



Dedicated to the Fond Memory of

Late Dharmaveer Dr. B. S. Moonje

The founder of

Central Hindu Military Education Society

Central Hindu Military Education Society

Our founder, Dr Balkrishna Shivram Moonje, a social reformer and a great visionary, understood the importance of Military Education before independence. He was a firm believer in Indianisation of armed forces and indispensability of Military Training to Indian youth for building up a strong nation. He was a pioneer of military education in India. He believed that unless the nation becomes militarily strong, it cannot hold its head high amongst other nations. His vision was to provide young and able officers to arm our nation. His vision was to provide young and able officers to armed forces through rigorous training. His motto for military education was 'Power of Knowledge and Knowledge of Power.' He believed that the responsibility of defending motherland has to be borne by everybody.

All the units of CHME Society are the logical extension of his thoughts on Military Education. As an educational institution, we impart regular formal education, but the hallmark of our institution is to instill our core values and imbibe the fervour of patriotism, leadership, and discipline in our students.

Apart from this, securing borders and honour of motherland requires able officers as well as strategic thinkers. That is what CHME Society does. Strategic thinking is a mindset and it should be developed in the society at large. We cultivate and nurture an attitude in our students to serve the nation. We also create security consciousness in the society.

We have gradually evolved a formidable system which imparts preparatory military training. Through this, we inculcate a habit of subordinating self-interest to national interest. We inspire our students to lead and be equipped to face the challenges before the nation and fight for the honour of our county.

Bhonsala Military College

Bhonsala Military College is a pioneer educational institution devoted to promoting military education. In the year 1986, the Bhonsala Military College came into existence. It is privately supported and partially residential co-educational institute. The primary objective of the institute is to provide for, and otherwise promote, education and research in the fields of Science, Humanities, Commerce, and Defence and Strategic Studies.

Vision

Bhonsala Military College is a pioneering institution which promotes academics with a perfect blend of military values in a caring, value based environment, which encourages students to be energetic, purposeful, creative, service oriented, responsible, dignified and integrated citizens to make a notable contribution to the armed forces and civil services.

Mission

With learning as its central mission, Bhonsala Military College responds to the needs of diverse students' community by offering high quality, affordable, and accessible learning opportunities for all round development of mental, physical and spiritual faculties through inculcation of strong value system culminating into national development.

Objectives

- → To prepare students for the relevant University examinations
- → To develop their personality by intellectual and physical activities
- To encourage students to take up careers in the Armed Forces of the country
- To prepare students for different competitive examinations conducted by M.P.S.C. and U.P.S.C.

Bhonsala Research Centre for Conflict & Peace

Bhonsala Military College is affiliated to the Savitribai Phule Pune University. The college is one of the few institutions in the country conducting courses in Defence and Strategic Studies up to the post graduation level. As an extension to the Post Graduate Department, a research centre has also been opened under the banner, "Bhonsala Research Centre for Conflict and Peace".

Objective

The main objective of this centre is to promote consciousness about National Security and identify solutions to conflicting issues at National and International Level.

Activities

The Centre conducts various activities such as Guest Lecture, Seminars, and Symposia. In addition, a quarterly publication named "Daksh" is a regular feature covering the research articles on a wide range of issues on National, Regional and International Security and Strategic affairs.

Daksh

Daksh is Quarterly publication of Bhonsala Research Centre for Conflict and Peace. It is the extension of other academic activities taken up by the post-graduate department of Bhonsala Military College based on the ideal Concept of the late Dharmaveer Dr. B. S. Moonje, founder of the Central Hindu Military Education Society.

To translate the noble ideas of Dr. B. S. Moonje into practice, in the light of contemporary security environments in large perspective, Daksh aims at projecting and analysing issues pertaining to security, and other related issues in the national, regional and global arena, and evaluate through interdisciplinary angles.

Each issue would feature idea, perception and thought from the scholars of various backgrounds on problems-past and present.

Instructions for Contributors

Original articles are invited in two double-spaced electronic copies (one PDF and one word file) of article/paper not exceeding 3000 words. The articles must be typed in Times New Roman with Font Size 12. The figures, graphs, charts, tables and other info-graphic representation should be numbered and must be in jpeg form. The paper must contain an abstract, keywords with proper reference/ footnotes at the end of the article/ paper. The paper must be accompanied with a brief Personal Bio-Data of the author. The paper should be mailed to the following email address: daksh@bmc.bhonsala.in. It is the sole responsibility of the author(s) to ensure the originality of the research paper. The Editorial committee or institution will not be held responsible for any consequences arising from plagiarism. Editorial committee reserves all the rights to accept or decline the submitted research paper. Authors should also ensure that the articles have not been published elsewhere prior to submission for Daksh. Reproduction of article/ paper in any form for other publication can be made with prior permission from the Principal, Bhonsala Military College, Rambhoomi, Dr. Moonje Path, Nashik - 422005.

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From the Desk of Chief Editor

In today's modern age, various fields are changing moment by moment. While this education should solve the problems of human life, it is because of this education that human life is becoming more complicated. The value of life is declining. So does education really build society? In the process of building society, selfish human beings seem to have made more use of education for self-development. Every human being has chosen his field of work. Society pays every person to benefit the social interest through his work. In return we have to give something to the society. But the cry is that the "government is oppressing us unjustly". With this in mind, the United Nations is an organization formed before India's independence. The purpose of this UN Charter is "we the people of the United Nations are determined. To save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our life time has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human persons, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treatise and other sources of international law can be maintained and To promote social progress and better standards of life in large freedom."

Knowing that education is the only way to achieve all this, the United Nations has definitely put education at a higher level. The last 20 years have seen tremendous changes in all areas. This change has had a profound effect on society and human life. The change in education should come about for the nation, for society, has it happened? It's time to think deeply about it.

Because in the 21st century, "education is competition" is what today's generation knows? On the other hand, the United Nations says that education is the need for self-reliance. Take education by working hard, spread education, develop the nation and the world and build the society by contributing to the society. That should be the doctrine of education. Social reformers or social thinkers tried to make education reach the lower strata of society. Today education has reached a low level in the least technical sense. But has the expected quality been achieved? If the desired quality is not achieved, then education is like a water bubble floating on the surface of the water and creating a momentary beauty. A little effort. In today's world, many defense developments are taking place in India. This is a small effort of social education through "DAKSH" with the aim of imparting its education, information to the general public and students.

As per the above background, publication of 19th issue of the "DAKSH", a quarterly security studies journal, under the roof of Bhonsala Research Center of Conflict and Peace (B.R.C.C.P)., independent branch of Defence and Strategic Studies Department, is a very positive step at projecting and analyzing issues related to security and other spheres in the national, regional and global arena and evaluating them through inter –disciplinary approaches. Each issue would feature ideas, perception and thought from the scholars of various backgrounds on problems – past DAKSH

and present and also creating awareness amongst students.

It is my privilege to express my sincere thanks to all society officials and principal of the college, for their constant support, guidance and encouragement towards publication of this issue and without their support and encouragement this would not have been possible. I also would like to express my sincere thanks to all the contributors of this issue. It is pertinent to mention that the journal named 'DAKSH' is multi-disciplinary in approach which is aimed at objective analyses on a host of subjects related to India's national and international security management studies that form the core of strategy in different areas. Filling the existing vacuum on the subject, the collection provides access to matured thoughts with a strong and convincing narrative. I am sure the journal would appeal to scholars, students fraternity and those interested in India's national security studies and international affairs worldwide.

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India-China Border Dispute: Roll of Pakistan in this Context

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Introduction

China is the largest nation in Asia, and the most popular country in the world because of its ideology and system of governance, history and culture. China's growing power is altering the contours of Asian security, international trade and global balance of power. Its land boundaries attached with the 14 countries measure over 28,000 km and maritime boundaries of 14500 km. China achieved independence through a civil war in 1949. After numerous sacrifices, over a period of time the Chinese learnt how to protect their national integrity and self respect without depending on any help from others. China is trying to gain the respect of the world, even the awesome respect of the great power. China also has deep rooted traditional strategic culture, Sun Tzu a Chinese military philosopher wrote on principles of military warfare that guided Chinese and other leaders to the present day. MaoTse-Tung changed the model of classical Chinese military traditions and gave the New Ideology of war to the world, its name Guerrilla Warfare. Now China wants to improve as a powerful nation in the whole world, at present he is counted as the 2nd superpower in the world, he also has the Veto Power of UNO.

In the long term China's growing national strength, economic and military power will create security challenges for India. The modernization of the Chinese Armed Forces will tilt the balance of Nuclear and conventional power in Asia. In favour of China to India's great disadvantage. China fully understands that without economic progress no other social development is possible, as a communist country has managed the market economically and globalization much better than democratic India.² India achieved independence through a Non-Violent revaluation and China raised as a communist state in Asia with help of civil war. India's leadership decided that they will make friendly relations with the neighbours and other countries, And India got agreement with China as per the five principle of peace 'Panchsheel' and the symbol of agreement came to the front of world Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai. But the other side China and India after independent choose unique paths to liberate their vast population from destitution and backwardness, Their climb soon become a race between two systems and ideologies and in the lost it become the cause of border dispute and Indo-Sino War 1962.³

India-China Border dispute:-

India and China have a long border none of which has been jointly delineated leave alone marked on the ground. Fifty years a long terms elapsed internal talks and one war have not brought about a solution as yet and the situation stands as yet. it seems unlikely that both sides can agree on historical facts as to the ownership of various portions of land along the border. Any territorial concessions must have public support, particularly in democracy such as India. India has however, had from time immemorial a natural border the Himalaya's. The boundary question remains the most central and toughest of all issues and the slow progress here will continue to delay the overall progress in India-China relations. The 3917 km long India China border, was demarcated along the British drawn MC Mahon line in 1914. But Chinese have great objection while accepting MC Mohan line. Their contention was that the line was drawn on paper not on ground. So the credibility of such a line was doubtful. Secondly, China was not the signatory of Shimla convention which had drawn the MC Mahon line.

Chinese territory. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru attracted the attention of the Chinese premier during the visit to China in April 1954, Again in July 1958, publication of map in China pictorial should the Aksai-Chin as a part of China once again Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru objected to this and asked for clarification from China. But on open claim was made on the Aksai-Chin and Ladakh areas, China claimed around 50,000 sq. km of above said Area but Nehru neglected.⁶

In the middle sector the Area extends up to Spiti Valley and Shipki La Pass was included in the Indian Area. In 1882, 1917, a 1920 survey by British official proved that this area was part of Indian territory. In Garhwal area, Satluj Gangas watershed has been the traditional boundary. But China also claims in this area. This border problem has been the contentious issue between India and China which can not be solved even today.⁷

Tibet due to its geographical location plays the role of a buffer state between India and China. Strategically it occupies a special position between two huge populous and powerful neighbours India in the south and China in the last. The British India's government established commercial and diplomatic relations and treaties with the Tibet government. Immediately after independence, India wrote to Lhasa stating all the post treaties and commitments would be respected, but communist China thought about aggressive policy and interfered with Tibet. A large-scale programme of building roads from China to Tibet was started in may 1950. On October 25, 1950 the Chinese News

Agency announced that P.L.A. had entered into Tibet to liberate the people of Tibet and to complete the unification with China.⁸ The Tibetan did not accept the Chinese instruction into Tibet and regular broadcast by Radio Lhasa the News of Attacks.

Though China used all the fair and unfair means to hold over Tibet but the Tibetan never accepted this because of their different culture and identity which they want to keep intact. In 1959, In Tibetan people were suppressed brutally by China. The revolt compelled Dalai lama to escape to India, which was one of the reasons for the 1962 war.

Several of India's major rivers originate in Tibet and China's ongoing dam construction diverting water away from other nations. Population pressures and increased economic activity means demand for water. Although India has entered into water sharing treaties with all of his neighbours. China is in the process of building two potential projects on Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) that have dup consequences for north eastern India's water supply. One of the dams is located in Tibet near Namcha Barwa where it turns south to enter India. The second is the east of Lhasa. Both of these dams regulating Brahmaputra river flows according to China's South West. ¹⁰ It creates great water supply hindrances of India.

In the light of above it is stated that as per atmosphere and natural climates of regional and connected countries NEFA that is India, China and Tibet and Bhutan are benefited in the range of safety and also avoid border dispute of themselves. China stands responsibility being a superpower of the UNO and an advanced country with responsibilities totally on the shoulders. The action towards war or peace can also be maintained by India and China with peace of mind and faith with another small nation.

