



समन इत्य रद्य!  
सामान्य

Vol.: 20

15 August 2021

श्रावण शु. ७ | शके १९४३

पतेती | स्वातंत्र्य दिन

## 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 the 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 a 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 a 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 ideas, 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](mailto: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.

### **Disclaimer**

Opinions expressed in the article are the sole responsibility of the author(s) and the advisory/editorial committee shall not be responsible for it.

## Advisory Committee



**Lt. Gen. Dattatray B. Shekatkar, PVSM, AVSM, VSM (Retd.)**  
President,  
Governing Council  
Central Hindu Military Education Society



**Shri. Pramod G. Kulkarni**  
Working President,  
Governing Council  
Central Hindu Military Education Society



**Dr. Dilip G. Belgonkar**  
General Secretary,  
Governing Council  
Central Hindu Military Education Society



**Shri. Hemant P. Deshpande**  
Secretary  
Nashik Division  
Central Hindu Military Education Society

**:- Prabandhak**

## Editorial Committee



**Shri. Vinay D. Chati**  
Head,  
Department of Mass Communication & Journalism  
Abasaheb Garware College, Karve Road, Pune

**:- Managing Editor**



**Dr. U. Y. Kulkarni**  
Principal (A),  
Bhonsala Military College,  
Rambhoomi, Dr. Moonje Path, Nashik-05

**:- Co-ordinator**



**Dr. R. I. Raut**  
Head & Assistant Professor  
Defence & Strategic Studies  
Bhonsala Military College,  
Rambhoomi, Dr. Moonje Path, Nashik-05

**:- Chief Editor**



**Shri. Mohit S. Purohit**  
Researcher, Kanhoji Angre Maritime Research Institute  
Bhonsala Military College Campus,  
Rambhoomi, Dr. Moonje Path, Nashik-05

**:- Member**

## Articles Published in Previous Issues

Author	Title
Dr. L. Randeep Singh	Executive Editor's Note
Dr. Rajvir Singh	Changing Trends of Threat Perception and Internal Security Problems of India
Dr. L. Randeep Singh	Terrorism and Insurgency
Dr. Lakshmi Kumar & Dr. Govind Das	Uttarakhand : Creation and Repercussions
Lt. Gen. Ashok Joshi PVSM, AVSM (Retd.)	Apropos of CTBT
Dr. K. S. Sidhu	India's Nuclear Policy Retrospect and Project
Dr. Shrikant Parajape	SAARC, SAPTA and Politics of Economic Integration in South Asia
Big. A. A. Wagh (Retd.)	Policy on Science and Technology for National Development and Security
Maj. Gen. V. K. Madhok AVAM VSM (Retd.)	Military Technology Trap: Can India Escape Technological Colonisation?
Mr. L. A. Khan	Central Asia in Transition
Dr. Shrikant Paranjpe	US Attempt at Order in South-East Asia: SEATO Years.
Maj. Gen. K. S. Pendse (Retd.)	Synopsis of a talk on Global spread of Military Technology
Prof. (Dr.) P. M. Kamat	Nuclear Options
Dr. P. A. Ghosh	Achievements of IPKF in Sri Lanka
Dr. Lakshmi Kumar & Dr. Govind Das	Military Culture of Garhwal: Evolution and Impact on Society
Dr. Shrikant Paranjpe	U.S. Attempt at order in South-East Asia: SETo Years

Dr. Ch. Budhi	India's Integration Problem in the North-East and Social Sciences
Padmashri Dr. M. Kirti Singh	Youth's Mental unrest in Manipur
Dr. J. A. Khan	Trends and Compulsion of Going Nuclear
Dr. Lakshmi Kumar	Pakistan Missiles and security of India
Dr. V. Yoga Jyotsna	Threats to India's security : Significance of the Domestic Dimension
Maj. Gen. K. S. Pendse (Retd.)	Role of Science and Technology 159 in India's Resurgence
Dr. Sanjay Deshpande	Regional Politics in South Asia
Dr. Nand Kishor Kumar	India's Armed Forces and Gandhi
Dr. L. Randeep Singh	Concepts and Parameters of India's National Securities : A Short Assessment
Dr. P. M. Kamath	India's Nuclear Strategy : The Post-Pokhran Phase
Brig. K. G. Pitre AVSM (Retd.)	New Atomic Balance of Power in South East Asia
Mr. Vikrant J Kawale	Internal Turbulence and Development of Army
Wg. Cdr. S. M. Shukla (Retd)	On Happenings in "Kargil"
Dr. Lakshmi Kumar Mishra	Pakistan's Taliban Hand Endangering India's National Security
Dr. M. L. Sali	Border Dispute Among Nations : A Holistic View
Mr. Vijay Khare	India's National Security Council Perception, Practice and Prospects
Lt. Col. Rajiv Kapoor	International Target Acquisition Through Satellite –Readers
Maj. Dipak K Das	Indo-US Relation and Policy Option in Next Millennium
Dr. W. N. Bhende	India's Nuclear Policy in Nut-Shell



