the discussion on the state of polity in India, Shri Dattatreya Hosabole ji delivered the valedictory address to formally conclude the two day Young Thinkers meet. In his concluding address, he appreciated the enthusiasm and awareness of the participants throughout the event. He also directed us to chalk out our future plans and programs for further interactions. This is a defining movement in the political history of the nation where the youth's perspective is gradually shifting from 'cynicism' to 'activism'. The changing attitude is much laudable as it is required in the age of globalization. 'Hindsight' and 'Foresight' analysis is imperative before reaching towards a conclusion any issue of national significance. He stressed upon the fact that the wave of optimism, technology and modernity has to be in sync with our deep rooted cultural and civilizational ethos. He concluded by asserting that it is the appropriate time to 'turn the searchlight inwards' and do some more serious introspection in the interest of society and the nation.





## **Magnificent Delusions: Pakistan, The United States, and an Epic History of Misunderstanding**

Author - **Husain Haqqani**

Publisher - **Public Affairs, U.S.**

Price - 1,460/-

**T**he strategic and political discourse in Pakistan right from its inception has been dominated by a strong anti- Indian obsession.

Built on unverified assumptions and deliberate falsehood, Pakistan over the years built for itself a narrative that became part of its strategic calculus. Inaccessibility to real facts, absence of a free intellectual environment and fear of over bearing security apparatus inhibited an informed discourse of Pakistan's self destructive policies and actions. The book *Magnificent Delusions* by Hussain Haqqani, a distinguished diplomat and author of *Pakistan* is a welcome departure from Pakistan's stereotyped intellectualism one has been used to for decades.

The author has well documented the

circumstances leading to the creation of a theocratic Pakistan, providing an interesting insight into the mindset of its founding fathers, who failed to see the limitations of a solely religion based state in the modern world. A distinct Islamic identity infused by a virulent anti-India hostility has been the *raison d'être* of the Pakistani state; that over the years degenerated into radicalization of its society and polity that has brought it to the brink of a failed state. Husain Haqqani in his book brilliantly documents Pakistan's foreign policy persuasions which have been driven by its desire to enlist the support of the US to maintain a military apparatus that it was unable to afford in the absence of a strong economy and sufficient foreign exchange reserves. The book brings to fore interesting

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viewpoints of senior diplomats on early US policy towards Pakistan and its opposition to carving out a separate Pakistani state.

At the center of the abysmal mess in which Pakistan finds itself in lies its obsessive anti-Indianism. Hostility against 'Hindu India,' that its founding fathers felt were necessary for its creation became the reigning doctrine of the new theocratic state. Haqqani recounts how Pakistan's desire to contain India and build military capabilities to counter it made it solicit American friendship with a highly exaggerated self view of itself. He avers that "At a time when Jinnah described Pakistan as a country that was the 'Pivot of the World', the United States had given little thought to the new nation and its possible role in international security." Citing accounts of two diplomats he reveals that "Jinnah told them that the establishment of Pakistan was essential to prevent 'Hindu Imperialism', spreading into the Middle East". Husain Haqqani is a bold attempt by a Pakistani to reexamine the fundamental premise of Pakistan's state policy to contain and bleed India as a necessary prerequisite for its survival and growth. Its US centric foreign policy was an outcome of this obsession and Pakistan's strategic miscalculations as US allegedly failed to deliver on India front is at the root of Pakistan's mistrust against US.

The leaders of new Pakistan had felt that an anti Hindu and anti India stance that had

successfully worked for creating Pakistan, would probably also work for building and running the new state. The state idea was hence woven around a negative premise. The author recounting the historical details that led to creation of Pakistan conveniently overlooks the facts how Jinnah's stridency made the reconciliation impossible despite the sincere efforts by Indian National Congress leaders to prevent partition of the sub-continent. The author, however, implicitly admits that the leaders of new Pakistan had no clarity of vision about its own future. Titling one of the important chapters of his book as "False Start," he laments that "Jinnah and his lieutenants offered little beyond sharply crafted statements and speeches to explain the idea of Pakistan". Though he does not explicitly say it, it is clear from his scholarly narrative that the thoughts and doctrines that led to the creation, of Pakistan were pursued to design its internal, foreign and military policies. These policies were pursued despite Pakistan lacking the resources and infrastructure to do so.