Down fall in India-China Relationship due to border dispute and role of Pakistan:-

China not taking Indian security concerns seriously, India may have decided to take the Chinese challenge head-on. To complicate matters for India, its erstwhile Russia, which has become a close friend of China, is showing interest in establishing closer ties with Pakistan.

The latest move that clenches teeth in India is china refusing to left a hold on Pakistan based Jaish-E- Mohammad Chief Masood Azhar, accoused of plotting multiple acts of terrorism against India, and blocking him as a terrorist by the UNO, But China blocked India's attempts to put a ban on Azhar and favored Pakistan in this matter. China does not agree that India should become a member of NSG without signing NPT, He also said if India Can become a member of NSG without signing NPT then why not Pakistan.

In recent years, China has been increasingly concerned about instability and rising extremism in Pakistan, whether for its broader impact on the country, for its impact on specific China Pakistani economic projects, or for threats to Chinese citizens in the country, which have escalated. China has longer standing concerns about the risks of war between Pakistan and India, which would have a hugely damaging impact on Chinese interests, and has sought to encourage the reduction of tensions between the two sides. China has also been concerned to ensure that Pakistan's relationship with the United States is neither too close to endanger China's own relationship nor (more importantly of late) too cold to guarantee continued U.S. military and economic support, with risks that China would even be stuck in the middle of a relationship of outright hostility. Increasingly, China also wants Pakistan to play a role in ensuring a stable outcome in Afghanistan, and to look out for Chinese interests there in the lead up and aftermath of U.S. withdrawal. China has cooperated with Pakistan on both the civilian and military aspects of its nuclear program. While the most intensive period of nuclear proliferation took place in the early 1980s, when China transferred bomb designs and highly enriched uranium to Pakistan, and in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when it delivered ballistic missiles, assistance to Pakistan's missile program has continued since then—including, for instance, to Pakistan's cruise missiles and battlefield nuclear weapons. These have implications for its capacities in any future war with India and, in the case of the miniaturized warheads, by encouraging a riskier form of less secure and controllable weapons in Pakistan's arsenal. China's support to Pakistan's civilian nuclear program has in recent years amounted to an implicit "counter" to the U.S.-India nuclear deal, first through the agreement to proceed with two additional 330 MW reactors at the Chashma nuclear complex, and more recently to extend this to a new phase of 1000 MW reactors, the first of which is located at the Karachi nuclear complex. These reactors have been under IAEA safeguards, with the spent fuel returned to China, and attract more criticism for their violation of the Nuclear Suppliers' Group rules and general concerns about any expansion of the presence of nuclear facilities in Pakistan than for any direct concerns about the implications for stability in the region.

Conclusion:-

After a great consultation and deep consideration it comes to the conclusion on the subject that India and China are the emerging superpowers of the world and together they can make 21 century an Asian countries. Immense scope lies for both India and China for

constructive and co-operative partnership in various fields. India-China bilateral relations are different from various angles including regional and global dimensions. Border problem and Tibet factor are hurdles in the way of Indo-China smooth relation; many of the problems required for a solution between the two countries are to be promoted. Current trends and prospects of India-China are to be discussed by the two nations.

Both China and India looked with sympathy and admiration at each other's powerful nationalist movement and sought inspiration from one another. Mahatma Gandhi and Sun Yat-Sen looked upon the non cooperation movement and pointed it out as an object lesson for the Chinese nationalist. It is imperative that two superpowers have to act sympathetically with neighbouring countries in all scope. It will be the best relations on all sides and also keep the silent mood of peace not only in Asia but also in the whole world for the sake of humanity.

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"Challenge to India's Internal Security"

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Introduction:

The title of the paper has been deliberately chosen to underline the basic difference between Indian and Pakistan over the Kashmir issue. Pakistan highlights the 'problem of Kashmir', defines it as an 'unfinished agenda' of Partition, and questions its accession to India on October 26, 1947. Pakistan has consistently called for the implementation of the UN resolution to determine the status of Kashmir according to the 'will of the people'. For Pakistan Kashmir is a 'disputed territory' which, on the basis of the Muslim majority principle (two-nations theory), should not for part of the 'Hindu majority' Indian state. India on its part, out rightly rejects Pakistan's stand and considers the accession to be legal, indisputable and final. India's approach has been to address the 'problem in Kashmir' and focus on cross-border-terrorism, unemployment, misgovernance, call for election boycotts by the All-Party Hurriyat Committee (APHC); the fate of the exiled Kashmiri Pundits; and the alienation of the people towards New Delhi. The paper is divided into four segments. The first focuses on Pakistan's UN centric Kashmir policy, policy towards Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK), and cross-border terrorism in J&K. The second discusses India's policy towards Kashmir. The third analysis shows the progress thus far in the research process initiated in April 2002 and Mushrraf's Kashmir proposal in particular. The last segment illuminates the way forward and prospects for the ongoing rapprochement.

Pakistan's Kashmir Policy:

Pakistan's Kashmir policy rests on two legs: the UN resolution and cross-border terrorism. The UN resolutions have gradually become contextually redundant and cross-border terrorism has increasing become more of a problem for Pakistan than a solution. Pakistan also feels frustrated at not being able to secure the confidence of the Kashmiri people, who reject a merger with Pakistan as a solution. In order to understand Pakistan's Kashmir policy, it is essential to analyse the salient features of the UN resolutions and the efficacy of cross-border terrorism as tool to further Pakistan's case in Kashmir.

United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolutions:

In the wake of the October 22, 1947 Pakistani aggression in Kashmir under Major-General Akbar Khan, the Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh, signed the Letter of Accession on October 26, 1947 and formally informed India, with South Delhi's help. India referred the case to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on January 1, 1948, in the context of the Pakistani aggression.

UN Response:

The UBNSC president under UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 38 of January 17, 1948 called for direct talks between India and Pakistan. On January 20,1948, the UNSC passed Resolution 39 to investigate any 'dispute or situation' as matter of 'urgency' and constituted the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) to proceed to the spot with 'dual functions'. One, to "investigate the facts pursuant to Article 34 of the UN Charter" and two, "to exercise, without interrupting the work of the Security Council, any mediatory influence likely to smooth away difficulties." Subsequently, the Security Council adopted Resolution 47 of April 21, 1948, and 'strongly' opined that "early restoration of peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir is essential and that India and Pakistan should do their utmost to bring about a cessation of all fighting", [and] "noting with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of free and impartial plebiscite.

Article 370 of The Constitution:

Article 370 makes 'temporary provision' with respect to the State Art 370 clearly recognizes the special position of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Art 370 makes Art. 1 of the constitution which defines the territory of the Union, and Art.370 itself, applicable to the state at once. Article 370(1) (b) limits the power of parliament to make laws for the state to the following-

I. Those matters in Union List and Concurrent List, as correspond to the subjects specified in the State's Instrument of Accession.

The elaboration of these subjects in terms of entries in the two lists is to be done by the president in consultation with the Stage Government. In the Instrument of Accession three major heads have been mentioned, viz, defense, foreign affairs and communications. Each of these broad heads has a number of items which are also listed in the Instrument. Besides the three major heads, a number of ancillary matters has also been mentioned in the Instrument of Accession, e.g. Election of the president. It was necessary to identify those items in the Union and concurrent

Lists and this task was left to the president to be performed by him in consultation with the State Government.

II. Such other subjects in the union or Concurrent Lists as the President may by order specify with the concurrence of the state government.

This clause means that subjects other than those mentioned in the Instrument of Accession can be brought within the purview of parliament. But while in (i) above, only consultation with the state government is required, in (ii), the concurrence of the State Government has been stipulated.

Article 370 (1) (d) lays down that other provisions of the constitution besides the above, can be applied to the state with or without modification by order of the president. In a way Article 370 empowers the president to define the constitutional relationship of the state in terms of the provisions of the Indian Constitution, subject to the stipulation that he can do so with reference to the matters in the Instrument of accession in consultation with, and with reference to other matters with the concurrence of, the State Government. The word 'modification' in Art 370 is to be given the widest amplitude. Thus, the president has power to vary, amend or modify a constitutional provision, in any way he deems necessary, while applying it to the State. The power to 'modify' is co-extensive with the power to amend and is not confined to minor alterations only.

The Supreme Court has refused to interpret the word 'modification' as used in Art 370(1) in any 'narrow or pedantic sense'. The Supreme Court has observed this point.

"We are therefore of opinion that in the context of the Constitution we must give the widest effect to the meaning of the word "modification" used in Art 370(1) and in that sense it includes an amendment. There is no reason to limit the word "modification" as used in Art 370(1) only to such modifications as "do not make any radical transformation."

Further Article 370 authorizes the President to modify a constitutional provision not only when it is applied to the state for the first time, but even subsequently after it has been applied.

An amendment made to the constitution does not automatically apply to the State of Jammu & Kashmir. It can apply only with the concurrence of the State Government and when the President issues an order under 370.

The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir)

Order 1954:

Under Art 370(1)(b) (ii) the constitution (application to Jammu and Kashmir) order 1950 was promulgated by the President of India in Consultation with the Government of

Jammu and Kashmir. The order specified the matter with respect to which the Union Parliament was to be competent to make laws for the State. The order of 1950 was then replaced by an order with the same title 1954. This is the basic order which, amended and modified from time to time, regulates the constitutional status of the state. Today not only those Provisions of Indian Constitution which pertains to the matters mentioned in the Instrument of Accession, but many other provisions relating to several matters not specified in the Instrument apply to the State. Briefly the essentials of the constitutional position of the state are as follows.

- A. Provisions of the Constitution relating to the Central Government apply to the state with a few modifications. The state has six members in the Lok Sabha elected directly by the people of the State.
- B. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court extends over the State except for Art 135 and 139.
- C. The state is governed under a constitution of its own drafted by its constituent Assembly. This Constitution came into force on January 26, 1957, and it is patterned closely on the model of Indian Constitution relating to the Stage Governments (Legislature, Executive and High Court) do not apply to the state except for the following provisions concerning the High Court Judges:
 - a. The Judges of the State High Court can be removed from the office in the same manner as the Judges of any other High Court.
 - b. Restriction on retired High Court Judges to plead and act before any court or authority except the Supreme Court and other High Court apply to the Judges of the State High Court.
 - c. A Judge may be transferred to or from the State High Court after consultation with the Governor.
 - d. The State High Court has been given power along with the Supreme Court of India to issue Writs for the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights.
- D. In the field of Centre State relationship, the Legislative power of parliament Vis-à-vis the state extends to the matters specified in List 1 excluding entries 8,9,34,60,79,97. In a few other entries, such as (3,67,81), some modifications have been made in the application of the State.Parliament has no residuary power vis-à-vis the state.Originally List III was also made not applicable to the state under the Order of 1954. But Subsequent ally, through amendments of 1954 order, the concurrent List has been made applicable to the state to some extent.The State List

- has been dropped in the State. It means that Parliament can legislate with reference to the entries in List I and List III and all rest of the Legislative power vested in the State legislature.
- E. A proclamation of emergency under Art 352(1) cannot have any effect in relation to the State unless it has been made at the request or with concurrence of the State Government. A Proclamation can be made by the president under Art 356 if he is satisfied that the Government of state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of India, or the Constitution of the State. When a Proclamation under Art 356 is in operation, Parliament becomes entitled to legislate for matters not enumerated in the Union List. No Proclamation under Art. 360 applies to the State.
- F. The power of Parliament to reorganize the boundaries, etc., of the State is conditioned by the restriction that no Bill for such a purpose is to be introduced in the Parliament without consent of the State Legislature.
- G. Art.365 does not apply to the State.
- H. No provisions regarding minorities apply to the State except those for the Schedule Castes and Backward Classes; seats are to be reserved in the Lok Sabha for the scheduled Castes.
- I. An amendment made to the Constitution under Art.368 does not take effect in the state unless applied by President order Art. 370(1).
- J. Directive Principles of State Policy do not operate in the State.
- K. Fundamental Rights operate in the State with slight modifications, some of the important ones being.
 - a. The power of legislature, notwithstanding any Fundamental Right, has power to define persons who may be permanent residents of the state and confer on them any special rights, or impose on others any restrictions, as respects employment under the State Government, acquisition of property within the state, settlement in the state and right to scholarship provided by the state.
- L. No Outsider can buy land in the boundaries of the Jammu and Kashmir state.
- M. Jammu and Kashmir has their own Penal Code (i.e. Ranbir Penal Code).
- N. Incapability to alter the boundaries of Kashmir.