Lt. Col. Rajiv Kapoor	Need Metamorphose The Indian Army
Mr. Vijay Khare	Social Mobilization and India's National Securities Problems and Prospects
Dr. Agha Mansoor Khan	Chemical & Biological Warfare
H. Nilamani Singh (Ex.I.N.A.)	I.N.A. Headquarters, Moirang-1944
Late Col. P. K. Sahgal (Ex.I.N.A.)	Victory in Defeat
Dr. P. A. Ghosh	Multi-faced Aspect of Internal Security : India
Mr. Nilesh Saudagar	Psychological Aspects responsible for corruption : India
Dr. J. A. Khan	Human Right and Security Forces
Dr. A. R. Bharadwaj	Some Aspects Related to Military Psychology
Dr. V. V. Raje & Mr. S. D. Joshi	Human Rights & New Economic Policy- Indian Context
Mr. Vijay Khare	Sri Lankan Ethnic Crisis and Strategic Implications to India's National Securities
Lt. Gen. D. B. Shekatkar AVSM, VSM (Retd.)	Counter Insurgency & Human Right
Lt. Gen. A. S. Parmar PVSM ADC (Retd.)	Human Right
Gpt. Cpt. S. G. Chitnis AVSM (Retd.)	Low Intensity Conflict: Counter Insurgency and Human Right
Maj. Gen. B. N. Rao AVSM, VSM & Bar (Retd.)	A Military Centric View of Human Rights in Counter Insurgency Operations
Prin. S. B. Pandit	Human Right Challenged by Terrorism
Arunkumar Bhatt	Human Right : Weapon of Psychological Warfare in Insurgency
Dr. J. P. Palande	Human Right and the Constitution of India
Mr. Vijay Khare	Human Right in India : Issue and Perspective A Case Study of Child Labour

Dr. Shrikant Paranjpe	Self-determination, Session and the Human Right Debate in India
Lt. Col. S. K. Khasgiwale (Retd.)	Media Relation in LIC Environment
Dr. Dilip Ukey	Human Right in India A Constitutional Imperative and Judicial Creativity
Dr. S. R. Chakravarty	Pakistan: Problem and Prospects of State Building
Dr. Nand Kishor	Cross Border Terrorism in Kashmir
Dr. A. S. Dalvi	Future of Nation State System
Dr. Shrikant Paranjpe	Implication of American Counter Terrorism Strategy
Mrs. M. A. Bharadwaj	Trauma After War
Mr. Vijay Khare	Non-Military Challenges to India's Security
Dr. Amit Dholkia	How Dare You!
Prof. P. L. Dash	Chechnya : War Has No End
Lionel Fernandes	The United Nation and A New World Order
Dr. M. L. Sali	A Study of Bodo – Land Movement
Prof. Phadke U.S.	The Importance of Island Security
Dr. P. A. Ghosh	Ethnic Conflict and Security Crises in India : A Case Study of Tribal Insurgency in Tripura
Dr. J. A. Khan	Development Trends in Defence Material
Dr. Debabrata Goswami	International Security and Countering Terrorism: A Brief Account
T. Chakraborti	Insurgency in Tripura and India's Security
Vikas Kumar Singh	Science, Technology & Security
विनीत सिंह	विज्ञान तकनीकी : भारतीय सुरक्षा के बदलते आयाम
Dr. V. P. Nedunchezhiyan	The Importance of Island Security