This led to two disastrous consequences. One, Pakistan's dependence on external assistance to achieve its unaffordable dream of military parity with India; and second its creation of an Army that became a Frankenstein which ate into the vitals of its statehood. While the first brought with it the strings that forced Pakistan to pursue policies in support of them that hurt its own long term interests the later weakened the polity and

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institutions of the state within and making them subservient to the military dictates. The Pakistan army thus usurped political power for most of the period during its existence but even there was nominal civilian rule it had the decisive voice, particularly with relation to its India, Afghan, American and China policies. The nuclear and defence policies in any case were dominated by them. He cites numerous interesting instances where Pakistan army and its intelligence wing, Inter Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI), played critical role in formulating or influencing national policies.

The author delineates three major phases when geo-political considerations drove the US to enlist Pakistan's support as its staunch ally in the subcontinent. The three phases were: during the Cold War (1943-72), the war against the Soviets in Afghanistan (1979-89) and the war against terrorism (2001-present). The author traces the intriguing relationship between Pakistan and the US in a sequential manner with rich anecdotal details. His experiences narrated in the book as Pakistan's ambassador in Washington D.C. and as advisor to Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto are revealing and provide an interesting insight into the style of policy formulation and policy execution in Pakistan. For instance, the revelation that President Jimmy Carter had approved US clandestine support for Mujahedeen forces reared in Pakistan six months prior to the Soviet invasion

of Afghanistan, throws new light on the Afghan war. The insights of high-ranking officials and politicians of both countries is indeed revealing and leads to a better understanding of events that have shaped contemporary developments in the sub-continent.

Husain Haqqani makes the case for Pakistan to reduce dependency on external financial aid and instead focus energies on developing a robust economy based on global trade. This should have been Pakistan's priorities at the time of India's independence but it chose to accord excessive primacy to building up its military capabilities against a non-existent threat from India. It is indeed mystifying that even after six decades of its creation; Pakistan still fails to see merit in this argument. It continues to depend heavily on a transactional relationship with the US by perpetuating its internal vulnerabilities in return for financial largesse to be able to keep its neck above water. The author has bluntly highlighted the expectations and disappointments of both the US and Pakistan from their alliance, but places undue blame on Pakistan for always having too much expectations from the US. The US too has some explaining to do for ignoring realities of Pakistan's nuclear proliferation and nurturing of terrorist groups active in India and Afghanistan for pursuing its own geo-political interests.

As alluded by the author, it is true that a large segment of America's informed public opinion is



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anti- Pakistan today. They consider Pakistan as an ungrateful ally despite \$ 40 billion economic aid and military assistance given to it by the US since 1947; particularly, on war against terrorism, for which US extended an assistance of \$ 23 billion since 2001. A strong section of informed opinion in US feels that Pakistan served the cause of Jihadi extremist more than that of the US. The May 2011 American operation that led to discovery and later neutralization of Osama Bin Laden close to military cantonment near Abbottabad was a tipping point that made Americans to seriously doubt Pakistani intentions. Similarly, on the Pakistani side the trust in US is all time low. They blame them for not preventing the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 and having left them in a lurch after the covert war against the Soviets Union was one. He argues that this fundamental distrust about each other is at the root of present acrimonious relationship. The author argues that even when at governmental level the relationship between the two countries appeared to be warm and cozy, there was a strong undercurrent of hostility. It was evident when in 1979 a hostile crowd attacked and set on fire the US Embassy in Pakistan and the anti-US stance of the vernacular press right from mid-60s. Pakistan's expediency to tow pro-American policy was primarily on account of a strong desire of the Pakistani army to equip itself with most sophisticated weapons that it could not afford on its own and the desire to diplomatically

marginalize and isolate India. If one goes by the history and logic of bilateral relations advanced by the author, the possibility of restoration of trust between the two countries in foreseeable future appears to be remote.