 Under Article 3 of Bhartiya Constitution, the Parliament has the right to change the boundaries of any province, provided the President consults with the authorities of

the concerned province before signing the bill. But, on account of Article 370, the Parliament of Hindusthan cannot alter the boundaries of Jammu and Kashmir. For doing so, it has to seek approval from the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir. It indicates that the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir is above the Parliament of Hindustan. Had Pandit Nehru not applied Article 370 to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Parliament of Hindusthan could have split Kashmir into various parts and annexed the said parts to the adjoining provinces. The only panacea to the problem of Kashmir is to abrogate Article 370, split Kashmir into parts and annex the said parts to the adjoining provinces in such a way that the Muslims may lose the majority, and Hindus may be induced to settle permanently in the said parts and annex the said parts to adjoining provinces in such a way that the Muslims may lost the majority, and Hindus may be induced to settle permanently in the said parts with overwhelming majority. The well-planned systematic dispersal of Muslim population and settlement of Hindu population in its place is the only remedy to the malady of Kashmir.

- O. Non-acceptance of Hindi-The decision of the Union of Bharat Pertaining of Hindi as national language could not be applied to Jammu and Kashmir because of Article 370. No member could speak in Hindi in the State Assembly without prior permission of the speaker.
- P. No CBI Kashmir- On account of baneful barrier of Article 370, Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) was not allowed to work in Jammu and Kashmir. Thus Sheikh Abdullah and his accomplices were let loose to collude with Pakistani conspirators with Pakistani agents and spies could not reach the ears of the ruling leaders of Hindustan.
- Q. Two Presidents in the one country- It will be apparent from the above that from time to time through Presidential orders passed under Art.370, a large number of the provisions of the Constitution have already become applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The only condition precedent for the exercise of this power by the president is the concurrence of the State Government. There is no limitation on the exercise of the power by the President in relation to one or more of the remaining provisions of the constitution. The process of extending the various provisions of the constitution to the state has been gradual and as a result of consensus between the Government of India and the State as dictated by experience and mutual advantage of both.

On February 24, 1975, Prime Minister India Gandhi made a Statement of the Future relationship between the state and the Indian Union. The highlight of the statement is that this constitutional relationship will continue as hitherto, and that the extension of further provisions of the constitution to the State will continue to be governed by the procedure prescribed in Art. 370.

Impact of Article 370 on Economic and Social Life:

Termed as the 'umbilical cord' of the Indian Constitution as it is the only line between India and Jammu and Kashmir, Article 370 is perhaps the most sensitive provision of the Constitution. The Parliament of India like the Parliament of other democratic nations is the supreme authority to make and amend the laws of the land but Article 370 has given birth to a sense of dual Supreme authorities and State Legislature having overriding powers over that of the consent of State Legislature is needed to make the laws on any other subject. Though this restriction can be revoked by the President but it can only be done with the consent of the laws enacted by the Parliament on the State Jammu and Kashmir.

Further the Union of India has no right to suspend the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir. The Union of India lacks the power to make proclamation on the grounds of internal disturbance or any anticipated threat. Such proclamations can be made with due consideration and consent by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. Directive Principles of State Policy (Part IV) and Fundamental Duties (Part IV A) are also not applicable on the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Union Government has been more than liberal while providing financial assistance to Jammu and Kashmir and as a result of the massive financial assistance from the Union Government has tried its best to promote the economy of Jammu and Kashmir. Despite being a rich source of numerous natural and human resources like water, wind, soil, forest, tourism, Jammu and Kashmir is not more than a beggar state. As no investor wants to invest his money in a continued state of threat and dual governmental complexities, there is hardly any big industry in Jammu and Kashmir which could generate employment for its people. The backbone of Jammu and Kashmir's income in i.e. tourism, is also declining due to threat of security. It is also said that unemployment in Jammu and Kashmir has promoted militancy. After completing education and sitting idle for a long time, the poor youth with limited resources, gets lured by a few thousand rupees for taking part in anti-national activities.

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Geo Strategic Importance of India's North West Border and Challenges to National Security

With Reference To Afghanistan - Pakistan - India Triangle

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Introduction:

India has long geographical boundaries on the north and west fronts. These borders are becoming unstable day by day. The North West border of India is now reached at challenging status. As this North West border of India is often crossed by non state factors. The policies of Pakistan and China are always harmful for India's National Security. The strategic steps are needed to face these encroaching attempts. It is seen that the North West border of India has become unstable from ancient India. In every period of history the North West border of India absorbed many military assaults. But the political and military understanding for coexistence is not shown by our neighboring countries. India forwarded peace keeping policies and behavior are not implemented by Pakistan and china. Pakistan used Afghan land for his strategic depth. This is a crucial time to adopt effective measures to check the concerned countries. The challenges before India's National security in detail as well as measures are suggested further. It is expected that all points discussed in this paper dealt with the comprehensive study of all aspects of the India's North West border and Afghan-Pak-India triangle.

Objectives:

Considering the wild span of the topic following objectives are put to deliberate.

- → To consider the historical importance of the North West border.
- → To understand the geostrategic position of the North West border.
- → To evaluate the geostrategic significance of the North West border with reference to Afghan-Pak-India.
- → To elucidate challenges of Afghan-Pak-India.
- → To suggest suitable measures to overcome the problem.

Methodology:

→ Historical method of the research process is prominently used for this research paper.

→ Book review, data collection, current references; illustrations have been taken in consideration for this research paper.

India's Geographical Boundaries:

India has various types of geographical boundaries with the 7 neighboring countries. The land, desert, ocean and mountain these geographical factors comprise India's borders. The total length of land border is approximately 15100 km. As far as our topic is concerned India has a 106 km land border with Afghanistan, in northern Jammu and Kashmir. This border is touched to India with POK. With Pakistan we have a 3325 km land border in the North West region. The Radcliffe line between India and Pakistan is a disputed matter. And also controversy between Pakistan and Afghanistan because of the Durand line. India and Afghanistan have geographical boundaries touched with each other before 1947.

Historical review of North West border:

The history of the North West border is related to Khyber Pass. The history of Khyber Pass as a strategic gateway dates from 326 BC. When Alexander marched with his army through Khyber Pass to reach the plain of India, from there he sailed down the Indus river and led his army across the desert of gedrosia. In the AD 900 Persian, Turk, Mughal, Afghan armies forced their way through the Khyber, bringing Islam to India. All foreign attackers used Khyber Pass to reach India. Centuries later, India became part of the British Empire and British troops defended the Khyber Pass from the British Indian side. During the Afghan Wars the pass was the scene of numerous skirmishes between Anglo-Indian soldiers and native Afghans. After the 1842 battle the British constructed a road through the Khyber Pass In 1879. They converted it into a highway during the 1920. A railroad was also built here in 1920. The Khyber Pass is a 53 km passage through the Hindu Kush mountain range. It connects the northern frontier of Pakistan with Afghanistan. (Before 1947 it's touched with India-Afghanistan) At its narrowest point the pass was only 3 meters wide. The Khyber Pass is one of the most famous mountain passes in the world. It is one of the most important passes between Afghan and Pak, and has had a long and often violent history. Conquering armies have used the Khyber as an entry point for their invasions. It has also been a major trade route for centuries. After 1947, the geographical situation for India changed in south Asia. After the partition of India, Pakistan became enemies because of religious and geographical regions. Today the Khyber Pass has been used to transport refugees from the Afghan civil war into Pakistan, and transport arms into

Afghanistan. Pakistan used these refugees against India into the valley of Kashmir. Khyber Pass links Kabul to Peshawar.

Indo - Pak Conflict:

India fought against Pakistan in various periods four times i.e. 1947-48, 1965, 1971, 1999. Regarding the all wars, North West border of India and Kashmir crises, Pakistan used Afghan land for his strategic depth against India.

Geostrategic significance of Afghanistan-Pakistan-India triangle:

- → Afghan-Pak-India is now neighboring countries by nature. It is the triangular relationship between one secular republic and two Islamic republic nations.
- → Afghanistan as a connecting link between central Asia and south Asia.
- → Political instability of Afghanistan has wider ramifications all over Asia mostly on India and Pakistan. As per security concern.
- → India as connecting link between South East Asia and Afghanistan -Pak region
- → Pakistan is a bridge between south Asia and southwest Asia.
- → Pakistan's military policies are always affected by India's securities issues.
- → This landlocked north triangle has an impact on India's National Security.

Challenges:

In ancient history of the North West border of India has faced many invasions. Nowadays India has become closer to Afghan than Pakistan. The strategic agreement between India and Afghan is problematic for Pakistan policy.

Following are the challenges to maintain triangular relationship:

- → Terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan is in a state of turmoil.
- → The spread of terrorism in Pakistan would affect India's security adversely.
- → Afghanistan has also been passing through turmoil and chaos and this is affecting India.
- → Drugs are generating the income that is fuelling terrorism.
- → Drugs trafficking in Afghanistan is bothering India due to its trade in India also.
- → Various states of India like Punjab have been affected by drug addiction mostly in the young generation.
- → America could not eliminate the Taliban completely from Afghan soil. Because the Taliban are getting economic income from selling opium.
- → Pakistan is indirectly providing assistance to Taliban for encouraging anti India activities and to control Afghan.

- → Presently Pakistan provides Afghan's export to India via Pakistan land. But not the the Indian goods to Afghan via Pakistan
- → Terrorism and its impact on triangular relationship between these nations.
- → The religious, social and economic problem of refugees is a tough challenge to the civilized borders.

Conclusion:

Considering all above discussion it is seen that because of this triangle crisis many challenges are growing on the North West border of India. Terrorism has become a very complex issue to India's national security. Taliban from Afghanistan and Pakistan both are responsible for the terrorist activity. There is a need for India to implement a realistic approach on Afghan policy. It is necessary to have a political objective with Afghanistan rather than military policy. Thinking about the challenges India has to study the military strategy, internal politics, and civil society opinion of Pakistan. There should be collaboration between India and Pakistan for the Afghan problem. These all measures should be adopted for the management of the North West border for triangular relationships.

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Strategic importance of Crude oil and Natural Gas: Role of the United Nations

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Abstract: The Middle East and its sub-region, its sub region is the most important area in the world, have long been amongst the most volatile regions of the world and major centers of world affairs; strategically, economically, politically, culturally, and religiously sensitive areas. The location of the Middle East and Persian Gulf has given the region a significant economic and strategic position. Both the Middle East and Persian Gulf region remain areas of unresolved and dangerous conflict involving the external powers, arms proliferation and ethnic and religious hatreds that go back centuries. Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates are the states around this water basin. The Persian Gulf and its coastal areas are the world's largest single source of crude oil and related industries dominate the region. Due to their huge oil and gas resources, the regional states play a significant role in global economy and these natural wealth have made the region very important from the geostrategic point of view.

Key words: Strategic importance, Crude oil, Natural gas, United Nations

'Nuclear deterrence' has prohibited the possibility of an open war and confrontation between rival powers during the Cold War years. The devastating effects of nuclear capabilities of each power has refrained them from consulting nuclear weapons. A kind of interdependence-in negative terms- was responsible to keep the war 'Cold' and prevent it from transferring to 'Hot' stages. It was the perception of threat that avoided the parties from pursuing conflicting behaviors. The threat of total destruction brought the relevant parties together in determining common policies. Now that the Cold War is over, actions, considerations and perceptions of sovereign nation states have faced changes. Old perceptions have been replaced with new ones. The perceptions that bring states together are no exception to that. Currently, it is the notion of 'common interests' that brings various parties together. Mutually beneficial relationships are responsible for the

continuation of uninterrupted flow of common interests of both parties. It is possible for, even, adversaries to conclude deals that favor both sides.

In order to gauge the strategic significance of these new energy resources, one must consider the unconventional oil and gas revolution alongside a number of other existing trends in global energy supply and demand. These include the decline of developed economies' energy consumption due to slowdowns in economic growth, greater efficiency and increased reliance on alternative fuels, the post-Fukushima environment for nuclear energy generation, the investments being made in deepwater, arctic, and other frontier oil and gas resources, concern over environmental stewardship, climate change, and the desire for clean energy technologies, the rise of new and dynamic energy consuming countries with varied strategic interests and state-owned companies, the relevance of old institutions of governance and cooperation, and a host of other nontechnical issues. Moreover, the production of unconventional oil and gas resources is at an early stage and a great deal is still unknown when it comes to the long-term production profiles, business cases, and sustainability of these resources. Therefore, when it comes to extrapolating long-term trends from an energy phenomenon of only the last several years, it is difficult to be confident of what the future might bring.