Dr. Nand Kishor	The Challenges of Nuclear Technology
Mr. Vijay Khare	India's defence Policy: An overview
Mrs. M. A. Bharadwaj	War Neurosis
Dr Priyanath Adinath Ghosh	Technologies and Camouflage Warfare
Dr Abhaya K Singh	Climate Change: Our Greatest National Security Threat?
Mr Manojit Das	Removing Border in South Asia: Challenges & Opportunities
Mr Mohit S. Purohit	Terrorising Myths
Wing Commander Jayesh Pai (Retd)	Industry 4.0: What does it mean to Military?
Cmde R. S. Dhankhar (Retd)	Admiral Kanhoji Angre: A Visionary Leader
Maj V. J. Kawale (ANO)	Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj: A True Leader
Mrs Sangeeta Roy	Statelessness and Terrorism in the South Asian Region: A case study of Rohingyas
Brig Hemant Mahajan	Security Challenges to Peninsular India 11 years 26/11, Concerns, Challenges and Way Ahead
Cdr Vinayak Agashe VSM (Retd)	Role of submarines in future challenges for India
Dr P. A. Ghosh	Dr B. S. Moonje's Thoughts on Military Education
Mr Subrata Roy	China-Pakistan Strategic Partnership: India as a Factor
Mr P. J. Kachey	India's Act East Policy: a security dimension
Dr Mohammad Samir Hussain	Piracy Threats to India's Maritime Security in the 21st Century
Flt Lt Prashant Yadav	Pakistan and Chinese joint military ventures and its implications on India
Mr R. I. Raut	भारतातील नक्षलवादी समस्या सोडविण्यातील संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघटनेचे कार्य : एक विश्लेषण

Dr Onkar Pawar	जागतिक दहशतवाद : एक आव्हान
Dr Sunil Kumar	India-China Border Dispute: Roll of Pakistan in this Context
Dr L. P. Wagh	"Challenge to India's Internal Security"
Dr Prashant Prabhakar Saraf	Geo Strategic Importance of India's North West Border and Challenges to National Security With Reference To Afghanistan – Pakistan – India Triangle
Dr Ramesh Raut	Strategic importance of Crude oil and Natural Gas: Role of the United Nations
Mr Sandip Javir	China–Pakistan Economic Corridor: Geopolitical Impact on Regional Dynamics of Energy Security
Mr Vinod A. Sonavani	Establishing Islamic Supremacy by Iran & Saudi Arabia through Proxy Wars in the Middle-East.
राहुल विठ्ठल आव्हाड	कश्मीर खोज्यातील अशांतता – कश्मीर मधील फुटीरवादाची सुरुवात व सद्यस्थिती

## **From the Desk of Chief Editor**

*Bhonsala Military College is one of the few institutions in the country offering academic programmes in Defence and Strategic studies at graduate and post graduate levels. Over the years, the department of Defence and Strategic Studies has conducted numerous conferences and seminars on national security, blue economy, maritime affairs and related themes. The department also strives to keep the students abreast in latest developments and contemporary issues by encouraging research publications, article reviews, debates, group discussions and paper presentations. In line with its objective of disseminating contemporary knowledge, "Daksh" was conceived in the early years of the department. Daksh is a quarterly security studies journal published under the aegis of Bhonsala Research Center of Conflict and Peace (B.R.C.C.P), an independent branch of Defence and Strategic Studies Department.*

*The journal aims at projecting and analyzing issues related to security and other spheres in the national, regional and global arena and evaluating them through interdisciplinary approaches. Each issue covers feature ideas, perception and thoughts from the scholars of various backgrounds on problems –past and present and also creating awareness amongst students. I am sure the journal would appeal to scholars, student's fraternity and those interested in India's national security studies and international affairs worldwide. The question of national security has become one of the most pressing issues in the world today. Every nation in the world has to make special efforts for its national security. It is a great pleasure to present to you the twentieth issue of Daksha in view of these and many other questions. The focus of Defence and Strategic studies is primarily on the use of military force. But the scope of Defence and Strategic studies is not limited to military warfare. Prussian general and war scientist Carl von Clausewitz focused on political goals while interpreting strategic policy. British Military leader and war scientist Liddell Hart also seems to have emphasized the use of the military to advance the political policies of nations. Combining the usefulness of military force with political goals is important from a Defence and Strategic studies point of view. Doing so achieves two things. On the one hand, the scope of strategic policy is not only wartime, but can also be useful for peacetime, and secondly, by doing so, politics can be placed on the brink of war. The use of military force should not be unwarranted and brutal or depend on the personal ambitions of a military leader. If war is not to be allowed to become directionless, if its use is to be brought to fruition, decisions about it must be taken at the political level. There are three levels of strategic Studies. First, the Grand Strategy; Second, Operational Strategy and Third, Tactics. The highest strategy is only in the jurisdiction of the political*