The author considers Pakistan establishment's, particularly the army's, strategic wish of America accepting India as a serious threat to Pakistan, Pakistan's potential to emerge as a pre-eminent power in South Asia and desirability of Pakistan enjoying military parity with India as unrealistic. In any case, such an objective cannot be achieved merely through external assistance while Pakistan has done little to build its economy, stabilize its polity and achieve social development and integration. I think the author has hit on the nail by emphasizing that Pakistan will do well if its national security elites recognize the limits of its power and focus on its nation building than trying to contain India.

Pakistan establishment has perfected the art of denial, when the whole world has ample evidence of its state sponsorship of terrorism, has few critics within its own country. It is particularly so when it comes to India. It is indeed bold of Haqqani to own up the reality and expose the establishment. Alluding to 26/11 Mumbai attacks he says that "The Pakistan based Lashkar-e- Taiba (LeT), a group with close ties to the ISI, had executed the attack. Pakistan, however, initially denied any connection to the attack. Instead of

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trying to identify and punish terrorists, Pakistan focused on refuting reports of Pakistani complicity.” A free and open debate within Pakistan about terrorism, involvement of its state agencies in acts of criminality, active collaboration in currency counterfeiting, gunrunning, Narco-terrorism etc. will do well to regional security besides Pakistan’s own.

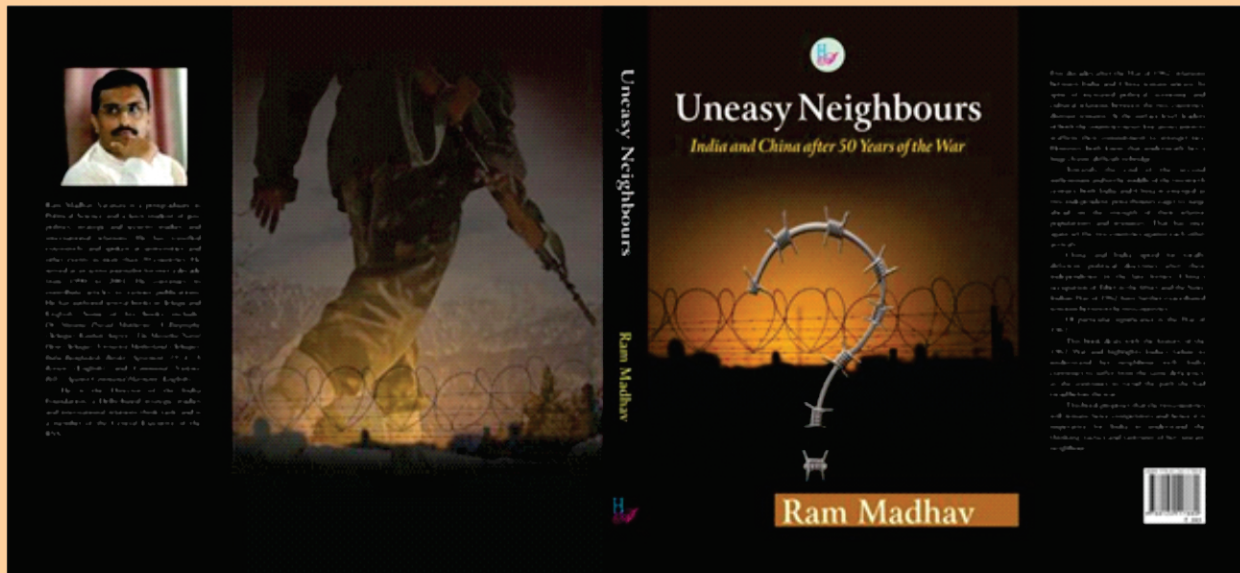
Notwithstanding the limitation posed by US centric scope of the book and overlooking some of the relevant facts of Pakistan’s contemporary history, it is a bold and appreciable attempt by a Pakistani author to put the history in proper perspective. The book is authentic and will be a useful source material to serious analysts and scholars of contemporary developments in South Asia.

*Book Review by*

**Shaurya Doval**, Director, India Foundation



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