The United States has always been a resource abundant country with ample energy, agriculture, water, mineral, and human capital resources and it has used those resources to fuel its economic growth. Over the last several decades, the size and pace of that growth has driven increased reliance on imported oil and natural gas. This growing import dependence and the reality of our vulnerability to the often volatile global oil markets (and the long-held view that import dependence and price volatility would only deepen over time) cultivated a notion that the United States was a relatively resource constrained and energy-insecure country. World demand for energy continues to grow propelled in part by the booming economies of Asia. Furthermore, oil and natural gas are the primary drivers of the entire global economy, both in the developing and developed worlds. The world therefore faces the coincidence of increasing demand for energy and growing dependency on dangerous and unstable regions. Furthermore, the new patterns of Asian demand will invariably mean that different Asian countries will establish their own political and economic ties with the Persian Gulf countries. As geological exploration and new extraction technologies become more sophisticated, it is clear the world is well endowed with fossil fuels; coal, oil and natural gas. The problems of getting new energy to market are primarily economic and political. For the foreseeable future, the importance of Middle

East oil and natural gas supplies will increase and the Persian Gulf will continue to be the most significant repository for reasonably priced energy. Persian Gulf States hold 55 percent (728 billion barrels) of the world's crude oil reserves and access to the region's oil is critical to Western, indeed global, prosperity. Yet because of the expected untapped energy resources of the region, the local players and the key external powers realize that if political conflicts can be resolved, an economic bonanza could transform the region. To understand the contemporary geostrategic relevance of oil and gas resources of the region, the researcher has attempted to study and analyze the geopolitics of the regional states, regional order, and contemporary conflicts of the region, geostrategic importance of the Strait of Hormuz and the role of Iran and USA as two major powers of the region. Natural gas is undergoing a revolutionary transformation. Due to advances in drilling technology, vast amounts of the commodity have been unlocked. With a 100-year supply within the U.S. borders and under America's control, natural gas is quickly replacing other fossil fuels as America's energy source of choice.

In just a few years, demand has risen appreciably and is expected to continue to do so for decades to come. Natural gas is environmentally friendly, relatively inexpensive and has wide application in American commerce. Demand drivers are far-reaching and include numerous industries and initiatives. Currently, natural gas is making headway as a replacement for coal in power generation. Captive truck fleets and buses are turning to natural gas for its environmental and cost advantages relative to gasoline and diesel. Even the maritime and railroad industries are exploring operating ships and locomotives using natural gas rather than diesel fuel. With abundant supplies available, America has the opportunity to be energy independent and become a net exporter of natural gas. Natural gas has enabled America to rethink its energy needs, and numerous changes sparked by technological advances across multiple industries are underway. We believe that we are currently in the early stages of a major energy transformation in the U.S. and that natural gas will play a primary role over the next several decades. In just a few short years, natural gas has changed the way America consumes energy. With our new-found vast domestic supply, we believe natural gas' advantages relative to alternative fuels are becoming readily apparent. Numerous industries are turning to natural gas because it is clean, cheap, abundant and under our political control. With consumption of natural gas rising and projected to do so for decades to come, we believe that investors may potentially have the opportunity to benefit from the growing importance of natural gas well into the future.

Particularly over the last decade, the global energy landscape began to shift in even more influential ways. The world's most developed economies (and largest energy consumers) were beginning to slow down and the sudden onset of unforeseen growth rates in rapidly emerging developing economies, most notably China, came as an unprecedented demand side shock to the system. As the world's energy providers struggled to match demand with new supplies, prices for energy and other commodities rose across the board and some analysts and policymakers began to question the adequacy of the resource base or ability to get energy products to market in sufficient quantities to keep energy prices at a manageable level. Despite ample evidence that energy supplies were sufficient in terms of resources underground, the "above ground issues" (political instability, unwillingness of the world's major oil and gas resource holders to allow and provide timely investment into their area of sovereign resources, technological complexity, unwelcome or inconsistent investment frameworks, etc.) fed the so-called "scarcity mindset" that prevailed for much of the early to mid-2000s. The vast majority of conventional global oil and gas resources exist in the Middle East and Russia/Eurasia while demand centers continue to be in OECD economies of Europe, North America, developed Asia, and the rapidly emerging Asian consumers, China and India. Not only did this dichotomy raise a host of issues with regard to producer and consumer country dynamics, but it also introduced uncertainty about whether growing consumers like China and India would find use in supporting the global energy norms and institutions that were started in the 1970s. State-run oil and gas companies, not only in major producing countries like Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, and Russia, but also in China and India, started to evolve new strategies for investing in resources around the world, undercutting the efforts and access of the large, private, integrated oil and gas companies. The growing concern over resource scarcity, relentless demand growth, and the resulting potential for a new and higher floor for global energy prices created an enabling environment for an increasingly mainstream awareness about the need to tackle the problem of global climate change. If fossil-based energy sources were increasingly unstable and unreliable (and by inference more expensive), then a move toward traditionally more expensive low carbon energy sources (more efficient technologies and systems, wind, solar, geothermal, biomass, and nuclear) had a greater chance of contributing a larger share of global energy supplies, thereby reducing climate change causing greenhouse gas emissions. Particularly over the last decade, the global energy landscape began to shift in even more influential ways. The world's most developed economies (and largest energy consumers) were beginning to slow down and the sudden

onset of unforeseen growth rates in rapidly emerging developing economies, most notably China, came as an unprecedented demand side shock to the system. As the world's energy providers struggled to match demand with new supplies, prices for energy and other commodities rose across the board and some analysts and policymakers began to question the adequacy of the resource base or ability to get energy products to market in sufficient quantities to keep energy prices at a manageable level. Despite ample evidence that energy supplies were sufficient in terms of resources underground, the "above ground issues" (political instability, unwillingness of the world's major oil and gas resource holders to allow and provide timely investment into their area of sovereign resources, technological complexity, unwelcome or inconsistent investment frameworks, etc.) fed the so-called "scarcity mindset" that prevailed for much of the early to mid-2000s. The vast majority of conventional global oil and gas resources exist in the Middle East and Russia/Eurasia while demand centers continue to be in OECD economies of Europe, North America, developed Asia, and the rapidly emerging Asian consumers, China and India. Not only did this dichotomy raise a host of issues with regard to producer and consumer country dynamics, but it also introduced uncertainty about whether growing consumers like China and India would find use in supporting the global energy norms and institutions that were started in the 1970s. State-run oil and gas companies, not only in major producing countries like Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, and Russia, but also in China and India, started to evolve new strategies for investing in resources around the world, undercutting the efforts and access of the large, private, integrated oil and gas companies.

The growing concern over resource scarcity, relentless demand growth, and the resulting potential for a new and higher floor for global energy prices created an enabling environment for an increasingly mainstream awareness about the need to tackle the problem of global climate change. If fossil-based energy sources were increasingly unstable and unreliable (and by inference more expensive), then a move toward traditionally more expensive low carbon energy sources (more efficient technologies and systems, wind, solar, geothermal, biomass, and nuclear) had a greater chance of contributing a larger share of global energy supplies, thereby reducing climate change causing greenhouse gas emissions.

However, in the last several years the energy world has continued to change. The global financial crisis and economic downturn, combined with the perceived stalling out of the international climate regime, followed by an unprecedented nuclear disaster in Fukushima, Japan, and the worst deepwater oil spill in U.S. history have all served to once

again alter the geopolitical landscape vis-à-vis energy. While the lower levels of economic growth have given energy companies more time to invest and bring online energy resources in anticipation of future growth, it has also exacerbated the transition to new geopolitical dynamics, with some rapidly emerging economies experiencing a faster, more robust return to economic growth and increased energy consumption and an increased ability to spend money at home and abroad to further cultivate resources. Perhaps the most fundamental change to emerge over this timeframe has been the widespread realization of the economic, technological, and commercial viability of the tremendous oil and natural gas resources within North America and the potential for transferring this production success to other parts of the world with similar resources. These developments may alter the global energy landscape in several important ways.

Domestically, the combination of high natural gas prices in 2006-2008, a permissive regulatory and resource ownership structure, technological know-how, and industry composition have allowed U.S. oil and gas producers to achieve and improve production processes and unlock abundant hydrocarbon resource production potential that were previously believed to be uneconomic. The resulting transformation has been overwhelming. According to the latest outlook from the International Energy Agency, the United States will overtake Saudi Arabia as the largest oil producer in 2017, will surpass Russia as the largest natural gas producer in 2015, will be energy self-sufficient in 25 years, and could be a net oil exporter by 2030.

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China-Pakistan Economic Corridor:

Geopolitical Impact on Regional Dynamics of Energy Security

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Introduction

This will be my first trip to Pakistan, but I feel as if I am going to visit the home of my own brother- Xi Jinping wrote this in open Editorial, during his first visit to Pakistan, in 2015. An access to Arabian Sea is a long cherished dream of china. Construction of the Karakoram highway is the product of this dream. During General Pervez Musharraf dictatorship this dream sprouted with construction of Gwadar Port in 2006. But political turmoil in Pakistan delayed further development. There was hardly any development between 2006 and 2012.

In 2013 the Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari and Chinese Premier Li Keqiang decided to build an economic corridor between the two countries. After peaceful transition of power to Nawaz Sharif in 2014. Nawaz Sharif further developed this economic corridor and included many infrastructural projects, he prudently added Punjabi dominance factor to this corroder.

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) consisted of many projects. It includes construction port, road highway, Railways, Building energy project, optical fibre network and construction of oil- gas pipeline network[1]. CPEC is a 46 billion dollar investment, however, the bulk of the funding, about \$33 billion, is allocated for energy projects. Majority of energy project are of Early Harvest categories, they will completed by 2020. This project is constructed by private Chinese companies such as China's Zonergy, Xinjiang Sun Oasis, Three Gorges Corporation, Huaneng Shandong Company and Shandong Ruyi Science & Technology Grouped. This project is funded by Chinese's bank China Development Bank, and the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China.

Geopolitical frameworks

Geopolitical theories have always claimed an ability to tell us how the world is going to be, what and where an imminent threat will be, hence offering prescription or

polite implication to international events. Geopolitics as thought and practice have links with nation-states foreign policy, national interest and world views.

As Friedrich Ratzel and Rudolf Kjellen mentioned in their writing state is a living thing and hence needs Lebensraum i.e. living Space. In earlier days the state acquired these spaces by expansion .Nowadays the state uses different methods such as strategic partnership, Bilateral Agreements etc.

We have to look at the regional dynamics of India's western border from this geopolitical framework. India, China and Pakistan have their own strengths and restraints to manoeuvres in this region. Like chase board every move will have some consequence, hence long term policy formation and contractive engagement is imperatives

One Belt and One Road

The One Belt One Road (OBOR)concept proposed and nurtured by Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China. It has international strategic importance. The One Belt One Road initiative covers countries and regions with a total population of 4.4 billion and a total economic volume of US\$ 21 trillion, 63 % and 29 % respectively of the World's total[2] it have two Part for land -Silk Road Economic Belt(SREB) and for sea-Maritime Silk Road(MSR) .. Xi Jinping wants to utilize western China as a strategic safety major for its economic growth.CPEC is part of OBORs land base road connectivity project. It covers the entire Pakistan territory.

CPEC -New EnergyCorridor

The Gwadar port lies on the conduit the three important regions – Gulf region i.e. Arab world, Central Asia and South Asia. It will become a new terminal of energy route with completion of CPEC. Now the Strait of Malacca and South China Sea is the main transit route, 87 million barrels of oil produced per day in 2011, approximately 15.2 million passed through the Strait of Malacca, to EastAsian markets[3]. With completion CPEC china will not depend on this route. China can have direct contact with oil producing countries in west Asia and with further development of the oil and gas pipeline China may overcome its security dilemma.

In recent years, China has worked hard to develop linkages to the energy-rich Central Asian countries. China wants to reduce its dependence on Trade through the Indian Ocean and South China Sea, regions where India and U S respectively, have strong naval presence. This could become choke points, in the event of a confrontation between the two powers.

In short CPEC will become a new energy route as China is the biggest importer of oil in Asia and the world.