*leadership. Military strategy and tactical operations fall under the purview of the three armies. Daksh is a quarterly observer of all such matters.*

*While we publish the 20<sup>th</sup> issue of the journal, I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to all the office bearers of CHME society and Principal of the college for their constant support, guidance and encouragement. I would also like to express my sincere thanks to all the contributors of the 20<sup>th</sup> issue of the journal.*

*Dr. R.I.Raut*

*Head,*

*Department of Defence and Strategic Studies*

*[ramesh.raut@bmc.bhonsala.in](mailto:ramesh.raut@bmc.bhonsala.in)*

## Index

No.	Author	Title	Pg
01.	Dr. Onkar Pawar	Changing Concept of National Security	15
02.	Dr. Ramesh Raut	Fight against Terrorism: The need to think anew	22
03.	Miss Shehal Nikam	Refugee-As an Indian Perspective	30
04.	Prof (Dr) Baban Todkar	काश्मीर बाबतचे कलम ३७०	37
05.	Dr. Subhan Jadhav	“कलम 370 रद्द केल्यानंतर पाकिस्तानचा दृष्टीकोण”	42
06.	Dr. Vishnu Pawar	स्वातंत्र्यवीर वि.दा.सावरकर आणि श्री. गो. नी. दांडेकर यांनी रेखाटलेले छत्रपती संभाजी महाराज- एक चिकित्सा.	51

# Changing Concept of National Security

**Dr. Onkar S. Pawar**  
*M.A., NET, Ph.D,*  
*Independent Researcher*  
[onkar.pawar1984@gmail.com](mailto:onkar.pawar1984@gmail.com)

## **Abstract**

Since the 20th century, there has been a conceptual shift in the concept of national security. Earlier, this concept was based on state centric military oriented security, according to which, the territorial boundary of a nation has to be protected from external aggression by means of war. Thus, the efforts have always been taken to improve the military capability of the country in order to protect the country. However, in the late 20th century, the concept of national security has changed from state centric military oriented security to security of groups and individuals. This has been observed when it was argued that the concept of national security needs a holistic approach, which would cover the wider areas of national security, such as, environment, food, social, political and cultural rights of individuals. At the same time, it has been widely accepted that military capability is essential in pursuit of national security when and where required. Against such a background an attempt has been made in this paper to discuss the long-standing notion of national security and emerging trends in the orb of national security. While making this attempt, the present study has explained how the notion of state security has moved towards the concept of security of people.

## **Introduction: -**

In the last century, scholars from around the world perceived threats to national security mainly from a military angle and accordingly threats posed by the adversary states were evaluated in military terms and the whole attention to the academic inquiry for assessing security threats remained confined to military dimension only. Hence, counter measures that were suggested revolved around the policy of acquiring adequate military hardware. Thus, social factors and issues under the wider coverage of comprehensive and human security were left out of the discourse of security studies. However, after the end of the cold war, debates on national security issues have significantly brought definitional changes. One can observe that there has been a paradigm shift in these vital areas of investigation from state security to human security and sustainable development. Thus, security has an extended meaning beyond its obvious military connotation; there is better appreciation now of its non-military and human dimensions.

## **Cold War perspective on national security**

Different scholars understand the concept of national security in different ways at different points of time in the world. The concept has been changing according to the events that take place in international relations as it impacts the behavior of nations in the world. For example, many power blocks emerged due to the power politics between the USA and the erstwhile USSR during the cold war. Consequently, the then scholars began to believe in 'power politics' with states as the main actors and gave stress on obtaining more and more military power.[1]Due to this, policy-makers and experts



both strongly believed that war is the only solution because conflict is inevitable in international relations. Thus, military-oriented security remained a dominant model throughout the cold war.[2] State security remained a primary concern and objective for the followers of military-oriented security. National security and state survival are the core values of military-oriented security; foreign policy of any state is formulated based on these two basic values. The threat to the national security of the country was largely influenced by international power structure during the cold war. Therefore, nations followed different means to ensure their national security in the period of cold war.[3] These include mainly alignments with the power-blocks, which dominated international politics. The bipolar system provided nation states an option to join coalition and ensure their national security.[4] Such explanation implies that security has been considered as security of territory from external attack, protection of national interest in foreign policy and global security from the threat of a nuclear war.[5] The concept has been related more to nation states than to people. It has been defined in geo-political terms, which encompasses different facets such as prevention, power balancing and military strategy in a state-centric area. In this way, the protection of the state from foreign attack, either real or imagined, has been the core of national security, which stimulated building-up of military power.[6]

### **Post-Cold War Perspective of national security**

The change in understanding of the concept of security was noticed after the end of cold war era. The military-oriented concept which had emphasized the “centrality of state as centre of political life”[7] or state-centric security was questioned during the cold war era. However, the concept was believed to be somewhat unlikely and indefensible during post-cold war period.[8]

The concept became a leading subject of discussion, analysis and dialogue not only among the scholars but also among the strategists, policy-makers and economists. For example, Barry Buzan and his companies argued for expanding the scope of security by including issues, such as, politics, economy, society and ecology within the scope of security studies. Buzan argued that the issue of security is better appreciated if a holistic approach is adopted reintegrating the three levels, i.e. international system, the nation state and individual.[9] He invented the term ‘systemic security’ to incorporate all security concerns at all levels.[10] Thus, the scope of concern for security was widened through inclusion of three levels of international relations. The second important aspect of Buzan’s argument was to concentrate on the interaction among various sources of insecurity, take a broad view of security, and develop a long-term approach.[11] Consequently, it is evident that the concept of national security has brought key issues to the forefront that were never a part of the security dialogue. For instance, issues like environment, food, social, political and cultural rights of individuals, which were not included in the military-oriented concept of external security threats, were to be incorporated in the security discourse. At the same time, it was also noted that application of military power is inevitable when and where required in the pursuit of national security. Many non-traditional issues related to security came into focus in international relations after the end of the cold war. Moreover, it also created a favourable environment for a complete re-evaluation of the whole concept of security. Even though the realist and neo-realist view has been that the goal of security is the survival of the state, it has become clear that most victims of both traditional and non-traditional security threats are the individual people who live in a certain country.[12] This is mainly because the traditional security

theory does not deal with the rapidly growing non-traditional threats to security like, “the struggle for resources in the pursuit of energy, environmental degradation, forced migration, international terrorism, insurgency, dominance of non-state actors in drugs, arms, money laundering and financial crime organisation.”[13]

Against the above background, it is pertinent to mention here that in searching for an analytical and conceptual literature on national security it is found that there is no clear-cut approach to this study. The realist approach to the study of international relations emphasizes the dimension of war and conflict without any component of socio-economic analysis. The idealist approach seeks to study national security in terms of international peace and security, but it does not make much impact. However, it has some analytical importance, and according to John Herz, a ‘security dimension’ results from a state’s perception of its defensive needs that contribute towards others’ insecurity. From a non-strategic point of view, the concept of national security has been defined in very ambiguous and abstract terms.

### **Core values and national security**

Thus, the goal of national security is not just the protection of geographical periphery but also the prosperity of people living in the country. This includes the maintenance of the full autonomy of one’s own resources and territorial integrity, freedom to develop advanced technology and the safeguarding of core values.[14] However, the threat to these core values originating from within the state makes a nation vulnerable to external threats. India’s core values are democratic rules, fundamental rights, social and economic equality, secularism and federalism. These values themselves are subjective in nature. Arnold Wolfers has suggested that, ‘National security in the subjective sense is the absence of fear that such values will be attacked by others but in an objective sense it measures the absence of threat to the acquired values. Thus, these core values must be reflected in the process of nation building. The wearing down of any one of these values is bound to erode the legitimacy of the state and consequently create a threat to its security. However, core values would require a protective ring of capabilities related to the maintenance of social unity and building up of techno-economic strength. Military capability is a crucial factor although it must be kept at the minimum sufficient level to provide convincing prevention against challenges to the topmost core. It implies that the major objective of national security is the creation of national consensus on common values of the society. The internal political and social stability, normal order of development and all-inclusive national strength of the country are very important factors in protecting and maintaining our national values. A rational society and national integration[15] are the basic conditions of survival. Thus, national security comprises every action through which a society looks for the assurance of its survival and realizes its objective internationally.

### **Internal security and national security**

Since the last two decades the world has been witnessing an alarming and disastrous situation in the relationship among the people, communities and countries. In reality, most of the nation-states have been dealing with serious internal problems, which have been reflected in their external behavior and position. The connection between internal and external setting of a nation is a requisite part of national

security in a system, which is dominated by nation states. The internal environment of a nation is essential for security and stability of a nation.