Energy infrastructureProjects in CPEC-

(Source: http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/China-Pak-Econ-Corridor-Map.jpg)

As located in figure, Energy projects are allotted along the CPEC to different provinces of Pakistan. These projects are for fulfilment the energy demand of Pakistan. Pakistan's current energy generating capacity is 24,830 MW[4] Pakistan is going through very high energy to be specific electric energy shortage problem

The energy projects proposed under CPEC are going to be constructed by Chinese private companies and consortium of state companies. The Exim Bank of China will finance these private investments at 5–6% interest rates; while the government of Pakistan will be obliged to purchase electricity from those firms at pre-negotiate rates

Quaid-e-Azam Solar Park was constructed by China's Zonergy company near Bahawalpur city with an estimated capacity of 1000MW. On completion it will be biggest solar plant in Asia.the Jhimpir Wind Power Plant is built by the Turkish company Zorlu Energy. The Dawood wind power project is under development by Hydro China. SK Hydro Consortium is constructing the 870 MW Suki Kinari Hydropower Project in the Kaghan Valley of Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. Karot Hydropower Project Is being constructed on Jhelum Riverby Three Gorges Corporation

Under CPEC china will build coal-based plants, worth of with \$5.8 billion by early 2019 near Hub and Gwadar City.Sahiwal Coal Power Project of 1,320MW capacity is being constructed in Punjab by two Chinese firms: the Huaneng Shandong Company and Shandong Ruyi Science & Technology Group

China has announced that it will build part of Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline from Gwadar to Nawabshah. China Petroleum Pipeline Bureau is responsible for building this pipeline. Like depicted in the map it will cover the entire length and breadth of Pakistan.

Regional dynamic

CPEC is not just an Economic corridor .It has a major impact on regional balance. It will certainly change the geopolitical equation in the region. There are four main players in this region India, China, Pakistan and Afghanistan. At this movement Afghanistan is too weak to assert it concerns on CPEC, might remain passive and defensive

China: the motive behind Chinese's "constructive engagement" with Pakistan is manifold such as development of western china, direct link to western world, offsetting US

influence in south china sea ,assertion of global image, as strategic base for involvement in west Asia and proxy against india etc.

China establishments have strong security concerns about energy routes passing throughIndia Ocean and South China Sea .China wants to build alternatives for this route. There are some constraints on Chinese movies. Pakistan is going through internal instability. Army engaged more on interior of Pakistan than on border. Many militant groups operate autonomously. They have very little control. This view has hindered the progress of CPEC, china want Pakistan must take responsibility of protection of their investments. That why ,recently Army chief of Pakistan announce build separate force for CPEC protection. Still china has concern over security of project and that why they welcome India for involvement. This-India's Involvement- in CPEC mayact guaranty for their investment in POK.

Pakistan: historically Pakistan sees India as an enemy state hence all policies of Pakistan are drawn from these lenses .border dispute, anxiety of proximity, size and India's stature in world politics have fuelled insecurity and angst in Pakistani establishment. They feel CPEC as an opportunity to reduce the same.

CEPC is not only strategically important to Pakistan but also tactically.with energy self-sufficiency Pakistan will get strategic denial ability, againstIndia's TAPI and IPI project. Pakistan may delay these projects. In long run Pakistan my hinder the India's Ambition to have land access to Afghanistan and central Asia

However there are constraining on Pakistanfirst weak state presence in interior of western Pakistan second strong tribal identity and their clashes with central government overnumberissue. Third Dominance of Punjab and Punjabi interest in CPEC other province feel that they are kept out and not going to benefitted by this project. Fourth, resistance movement in Balochistan and Gilgit-Baltistan. Many Pakistani scholar strong apprehensions over negotiation and term and conditions of Pact, as many things are not in Public Domain. This entire factor will put question mark at feasibility of project

India: India has three strong perceived corns against this project first CPEC passes through Pok. Second Pakistan May hinder the India's Access central Asian countries and third militarization of ArabianSea and formation of choke point at the strait of hormuz

In recent days Pakistan-China nexus frequently hinders India's international move, with CPEC as Pakistan may delay the progress of already delayed TAPI and IPI pipelines. Presence Chinese's navy of Arabian Sea will jeopardise the energy trade route of India.

These threats are seem genuine because Pakistan have notorious track record of disturbingIndia

However India has some leverage points, India can develop another parallel route through Chabahar port –Iran- Afghanistan –central Asia. India enjoys considerable support from afghan government and people. This may help to build this parallel corridor If India wish to use tit for tact tactics, can support the resistance movement in Western Pakistan as Pakistan has weak state presence in interior their concern may come truer if India act in this way or there is another option with development of chabahar route India can also accept Chinese invention and proactively involvement in CEPC. India should assert his demand and resolve the concern

These individual concerns of each country become a factor of the regional dynamics of geopolitics of this region. Each country has some plus and minus points. Development of political theatre will depend on what they decide to confront or constructive engagement.

Sum up

To sum-up, China is no nonsense country when it comes to business. I think CPCE is going to be a fact of the coming days. How it will be executed, it will depend on regional geo-political maneuvering. Tactical move of each country will not only decide the feasibility of the project but also the future of energy trade in this region.

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Establishing Islamic Supremacy by Iran & Saudi Arabia through Proxy Wars in the Middle-East.

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Abstract

For a prolonged period of time, there have been a conflict that exists between Iran and Saudi Arabia. The ongoing conflict between these two Countries is basically a struggle in order to influence the Middle-Eastern Countries with the help of some rebels of their particular sects to whom they support and by making their respective sects as the base to dominate those regions. Saudi Arabia is basically based on a strict Sunni (Wahhabis) sect, while Iran is based on Shia sect. So, Iran and Saudi Arabia seems to give more emphasis on the majority of the Sunni's and the Shia's population in the Middle Eastern Countries. Therefore, it can be said that the conflict is between the Shia and the Sunni's and hence, this conflict is 'Instrumental' in nature. However, the countries are not directly involved in conflict but are trying to establish Islamic supremacy in the Middle East through their proxies. The external powers like the USA, Russia, China, etc., are also involved in this Middle Eastern conflict by supporting both the rivals.

Analysis is done on the basis that, the supporters of Sectarianism claim that the conflict is mere a Sectarian one, while some of the writers based on their Geopolitical thoughts claim that the conflict is basically held for the Geopolitical benefits. But, I think that, in this ongoing conflict, Iran & Saudi Arabia have made their respective sects as the base of the conflict or have used it as an instrument to prove their Geopolitical Dominance. Hence, this Article will focus on the strained relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia, their endeavours to establish Islamic Supremacy in the Middle East through their proxies and the support of External Powers in the region.

Methods

I have used a 'Descriptive Method' in order to elaborate the Article on this ongoing issue and have referred to a number of articles from some of the recognized websites as well as some of the Literature and Books that are available Online. Further, the charts, tables and maps are also taken from these recognized websites.

Key Words

Islamic Republic of Iran, Wahhabi's, Pahlavi Dynasty, Revolutionaries', Middle Eastern Countries, Proxies, Shia Militia Group, Sunni Militants.

Introduction

The people of Iran under Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi or under the Pahlavi Dynasty, were very much dissatisfied. The Dynasty was supported by the United States and was seen as a threat for the Iranian Islamic culture and hence there was a civil unrest in the country. The regime of Shah was corrupt in nature and caused inflations. And hence, there was a discontent among the people of Iran. This resulted in a revolt which was known as the Islamic Revolution or the 1979 Revolution, in order to overthrow the Pahlavi Dynasty of Shah. The Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was seen as a leader in this revolt. He made serious efforts to replace the existing government or the Monarchy and finally achieved success in establishing the Islamic Republic Government. The revolutionaries were mainly from the Shia sect.

At the same time, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia saw the Iranian revolt of 1979 as a serious threat to the Arab World. They perceived the revolution of the Shias as a challenge to their Islamic Wahhabi's culture (Sunni Muslims) and thought that the Shia revolutionaries of Iran or the Islamic Republic of Iran will embolden most of the Shia population in the Middle Eastern Countries and would therefore, form an entire group of the Shia sect in this region and by this way, continue to spread its dominance. However, the assumptions and suspicions of Saudi Arabia were proved to be true when the Islamic Republic of Iran started supporting the Hezbollah's, a Shia Islamist Political Party and a Militant Group (Shia Militia Group) who are based and are active in Lebanon. So in order to counter them and prevent their activities and the spread of their sect, they also started to build up their efforts in Lebanon. Thus, we can say that, this was the beginning of the conflict between the two, i.e., Saudi Arabia and Iran. The same thing can be seen in the Civil wars of Yemen, Syria, Iraq, etc. where both the countries support their proxies for the regional dominance. Hence both of them are trying to prevent the spread of each other's sect through proxies and by their supporters as well. However, Iran and Saudi Arabia are not directly involved in a fight but, are agitated in supporting the rival sides and militias, forming a proxy war around the region. From this, we understand that both the countries are making their respective sects as the base of conflict and thus, this ongoing conflict is instrumental in nature for the geopolitical dominance. And hence, the contour of the likely evolution of this bilateral can't be alone determined by the Sectarian theology and geopolitics as a dominant determinant but by a conglomeration of the two.

Before we move forward to discuss their strained relations, it is necessary to give a glance on the table which is given on the next page that gives us a brief idea of some of the proxies as well as the supporters of both the countries.

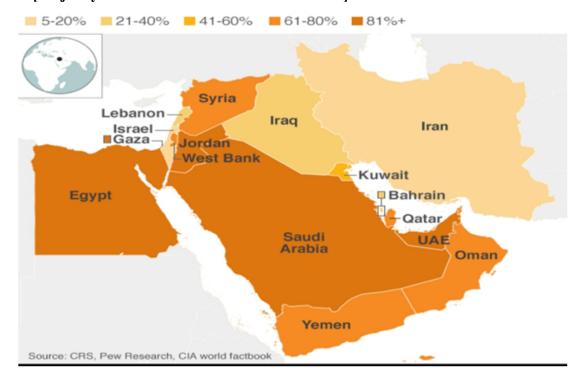
Table no. 1

Sr.No.	Iranian Supporters and Proxies	Saudi Arabian Supporters and Proxies	Other Involved Parties
01	Iran's Equivalent Group – Kataib Hezbollah (based in Iraq)	Gulf Cooperation Council	Russia
02	Hezbollah [based in Lebanon{Splitted region}]	People's Mujahedin of Iran	China
03	Houthis [based in Yemen (Yemini rebels){Splited region}]	Kurdish Insurgents (KDPI – Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran)	Turkey
04	Shi'ite separatists in Saudi Arabia	Jaish-ul-Adl	Qatar
05	Iraqi Militias	Israel	
06	Syria	United States [USA]	
07	Cuba	United Arab Emirates [UAE]	
08	North Korea	Egypt	
09		Bahrain	

Dominance of the Islamic Republic of Iran in various regions of the Middle East.

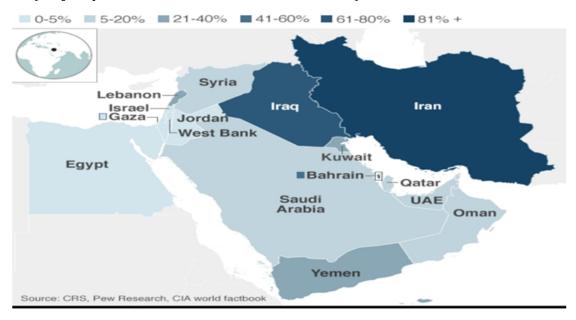
After the 1979 revolution period of Iran, the representatives of the Shia sect were successful in establishing the Islamic Republic of Iran. The then leader of this Iranian Revolution, 'Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini' thus, proved to be a guiding force in building up the Iranian Islamic Republic. In the aftermath of this revolution period, majority of the population belonging to the Shia sect in the Middle East Region were emphasised. Therefore, here it becomes clear that, the Islamic Republic of Iran started dominating the countries of Middle East like, Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq, Syria etc., on the grounds of the majority of the people belonging to this Shia sect. The Supreme Leader, 'Ali Khamenei' and the President, 'Hassan Rouhani' of Iran (Capital – Tehran) therefore succeeded in continuing and maintaining their state religion, i.e., 'Islam' (Twelver Shia).

Map no. 1 & 2 helps us understand the majority of Shia & Sunni Muslims in the Middle Eastern countries that is given on the next page.