Therefore, it is essential to state that the phrase ‘national security’ has to be used in a broad sense. At the national level, security is an integrated strategy, which means identifying and safeguarding crucial national interests. The real strength of national security lies with the overall strength or combination of various elements of national power. It also means that the leaders and policy-makers bear in their minds and co-ordinate all those elements in a proper direction in order to achieve national security. As stated by Indian scholar K. Subramanyam in his well-accepted definition of national security, “we should achieve the status of egalitarian society that can derive enough strength and morals to protect our sovereignty and territorial integrity”.

### **Human Security and national security**

The United Nations development program in its human development report of 1994 first expressed the concerns of human security. The main elements of human security are those of human survival like poverty, health-hygiene, peace and prosperity. Hence, Human security is “Freedom from fear” and “Freedom from want”. Human security emphasizes the relationship between human rights and development. It expands beyond physical violence and argued to be expanded in seven areas: i) Economic Security; ii) Food security; iii) Health security; iv) Environmental Security; v) Personal Security; vi) Community Security; vii) Political security. Thus, security is primarily the security of people in their daily life from the people’s point of view.[16] A feeling of insecurity arises more from worries that relates to the daily life of people. This could be about job security, environmental security or security from crime.[17] Therefore, security needs to be oriented more towards the people than towards territory and government. In other words, the approach put more emphasis on ensuring security of the people in different aspects. The term 'human security' does not replace the conventional concept of national security; rather, it increases the scope of the concept. It is more and more recognized that augmentation of human security maximizes the range of national security. Human security and national security are mutually strengthening[18]. Thus, it is quite apparent that security is always considered as multidimensional, multilevel and multi-sectoral. Thus, it has expanded from the security of nations to security of groups and individuals. In other words, it has extended downwards from national level to individual level.[19]The sense of “security” lies in the mind and the heart of an individual’s in-group existence. Therefore, it is regarded as public goods from which all other individual and societal values and goods can flourish.

Emma Rothschild searches for the current description of ‘extended security’ (of which human security is one element) in its theoretical background in European political thought. In this way, according to her, a newer approach to security has extended the concept of national security, which immediately preceded and coexists with it in four directions:

1. From the security of nations to the security of groups and individuals: It has extended downwards from nations to individuals.

2. From the security of nations to the security of the international system, or of a super national physical environment: It has extended upwards, from the nation to the biosphere. The extension, in both cases, is in the sorts of entities whose security is to be ensured.
3. Extended horizontally, or to the sorts of security that are in question. Different entities such as individuals, nations, and systems cannot be expected to be secure or insecure in the same way. Therefore, the concept of security is extended from military to political economic, social environmental, or human security;
4. It is spread in all directions from nation states, including upwards to international institutions, downwards to regional or local government, and sideways to nongovernmental organizations, to public opinion and press, and to the abstract force of nature or of the market.[20] Thus, Political responsibility for ensuring security or for invigilating all these, 'concept of security' is extended in all directions.

Against the above background, Henry Kissinger described national security as “comprising every action by which a society seeks to assure its survival or to realize its aspirations internationally”. Robert McNamara described the concept of national security as “how realistically we assess the intention of potential enemies; what purpose and capabilities we assign to our military forces; how wisely we plan for possible contingencies; how accurately we analyses our range of political, economic and military mixture; how responsibly we use our forces; how effectively we manage our institutions; how boldly we nourish necessary and imaginative innovation in social and political as well as technical fields. In short, how carefully we think through the rational relationship of means to end in the pursuit of the kind of global environment which will permit all people to live freely and achieve personal fulfillment.” Thus, national security becomes security with respect to “value outcomes” desired by those who comprise the effective political base of the nation.

## **Conclusion**

The concept of national security has transformed from traditional mode to broader and deeper concept. Its scope has expanded from the security of nations to security of groups and individuals. Now it is considered as multidimensional, multilevel and multi-sectoral. Therefore, in this globalized world, the objective of national security is not only to protect the country from external attacks but also to ensure the welfare of citizens of the country. This suggests that proper efforts must be taken to maintain territorial integrity and to utilize available resources for the prosperity of the people of the country. However, failure to do so creates external threats to the nation's integrity and well-being of the citizens. Such a situation highlights the significance of the internal and external security environment of the country. It creates a link between internal and external security environments, which is always crucial in the changing international scenario.