Map no. 1 [Majority of Shia Muslims in the Middle East]

Source: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-42008809



Map no. 2 [Majority of Sunni Muslims in the Middle East]

Source: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-42008809

Later in the 1980's, Saddam Hussein, a Sunni Arab Muslim, President of Iraq (Ba'athist Party) was opposing the Iranian power as he was threatened from the spread of its religion, as most of the majority of Muslim population in Iraq belonged to the Shia Sect. Therefore, he invaded Iran on 22 September 1980 that led to a decisive War between the two that continued for a prolonged period of eight years, i.e., till 20 August 1988 (rightly known as Iran-Iraq War). The War ended

with the acceptance of Iran for a UN Brokered cease fire. In this way, Iran was facing lot of difficulties with the Iraqi's Ba'athist party. But this troublesome situation of Iran was solved when the United States launched an invasion in 2003 at Iraq in order to overthrow Saddam Hussein even though he was backed by USA. According to George W. Bush, the then President of the USA concluded that, Saddam Hussein was supporting the Terrorist Organizations and was proved to be a serious threat to the United States of America and the Iraqi people as well. He was possessing and producing Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) which includes (RNBC) that is, Radiological, Nuclear, Chemical & Biological Weapons, which prove a serious threat to the World Peace. However, the President of USA declared that this invasion was done in order to free the people of Iraq and to establish World Peace. Now, as Saddam Hussein was overthrowed by the US due to such reasons, a Power vacuum was created in this region which was seen as a Golden opportunity by Iran to take over the Government of Baghdad (Capital – Iraq). This was fetched as a new path by the Iranian Power in order to establish a Shia-dominated Government in Iraq. So, the influence of Iran that was rising in Iraq with such an incident, was perceived as a big threat to the Middle East by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Another reason to establish a Shia dominated Government in Iraq was that the majority of the Muslims in Iraq were belonging to the Shia sect and had a hatred towards their President that is, Saddam Hussein and the Ba'athist Government as well, that was backed by the USA. But, after analysing the rising influence of the Iranian Power, USA deployed it's Armed Forces in Iraq till 2011, as an aid to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Later, in December 2011 the withdrawal of US forces from Iraq, again led to the Iran's sphere of influence.

On the other hand, in Syria, Iran and Russia are supporting its President, 'Bashar al-Assad' in order to prevent the groups that are backed by Saudi Arabia. Syria's President, Bashar-al-Assad is a member of Shia sect. and is highly depended on the Iran's Shia Militia Group. Thus, the Government of Assad in Syria is engaged in opposing the Sunni rebels of Saudi Arabia. Hence, we can say that, this is a contributory factor for a Proxy War in Syria. That is why, this region is a splited one.

The Iran – Hezbollah Network

Hezbollah is a Shia Islamist Political Party and a Militant Group called as Shia Militia Group which is based and active in Lebanon. Hezbollah's Secretary General, 'Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah' receives financial and military aid from the Islamic Republic of Iran in order to counter the Sunni Militants, backed by Saudi Arabia. The Hezbollah's consider themselves as the 'Party of God' to protect Lebanon.

In the early 1980's, when the Israeli Forces took over Lebanon, the Shia Militia Groups launched attacks on the Israeli Forces and its ally, SLA (South Lebanon Army). Just after this

incident, Shia Militia Group was formed as Hezbollah. This was how the Hezbollah's were evolved. They are also called as the, 'Islamic Resistance Force'. The superiority of these forces was proved in the Israel war of 2006, where Saudi Arabia was supporting this State. From then onwards, the Hezbollah's are engaged in destroying the Israeli targets, so that they can show their valour in a large proportion to the Israel's supporting Monarch, that is, Saudi Arabia. Hezbollah's also support the Syrian President, Bashar-al-Assad to counter the Sunni rebels of Saudi Arabia. In 2016, Gulf Countries led by Saudi Arabia, Israel and some of the Western States has declared it as a Terrorist Organisation and see it as a threat to the stability of the people of Lebanon. Instead of this, the Hezbollah's are popular among the Shia community of Lebanon. So, as the two blocks exist in Lebanon, that is one of Hezbollah and the other of Sunni rebels, the region is in a split.

The Iran – Houthi Network

The Houthi Movement (Ansar Allah) is an armed rebellion movement that emerged in the Northern part of Sa'dah in Yemen. It's Leader and Founder, 'Hussein Badreddin al-Houthi was basically from a Houthi tribe and so it was called as a Houthi Movement. This Movement was opposing to the President of Yemen, 'Ali Abdullah Saleh' who was backed by the USA and Saudi Arabia and who was very corrupt in nature. After Hussein was killed in 2004, the movement grew stronger in Yemen. Further, the movement has been headed by his brother, 'Abdul-Malik al-Houthi'.

For years, Yemen was under the influence of Saudi Arabia and was constrained by its actions. Therefore, this was seen as an opportunity by the Iranian Power to support the movement against Saudi Arabia. Thus, the uprisings in Yemen that occurred in 2011-12 were fully exploited by Iran to counter the Saudi Arabian Power. The Houthi rebels in Yemen were provided with weapons, ammunitions, information gathering systems, etc., and also with money by Iran in order to strengthen their movement. Since then, Saudi Arabia is engaged in a number of conflicts with these rebels to prevent the Iranian power and its influence in the region. Therefore, the support of the Saudi Kingdom to the Government of Yemen and in the same way the support of Iran to the Houthi rebels, seem to escalate tensions and fuel the proxy war in this splited territory. So far as Iran is concerned, the attacks carried out by the Houthi's against the Saudi capital and its infrastructure can be seen as an example of a proxy fight between the two. For such a reason, Saudi Arabia blames Iran for the supply of Ballistic Missiles fired by the Houthi's. These attacks will add to a decisive confrontation between Tehran and Riyadh in the near future.

Saudi Arabian Politics to Counter the Iranian Power

Today, Saudi Arabia is considered as one of the World's largest oil producers that attracts many of the External Powers in the region. The Crown Prince of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 'Mohammad-bi-Salman', declares the State as the leader of the Muslim World. However, the Iranian Revolution of 1979, proved a challenge to its Islamic Supremacy in the Middle Eastern Countries.

Relying upon its strict Wahhabi's Sunni culture, the Crown Prince is undertaking many measures to stop the spread of Shia sect and the influence of Iran in the Middle East. For this purpose, Mohammad-bin-Salman is supported by the Trump administration. So, in order to counter and overcome the threats from Iran, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has established the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and is engaged in supporting some of its proxies in the Middle East. As, Israel faces a number of threats from Iran, it also supports the King Salman to contain Iran

The Gulf Cooperation Council

This council was formed by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on 25 May 1981, including six member states, namely, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman and Qatar. The Council has achieved success to contain Iran and to prevent its influence to some extent. However, Qatar is an exception to this, as it supports the Iranian Power.

Support of Saudi Arabia to other Proxies

Relations got more strained when the Saudi's started supporting the insurgents and rebels that were active in Iran. Organizations like, Peoples Mujahedin of Iran (MEK), Kurdish Insurgents (KDPI), Jaish-ul-Adl, received a tremendous support from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in order to limit the Iranian influence in the Middle East. Few instances of each organization given below shows us the efforts of Saudi and its proxies to seize Iran. MEK is an organization that is aimed at replacing the govt. of Islamic Republic of Iran which motivates the Saudi Kingdom to support it. On the other hand, many brutal attacks that are carried out by the Kurdish Insurgents on the western frontier of Iran are again backed by the Saudi's, but are cracked down by Iran from time to time. Also, the Jaish-ul-Adl, a Sunni (Baluchi's) Militant organization was financially aided by the Saudi's from time to time in a number of brutal attacks that were done on the South eastern side of Iran. Assault's killing many of the Iranian Border Guards that took place in the city of Saravan on 25 October 2013 & on 26 April 2017, bombardments done at Zahedan on 29 January 2019, and suicide bombing in Iran that was held on February 13, 2019 that targeted a bus carrying Personnel killing more than 30, are some of the examples that shows the Saudi support to the Jaish-ul-Adl Militant Organization, which in turn gears up the proxy war.

Role of External Powers in the Middle East

The other involved parties and External Powers like USA, China, Russia, Turkey, Qatar, etc., also play a crucial role in the dynamics of Middle East. For instance, recent developments in Syria can be seen in the form of the Drone attacks led by Turkey in the Idlib region of Syria done on 6th March 2020. According to Imad Moustapha a Syrian ambassador to China, stated that, this direct intervention of Turkey will definitely destabilize the region and further the grave repercussions will be faced by the Turkey alone, as Iran stands strong to support the Assad Government of Syria. Qatar is also one of the closest ally of Iran supporting its Islamist Group, whereas, the GCC states sees it as a mortal threat to the Middle East and are engaged to impose restrictions and doing Blockade in this region. USA has always supported the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the GCC States to limit the Iranian influence whereas, China show support to both the rivals as it depends on these oil producing countries and hence, do not want to conduct such measures that would affect its Silk route project whose ultimate aim is to import oil.

Conclusion

With the analysis of this ongoing conflict, it becomes clear that, the two 'Power Block's' in the Middle East are not directly involved in a fight but are engaged in a number of Proxy Wars to establish Islamic Supremacy. Based on their particular sect's, both the countries are using it as a tool to influence the Middle Eastern countries and for this purpose, majority of the people belonging to their particular sects are taken into account. Hence, this conflict is instrumental in nature that is fought for the geopolitical dominance. The continuous proxy fight between the two may result into a direct military confrontation that will cause instability in the entire region. Thus, this article gives us an idea of this ongoing issue and definitely contributes to our knowledge regarding to the dynamics of the Middle East.

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कश्मीर खोऱ्यातील अशांतता – कश्मीर मधील फ्टीरवादाची सरुवात व सद्यस्थिती

राहुल विठ्ठल आव्हाड संरक्षणविषयक अभ्यासक गडचिरोली

भारताच्या एकूण लोकसंख्येपैकी आज जवळपास 41% लोकसंख्या २० वर्षांखालील युवकांची आहे[1]. भारतासारख्या विकसनशील राष्ट्राला एक मजबूत राष्ट्र म्हणून अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तरावर ओळख मिळवून देण्यात युवकांचे वेगवेगळ्या क्षेत्रांतील योगदान उल्लेखनीय आहे. भारत हा वैचारिक, सांप्रदायिक, भौगोलिक, सांस्कृतिक दृष्टीकोनातून विविधता असणारा देश आहे. या घटकांचा प्रत्येक प्रदेशातील युवकांवर व त्यांच्या विकासावर वेगवेगळ्या प्रकारे प्रभाव पडलेला दिसतो. याचाच प्रत्यय कश्मीर मधील तरुणांच्या बाबतीत येत आहे. भूसामारिक दृष्टीकोनातून अतिशय महत्त्वाच्या असणाऱ्या या प्रदेशात फुटीरवादाला चालना मिळत असून, विशेषतः या भागातील युवकांचा फुटीरवादाला असणारा पाठिंबा वाढतो आहे. तेथील युवकांची जडणघडण ही काहीश्या तणावपूर्ण वातावरणात होत असल्याने आज त्यांची मानसिकता नेमकी कशी आहे, हे जाणून घेणे भारत सरकारच्या कश्मीर मधील विकासात्मक धोरणांना योग्य दिशा मिळण्याकरिता अतिशय महत्त्वाचे आहे. त्याकरिता कश्मीरमध्ये फुटीरवादाला सुरुवात कशी झाली याचा संदर्भ घेणे आवश्यक आहे.