## **References: -**

1. Robert Jackson and George Sorensen, Introduction of International Relations (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999)
2. Rajesh M Basurur, ed., Security in New Millennium: Views from South Asia (New Delhi, India Research Press, 2001)

3. Suresh R. "India's security Policy in the Post –cold War Period" in Mohanan B. Pillai, ed., India's National Security: concerns and Strategies, (New Delhi, 2013)
4. Sanjay Kumar, India's National Security: Past, Present and Future, (New Delhi, Mohit Publication 2013)
5. Peter Hough, Understanding Global Security (London, Routledge 2004)
6. John Baylis and Steve Smit, The Globalisation of World Politics (New York, 2001)
7. Barry Buzan, People State and Fear (Sussex: Wheatshet Boos, 1983)
8. "Jasjit Singh, Vision for Peace in 2020" available online at [http://planningcommission.gov.in/reports/genreo/bkpap2020/22\\_be2020.doc](http://planningcommission.gov.in/reports/genreo/bkpap2020/22_be2020.doc) visited on 26/10/09.
9. Human Development Report 1993 and 1994, UNDP
10. ShirishKadwai, "Internal Security, the State and Civil Society: A Human Security Perspective", in ShrikantParanjpe, ed., India's Internal Security: Issues and Perspectives (Delhi, Kalinga Publications, 2009)
11. Alkire, Sabina, "A Conceptual Framework for Human Security - CRISE Working Paper 2, University of Oxford, 2003, available online at [www.crise.ox.ac.uk/pubs/workingpaper2.pdf](http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/pubs/workingpaper2.pdf) visited on 26.10.09

---

[1] Robert Jackson and George Sorensen, Introduction of International Relations(New York, 1999), p.68.

[2] Rajesh M Basurur, ed., South Asian Security in New Millennium: Views from South Asia (Colombo, 2001), p.1.

[3] The very existence of a nation state largely depends on its capacity to protect its national security.

[4] Suresh R. "India's security Policy in the Post –cold War Period" in Mohanan B. Pillai, ed., India's National Security: concerns and Strateies, (New Delhi, 2013), p. 36

[5] Sanjay Kumar, India's National Security: Past, Present and Future, (New Delhi, 2013), p. xi

[6] Ibid., p. xiv

[7] Peter Hough, Understanding Global Security, (London, 2004), p.3.

[8] John Baylis and Steve Smit, The Globalization of World Politics, (New York, 2001), p.255.

[9] Barry Buzan, People State and Fear (Sussex: Wheatshet Boos, 1983), p.247

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid. pp.252-53.

[12] Kumar, n. 5., p. xv

[13] Ibid.

[14] The core values are divided from the vision and ideology that nation defines/chooses for itself. Geopolitics and other factors also define the vital interest of states; often these values and interest are in competition and conflict with those of another state as indeed is the case between India and Pakistan. For example, India set about establishing its nation state on the idea that every human being is equal. Hence, democracy, adult franchise, secularism social justice etc. are the main components of the constitution. Pakistan, on the other hand, set about creating a state on the basis of religion and discrimination where women would have different rights and non-Muslims would be denied equal status. See, "Jasjit Singh, Vision for Peace in 2020"

[http://planningcommission.gov.in/reports/genreo/bkpap2020/22\\_be2020.doc](http://planningcommission.gov.in/reports/genreo/bkpap2020/22_be2020.doc) visited on 26/10/09.

[15] It is generally agreed that integration becomes true and successful when a humanist system or social order implies complete equality mutual coherence and reciprocity among all individuals and ethnic groups. But when the frame of order is based on the dominance of an exploitative class or race on another, it becomes an imposition.

[16] See Human Development Report 1993 and 1994.

[17] ShirishKadwai, "Internal Security, the State and Civil Society: A Human Security Perspective", in ShrikantParanjpe, ed., India's Internal Security: Issues and Perspectives (Delhi, 2009), p.101.

[18] Ibid., p.97.

[19] Ibid., p. 97

[20]Alkire, Sabina, “A Conceptual Framework for Human Security - CRISE Working Paper 2, University of Oxford, 2003, [www.crise.ox.ac.uk/pubs/workingpaper2.pdf](http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/pubs/workingpaper2.pdf) visited on 26.10.09

# Fight against Terrorism: The need to think anew

**Dr.Ramesh Raut**

*Head,*

*Defence and Strategic studies Department*

*Bhonsala Military College, Nashik 422005*

[ramesh.raut@bmc.bhonsala.in](mailto:ramesh.raut@bmc.bhonsala.in)