दुसऱ्या महायुद्धादरम्यान कश्मीर संस्थानातील ७१,६६७ लोकांचा ब्रिटीशांच्या लष्करात समावेश होता. त्यातील ६०,४०२ सैनिक मुस्लीम होते. परंतु, या महायुद्धानंतर परतलेल्या मुस्लीम सैनिकांवर विश्वास नसल्याने राजा हरिसिंग यांनी त्यांना आपल्या सेनेत समाविष्ट करून न घेतल्याने त्यांपैकी बरेचसे शेतीकरण्यासाठी आपल्या प्रदेशात, पुंछ व मिरपूर येथे परतले. पुंछ हे जम्मू काश्मीर संस्थानांतर्गत स्वतंत्र राज्य होते, ज्याची निष्ठा काश्मीरच्या महाराजाप्रती होती. या प्रदेशातील लोक मुस्लीम असले तरी वांशिकदृष्ट्या ते काश्मिरींपेक्षा पंजाबींना जवळचे होते. आपल्या प्रदेशात परतलेल्या या आदिवासिजनानां हे समजले की महाराजाने तेथील शाशकाला बरखास्त करून अन्यायकारक कर लादले आहे. तेव्हा, त्याचे रुपांतर उठावात झाले. हरि सिंग यांनी या उठावाला दडपण्यासाठी पोलीसी कारवाईला स्रवात केली. तेव्हा, पोलीस दलातील मुस्लीम देखील उठावात सहभागी झाले. त्यानंतर या सेनेने 'आझाद कश्मीर' चळवळीला मजबूत करण्याचे काम केले. त्याचदरम्यान पाकिस्तान अस्तित्वात आला. तेव्हा, पुंछ भागातील लोकांनी हा भाग पाकिस्तानमध्ये विलीन करण्याची मागणी केली. तेव्हा महाराजा हरिसिंग यांनी दडपशाहीचे धोरण अवलंबले. हजारो मुस्लीम पाकिस्तान व आझाद कश्मीरमध्ये गेले. त्यानंतर, लवकरच आझाद कश्मीरचे सरकार अस्तिन्वात येऊन मुजफ्फराबाद मुख्यालय बनविण्यात आले. यादरम्यान 'आझाद' सेनेतील अनेकांनी पाकिस्तानात जाऊन सहानुभूती असणाऱ्यांनकडून पैसे गोळाकरून शस्ने आणली[2]. हे सर्व घडत होते तेव्हा कश्मीर संस्थान भारतात विलीन झालेले नव्हते. कश्मीर मधील या घडामोडींमुळे पाकिस्तानला तेथे पठणानकरवी घुसखोरी करण्याची आयती संधीच मिळाली व या भागातील फुटीरवादाला चालना

मिळाली. वरील इतिहास सांगण्याचा हेतू हा की, कश्मीरमध्ये फुटीरवाद, हे संस्थान भारतात सामील होण्यापूर्वीच सुरु झाला होता आणि सध्या हाच फुटीरवाद कश्मीर मधील दहशतवादापेक्षाही मोठी समस्या भारतासाठी आहे. असे म्हणण्यास कारण की, आज हा फुटीरवाद या भागातील अश्या तरुणांत पसरत आहे ज्यांपुढे आपल्या वर्तमानातील व भविष्यातील विकासाबाबत सकारात्मक विचारच नाहीत.

सुरक्षा दलांबरोबर झालेल्या चकमकीत हिजबुल मुजाहिद्दीनचा कश्मीर मधील कमांडर दहशतवादी बुन्हाण वाणी मारला गेला. त्यानंतर जवळपास चार महिने कश्मीर मधील काही ठराविक जिल्ह्यांत जो हिंसाचार उसळला त्यातील लक्षवेधून घेणारा भाग म्हणजे १०-१२ वर्षांच्या मुलांपासून ते युवकांपर्यंतचा उत्स्फूर्त सहभाग!! हिंसाचाराच्या शेवटच्या टप्प्यात तेथील महिलांनी देखील आपल्या अनुपस्थिती बद्दल कोणी बोल् नये म्हण्न ती कमी भरून काढायचा प्रयत्न केला. महत्त्वाचे म्हणजे कश्मिर मधील लहानातल्या लहान मुलांना कळते की कोणते राष्ट्र आपले शत्रू आहे व कोणते राष्ट्र आपले मित्र!! त्यांच्यातील ही साक्षरता खरोखरच दाद देण्याजोगी आहे.

उपहासात्मक मृद्दा सोडला तरी लक्ष्यात घ्यावयाची गोष्ट ही की फुटीरवादी वृती एका पिढीपासून दुसऱ्या पिढीपर्यंत सहजतेने पोहोचत आहे. असे असले तरी एक प्रश्न मात्र विचार करण्यासारखा असुन तो म्हणजे, काय खरोखरच या दगडफेकीत सहभागी झालेले सर्व युवक फुटीरवादाला पाठिंबा देणारे होते? जाणकारांचे उत्तर नक्कीच नाही असे असेल. बुऱ्हाण वाणीच्या मृत्युनंतर फुटीरवाद्यांनी आंदोलन सुरु केल्यावर प्रत्येकजन आपापल्या वेगवेगळ्या उद्देशांमुळे सहभागी झाल्याचे जाणवते. त्यातील काहींचा सरकारवर रोष असेल, काहींचा सुरक्षा दलांवर, तर काहिंना तसे करून मिळणारे पैसे हवे असतील, काहींना स्वतंत्र कश्मीर हवा असेल, वैगरे वैगरे. अश्यापारीस्थितीत बुऱ्हाणच्या मृत्युनंतर निर्माण झालेल्या असंतोषाने या सर्वाना एकत्र येऊन आपला रोष व्यक्त करण्याची एक संधी मिळाली, असे म्हणण्यास वाव आहे. तेव्हा बुऱ्हाण व त्याच्या भावावर सुरक्षा दलांनी अत्याचार केला होता असे म्हणणाऱ्यांनी असे म्हणू नये की या हिंसाचारात सहभागी झालेल्या प्रत्येक युवकावर अत्याचार झाला होता.

काही लेखक व विचारवंत आपल्या लिखाणात किंवा आपले विचार प्रगट करताना "कश्मीर समस्या" असा उल्लेख करतात. मुळात कश्मीर हि समस्या नसून, कश्मीर खोऱ्यातील काही धर्मांध व फुटीरवादी लोकांची, विशेषतः युवकांची मानसिकता ही समस्या आहे असे म्हटल्यास वावगे ठरू नये. उदाहरण बुऱ्हाण वाणीचेच घेऊ. सुरक्षा दलातील जवानांनी अत्याचार केले व त्यांचा विरोध करायचा म्हणून तो वयाच्या १० व्या वर्षी दहशतवादाकडे वळाला असे म्हटले जाते[3]. जर विरोधच करायचा होता तर तो कश्मीर मधील लोकांवर होणाऱ्या तथाकथित अन्याया विरुद्ध लढणाऱ्या एखाद्या स्वयंसेवी संस्थेचा संस्थापक का झाला नाही? किंवा एखाद्या राजकीय पक्षाचा जनक होऊन विरोध करायचे त्याला का सुचले नाही? दहशतवादीच व्हायचे त्याला कसे सुचले? बर ठीक, तो लहान असल्याने त्याला समज नव्हती असे गृहीत धरले. परंतु, सुशिक्षित शिक्षक असणाऱ्या त्याच्या पालकांबद्दल काय म्हणणार? त्याला विरोध न करण्याच्या त्यांच्या मानसिकतेला पाठिंबा देऊन अथवा नजरेआड करून कसे चालेल? थोडक्यात काय तर, आज कश्मीर मधील स्शिक्षित लोकांचा फुटीर वादाला असणारा पाठिंबा वाढला आहे, वाढत आहे.

कश्मीर मधील सततच्या अशांततेच्या वातावरणामुळे तेथील लोकांच्या विकासावर विपरीत परिणाम झाले आहेत यात दुमत नाही. परंतु, या अशांततेला तेथील लोक (अपवाद शांतता प्रिय कश्मिरी जनतेचा)

देखील जबाबदार आहेत, हे कटू सत्य आहे. त्यांची धर्मांधता व राष्ट्र विघातक कृत्यांना पाठिंबा हे प्रमुख मुद्दे आहेत. संपूर्ण जम्मू व काश्मीर राज्यात सुरक्षा दलांची संख्या जवळपास साडेसहा ते साडेसात लाख इतकी आहे[4]. तेव्हा इतक्या मोठ्या प्रमाणावर सुरक्षा दलांच्या तेथील उपस्थितीवर आक्षेप घेणाऱ्यांनी हे लक्ष्यात घ्यावे की सध्यातरी भारतात अशांतता असणाऱ्या प्रदेशांतच सुरक्षा दले तैनात आहेत. आपल्या देशातील जनतेद्वारे होणारे उठाव, आंदोलने थोपविण्याची पद्धत व दहशतवादाला विरोध करण्याची पद्धत यात फरक आहे. हे क्ठल्याही पक्ष्याच्या सरकारला चांगल्या प्रकारे माहित असते. अन्यथा आज कश्मीरच्या प्रत्येक भागात पोलीस व निमलष्करी जवानांच्या जागी भारतीय लष्कराचे जवान तैनात असते. परंत्, ही गोष्ट समजून घेण्यास कश्मीर मधील व देशाच्या इतर भागांतील काही लोक तयार नाहीत. विशेषतः कश्मीर मधील लोकांना हे समजले असते तर त्यांनी आपल्या घरातील युवकांना दगडफेक करण्यास पाठिंबा दिलाच नसता. जी सुरक्षादले फक्त आणि फक्त कश्मीर मधील लोकांची दहशतवादापासून सुरक्षा करण्याकरिता उपयोगात यायला हवीत, तीच सुरक्षा दले आज आपल्याच राष्ट्राच्या नागरिकांशी संघर्ष करताना दिसत आहेत. भारतीय वित्त मंत्रालयाच्या माहितीनुसार, एकूण भारतीय लोकसंख्येच्या केवळ 1%लोकसंख्या असताना देखील, २०००-२०१६ या सोळा वर्षांच्या कालखंडात सरकारच्या एकूण अनुदानापैकी 10% अनुदान म्हणजे सुमारे १.१४ लाख करोड चे अनुदान जम्मू व कश्मीरला मिळालेले आहेत[5]. kabinate द्वारा प्रधानमंत्री विकास निधीतून नवीन Indian Institute of management जम्मू मध्ये सुरु करण्यास मंजुरी देण्यात आली आहे. त्याचप्रमाणे सरकारद्वारे या राज्यातील तरुणांच्या विकासाकरिता नवीन १.४० लाख रोजगार निर्माण केले जाणार आहेत[6]. याव्यतिरिक्त तेथील राज्य सरकार १४ नवीन पर्यटन स्थळे राज्यात विकसित करणार आहेत. जसे की, तुसा मैदान फायरिंग रेंज आणि उत्तर कश्मीर मधील बंगस खोरे. याठीकानांवर पर्यावरणाला हानी न पोहोचविता पर्यटनाशीनिगडीत नवीन पायाभूत सोई स्विधा उभारण्यात स्थानिक लोकांना देखील सामाऊन घेतले जाणार आहे[7]. तेव्हा, जम्मू व कश्मीर मधील विकासाकरिता मोठ्याप्रमाणावर प्रयत्न होत आहे याबद्दल तरी कोणाला शंका नसावी. जागतिक विकासाच्या मुख्य प्रवाहात येण्याकरिता तेथील तरुणांनीच आता सरकारच्या प्रयत्नांना दाद देऊन दोन पाऊले पुढे येण्याची गरज आहे.

कश्मीर मधील परिस्थिती अधिकच बिकट होण्याकरिता तेथील National Conference, Hurriyat, Jammu and Kashmir Libration Front या फुटीरवादी पक्षांची महत्त्वाची भूमिका आहे. तेव्हा त्यांच्या नेत्यांविरुद्ध केंद्र सरकारद्वारा कडक कारवाई होणे आपेक्षित होते. परंतु, इतिहासातील शेख अब्द्दुलांपासून ते सध्याच्या फुटीरवादी नेत्यांबद्दल केंद्र सरकारची कारवाई त्यांवर वचक निर्माण करणारी नसल्यानेच त्यांचे फावले आहे ,हे हि तितकेच सत्य. अन्यथा, "कश्मीर मधील परिस्थितीबद्दल एकट्या पाकिस्तानला जबाबदार ठरवणे योग्य नाही"[8] असे वक्तव्य ओमर आब्द्दुलांना करताच आले नसते. त्यातच आता National Conference पुन्हा सत्तेत येण्याकरिता सय्यद आली शाह गिलानी यांच्या Hurriyat ला पाठिंबा देऊन हात मिळवणी करण्याचा प्रयत्न करीत आहे. हया व्यक्ती जम्मू व कश्मीरमध्ये एकत्रीतरीत्या सत्तेत आल्यावर केंद्र सरकारला तेथील युवकांच्या विकासाकरिता व या युवकांना स्वतःच्या विकासाकरिता प्रयत्न करणे अधिकच आवघड होईल यात काहीच शंका नाही.

कश्मीरमधील अशांततेला नक्षलवादाचा पाठींबा -

कश्मीर मधील अशांतता ज्याप्रमाणे या भागातील लोकांच्या विकासाला घतक ठरत आहे, त्याचप्रमाणे ती भारताच्या अंतर्गत सुरक्षेपुढील मोठे आव्हान बनत आहे. कारण, या भागातील फुतीरावादाला नक्षलवादाचा वाढता पाठिंबा हे आहे. मागील वर्षात जेव्हा कश्मीर मध्ये तीन-चार महिने अशांततेचे वातावरण निर्माण झाले होते, त्याचवेळी गडचिरोली जिल्ह्यातील काही भागांत 'नक्षलवादाचा कश्मीरच्या स्वतंत्रतेच्या चळवळीला पाठिंबा दर्शविणारी पत्रके पसरविण्यात आली होती'. त्याचप्रमाणे 'कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ऑफ इंडिया (माओईस्ट) च्या डिसेंबर २०१६ मधील एका बैठकीमध्ये कश्मीर मधील स्वतंत्रता चळवळीला व पाकिस्तानस्थित दहशतवादी गटांना पाठिंबा दर्शविणारे विधेयक पारित करण्यात आले होते. याचबरोबर, भारताने आपल्या लष्कराद्वारे पाकीस्तान विरुद्ध सुरुकेलेल्या आक्रमक कारवाया, जसे की सर्जिकल स्ट्राईक ,थांबवाव्यात अशी मागणी देखील केली होती.[9] तेव्हा, काही दिवसांत कश्मीर मधील फुटीरवादाला नक्षलवादाचा सक्रीय पाठिंबा मिळत असल्याचे पुरावे समोर आल्यास आश्चर्य वाटायला नको!!! सद्यस्थितीत, वैचारिक दृष्ट्या फैलावत असलेल्या व प्रबळ होत असलेल्या नक्षलवादाचा पाठिंबा कश्मीर मधील फुटीरवादाला देशांतर्गत असलेला मोठा आधार बनणार नाही याकडे लक्ष पुरविणे, भाताच्या अंतर्गत सुरक्षेच्या दृष्टीने महत्त्वाचे ठरेल. थोडक्यात काय तर, कश्मीर मधील अशांततेच्या निमित्ताने देशांतर्गत अस्थिरतेला कारणीभूत ठरणारे घटक एकत्र येताना दिसत आहेत. हा खरोखरच चिंतेचा विषय आहे.

पाकिस्तान व कश्मीर मधील फुटीरवाद -

पाकिस्तान अस्थित्वात आल्यापासूनच कश्मीर मधील फुटीरवादाला प्रत्यक्ष व अप्रत्यक्षरीत्या पाठिंबा देत आला आहे. स्रवातीला या भागातील आदिवासींना शस्रे व पैसा देऊन घुसखोरी करण्यास मदत करणे, त्यानंतर काश्मीर मधील फुटीरवादी नेत्यांशी संबंध दृढ करून, या भागात दहशतवादाला चालना देऊन आणि पाकिस्तानी राजकीय नेतृत्वाद्वारे कश्मीर मधील अशांततेला पाठिंबा देणारी, उघडपणे केली जाणारी चिथावणीखोर वक्तव्ये यांचा त्यात समावेश होतो. कश्मीर खोऱ्यात बुऱ्हाण वाणीच्या मृत्युनंतर जो असंतोष निर्माण झाला होता त्याकाळात नवाज शरीफ यांनी केलेल्या वक्तव्यांना एक पार्श्वभूमी आहे. ती समजून घेणे महत्वाचे आहे. प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी यांनी पाकिस्तानला अचानक दिलेल्या भेटीनंतर पाकिस्तान ची राजधानी इस्लामाबाद या ठिकाणी नवाज शरीफ यांच्या विरुद्ध पोस्टर्स लावण्यात आली होती. त्यात असे म्हटले होते की, 'नवाज शरीफ यांना पदावरून हाकलून लष्कर प्रमुख राहील शरीफ यांनी सत्ता हातात घ्यावी'. नवाज शरीफ यांनी आंतरराष्ट्रीय दबावामुळे का होईना, भारताबरोबरचे संबंध सुधारण्यासाठी केलेल्या थोड्याफार प्रयत्नांचा हा परिणाम होता. त्यामुळे आपले पद वाचविण्याकरिता शरीफ यांना काश्मीर मधील अशांततेला पाठिंबा देणारी वक्तव्ये करणे भाग होते. या भाषणांदवारे त्यांनी आपण किती भारत द्वेष्टे व कश्मीरच्या स्वायत्ततेचे समर्थक आहोत हे दाखविण्याचा प्रयत्न केला. कारण, पाकिस्तानी लष्कर आणि त्यांची गुप्तचर संघटना ISI यांना पाकिस्तानचे भारताबरोबरचे शांततापूर्ण संबंध नको आहेत. जेव्हा जेव्हा भारत व पाकिस्तानच्या राजकीय नेतृत्वाद्वारे आपापसांतील संबंध सुधारण्याचा प्रयत्न झाला आहे तेव्हा तेव्हा या या दोन्ही संघटनांनी त्यात अडथळे आणण्याचा प्रयत्न केल्याची अनेक उदाहरणे इतिहासात सापडतील. त्यामुळे यापुढेही आपल्या देशातील लष्कराच्या व गुप्तचर यंत्रणेच्या दबावापोटी,

आपले पद वाचविण्याकरिता पाकिस्तानी राज्यकर्ते कश्मीर मधील अशांततेला पाठिंबा देत राहतील यात काही शंका नाही.

यातील अजून एक महत्वाचा मुद्दा म्हणजे प्रसार माध्यमांची भूमिका. बऱ्याच प्रसार माध्यमांद्वारे तेथील दगडफेकीत सहभागी असणाऱ्या युवकांना प्रसिद्धी दिली गेली. परंतु, शांतता प्रिय किश्मरी जनता मात्र दुर्लक्षित राहिली. आंदोलाकांद्वारे होणारा प्रचंड विरोध झुगारून, आपली कागदपत्रे वाचवत भारतीय लष्कराने आयोजित केलेल्या सैन्य भरतीला उपस्थित राहिलेल्या किश्मरी युवकांचे मत किती जणांनी विचारले? आपल्या विकासासाठी योग्य मार्गाने झटणाऱ्या तेथील युवकांच्या प्रयत्नांना चालना देणे, त्यांच्या समस्या सरकार पर्यंत प्राधान्याने पोहोचविणे प्रसारमाध्यमांद्वारे सध्याच्या परीस्थित आपेक्षित आहे. परंतु, तसे होताना आज दिसत नाही. त्यातच कश्मीर मधील परिस्थिती बाबत, तेथील जनते बाबत प्रसारमाध्यमांतून येणारी माहिती कश्याप्रकारे सामान्य जनतेच्या मनात संभ्रम निर्माण करू शकते याचे एक उदाहरण पुढील प्रमाणे- डिसेंबर २०१६ मध्ये, एका नावाजलेल्या मराठी वृत्तपत्रात, कश्मीरमध्ये अशांतता असताना तेथे भेट देऊन आलेल्या एका लेखकाचा, लेख प्रसिद्ध झाला होता. त्यात लेखकाने असे नमूद आहे की, अनंतनाग भागातील लोक सांगतात की, 'पाकिस्तानच्या मदतीशिवाय आपण आजादीच आंदोलन चालवू शकतो, याची जाणीव बुन्हाण वाणी लोकांना करून देत होता' आणि याच माहितीच्या वरती लेखामध्ये बुन्हाणच्या अंतयात्रेचा जो फोटो दिलेला आहे त्यात, तेथे जमलेले युवक पाकिस्तानचे झेंडे फडकविताना दाखिवेलेले आहे. तेव्हा विश्वास कोणत्या माहितीवर ठेवावा हे ज्याचे त्यानेच ठरविणे योग्य.

सध्या कश्मीर मध्ये तणावपूर्ण शांतता आहे. परंतु, ती क्षणिक आहे हे सांगण्यास ज्योतिषाची गरज नाही. दहशतवादी गटांकडून काश्मीर खोऱ्यातील स्शिक्षित बेरोजगार, अशिक्षित बेरोजगार व फ्टीरवादी तरुणांना जी आर्थिक मदत होत होती ती सध्या नोट बंदीच्या निर्णयाम्ळे काहीशी नक्कीच कमी झाली असणार. तेव्हा, ही मदत पुन्हा सुरळीत होऊन अशांततेला पुन्हा चालना मिळण्याआधीच याभागात गुप्तचर यंत्रणा अधिक सक्षम करने महत्त्वाचे आहे. जम्मू व कश्मीर मधील सत्तारूढ सरकार व केंद्र सरकारने या भागातील शाळा, महाविद्यालये इत्यादी ठीकानांवर आपले प्रतिनिधी पाठवून, त्यांद्वारे युवकांशी चर्चा करून त्यांच्या समस्या जाणून घेणे, त्या समस्या सोडविण्यासाठी अधिक प्रभावी व तत्काळ उपाय योजने, सुरक्षा दलांमार्फत या तरुणांचे समुपदेशन करत राहणे आज काळाची गरज बनली आहे. उदारणार्थ १९९८ मध्ये भारतीय लष्कराच्या पुढाकाराने सुरु करण्यात आलेले 'ऑपरेशन सद्दभावना'[10] सारखे आणखी काही सामाजिक विकासात्मक उपक्रम सुरु होणे गरजेचे आहे. यात स्थानिक पोलीस दलांचा व केंद्रीय राखीव पोलीस दलाचा समावेश देखील तितकाच महत्त्वाचा आहे. जेणेकरून काश्मीर मधील स्थानिक जनतेचा त्यांच्याशी स्संवाद वाढण्यास नक्कीच मदत होईल. काश्मीर सारख्या संवेदनशील भागातील तरुणांच्या विकासाच्या दृष्टीने, त्यांची एकूणच मानसिकता सुधारण्याच्या दृष्टीने ते अत्यंत महत्त्वाचे आहे. या प्रकारच्या प्रयत्नांनीच या भागातील फुटीरवाद पुढील पिढीपर्यंत पसरण्यापासून रोखता येईल. कारण, कश्मीर प्रदेशाचे आपल्या सीमेत असणे जितके महत्त्वाचे आहे तितकेच तेथील लोकांनी विशेषतः युवकांनी आपल्या वर्तमानाबद्द्ल व भविष्या बद्दल सकारात्मक असणे देखील महत्त्वाचे आहे. अन्यथा कश्मीर मधील फुटीरवाद नव्या नव्या स्वरुपात आपल्या समोर येत राहील व लेखक -विचारवंताना या विषयावर आपले अभ्यासपूर्ण विचार मांडण्याची संधी मिळत राहील यात काहीच शंका नाही.

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Dear reader,

Consider this as a personal letter to you, yes you in particular, I would like to introduce you to a person whom I did not know a few years back but who has now become a part of my daily routine. He is slightly taller by today's standard, his feet firmly founded on the ground as he stands tall. Exceptionally well groomed for a seventy five old. A side parted wavy sweep-back hair with movement. Whenever he is out and about he wears a classic headgear, round black cap that stands three inch above the crown. On auspicious occasions he would wear a traditional turban.

Pensive eyebrows, thick and dark, with a peanut shaped religious mark (tilak) between them. Visibly wet and piercing eyes, like it has witnessed the depth of the sea, the height of the mountain, and everything in between. I see brown mountainous pupil and iris with a hint of a sea green colour, his eyes depicts the whole Indian Peninsula.

Being an ophthalmologist, he has set his sight very firmly on a goal, as reflected by the determination of his spectacles to rest on his pride - the nose. The weight of all the social commitments has a rightful estate on this very nose. His spectacles is round, bifocal and with a golden frame. The distant vision is to breathe the promised aroma of thriving sustainable Swadeshi economy that comes with Swarajya (self governed) and it is guided by Swadharma. This self sufficiency could be achieved by the near (immediate) vision lens of his bifocal eyepiece, the competence of an indigenous military men.

Imagine a combination of Scimitar skyrim & maratha talwar (sword), now mirror your imagination to visualise his sharp and rigid silver mustache. A centrifugally groomed 'taking charge' beard, the length extends to hide his collar bone. The contemporary name for this silver fox undercut beard style is 'Bandholz'. Underneath is a wrinkle free long coat, knee length, combined with regular fit pajama and black mojari shoes.

He carries a stout danda in ever youthful spirit and has a deep baritone voice. A luminous personality with robust military attitude, who can work his magic from the pen, the gun and the forceps alike.

Life presents us with people from the past, we must learn, cherish and treasure them. We never know where the future will lead us but we certainly know where we come from, I think that is enough to shape our today with.

Dear readers, with DAKSH we hope to pay a fitting tribute to Dr B. S. Moonje who laid the foundation of Bhonsala Military Campus and called it Rambhoomi. The Sthitapradnya Head of Bhonsala Family and Guardian to our Ramdandee trainees/students. A person whom we owe a great debt. He lived to create the future we live in today.

May we have the ability to empower the nation he foresaw - with the best of what we have, for the best that can be.

> from a bearer of the Danda of Shree Ramchandra, Your <u>Ramdandee</u>