*Mob.9923314421*

*"It is not wise to take large-scale military action to win a war. Victory is not far off if the enemy's" strategy "can be identified and broken" - Chhatrapati Shivaji<sup>1</sup>*

## **Introduction:**

In the aftermath of 9/11, Risk Management Solutions has developed a model for preventing possible terrorist attacks in the United States. As this model is based on 'Game Theory', the activities of terrorist groups, their targets, terrorist networking etc. have been studied in this model. The model has identified about 1,500 locations where al-Qaeda could strike. At the same time, this model has considered 16 types of terrorist attacks. In addition to these factors, the total economic loss after a terrorist attack, loss of life, damage to trade and industry, disruption in the transport system have been studied. In this context, there is an urgent need to take measures to curb terrorist activities in India. If terrorist acts are not resisted in a systematic manner, India may face a serious threat from terrorist organizations in the future. Such views have been repeatedly pointed out to the government by military scholars.

## **Historical context:**

“It is not wise to take large-scale military action to win a war. Victory is not far off if the enemy's "strategy" can be identified and broken. If the strategy of the enemy is identified and the right action is taken without any major military action to win, then success is assured.” There is a need to rethink the fight against terrorism. This sentence has been uttered by Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj in the context of the battle of Umberkhindi. Shahistekhana sent his chief Kahratalbakhani to launch a campaign against Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. At that time, if Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj did not take major military action to win the war against the enemy, but recognized the strategy of the enemy and took appropriate action, then success is certain. When Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's strategy was ideal in front of Indians. Why doesn't India actually use it. Such an idea arises in front of the general practitioners; the fight against terrorism has created a need to think anew today.” Whether it is 9/11,

---

<sup>1</sup> Purushottam Gangaram Salvi, “Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj (father and inventor of Hindavi Swarajya) in Marathi, Venus Publications Pune, 1983 page 22

whether it's the Mumbai bombings, the terrorist attacks in the Spanish capital, Madrid, and London; it's all about the nation's economy. It is said that it is a "litmus test" for terrorist groups to carry out large-scale attacks on a major terrorist operation. For many years terrorists have achieved their goals by using this method, as well as using the network, to see the weaknesses in the same security apparatus. And experiments have been shown to be successful. The terrorists spread the message among the civilians that there is no guarantee of safety in the evening after leaving the house and frightened the people."<sup>2</sup>

The point is that terrorists use different strategies to achieve their goals. Why can't the government use the same strategy? There are times when terrorists are dismantled, their weapons stockpiled, bombs seized, suspects nabbed, yet terrorist groups continue to strike just as violently, shaking a nation's economy, its political system. How do terrorist groups, which are a minority in numbers, weapons, materials, have the ability to challenge even a strong nation? What kind of spirit do they have that makes them act just as faithfully and stubbornly? The search for answers to a number of such questions has been going on globally for many years, with no answers yet.

### **The beginning of terrorism:**

“Terrorism in India started in the form of Foxy War from Pakistan after the Bangla Liberation War. Terrorism in Punjab, India was in full swing in the eighties. Therefore, India had to carry out Operation Blue Star.”<sup>3</sup> Terrorism has been rampant in Kashmir since the 9 th decade and it is still going on. According to a white paper on Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in Kashmir (twenty years ago) published in the budget session, 21,151 civilians, 5,101 security personnel and 278,601 people have been made homeless. Damage to public and private property was Rs 2,000 crore. The cost of border fencing and counter-terrorism provisions was Rs 18,500 crore, and the expenditure on the army and paramilitary forces was about Rs 4,600 crore. Today, twenty years later, the cost of counter-terrorism has reached Rs 50,000 crore. But the expected success has not yet been achieved. Therefore, the fight against terrorism needs to be reconsidered today. The Cold War between the United States and Russia, which lasted for about 40 years (until 1990) after 1950, was ended through game theory. On that occasion, the 2005 Nobel Prize in Economics was awarded to Game Theory.

### **Game theory:**

It is a mathematical system of thinking for the last seventy years, a struggle that inevitably comes from human relationships. Through this system of thinking, answers to problems such as nuclear competition, wage agreements, labor disputes, politics, and terrorism are being sought. Attempts are

---

<sup>2</sup> .Basu Rumki , “The United Nations” , Sterling Publishers pvt.Ltd., New Delhi 1993, page 205

<sup>3</sup> Saksena K.P. – Reforming the United Nation – New Delhi, Sage Publication – 1993.page 23



being made to curb the growing terrorism at the international level through game theory. Terrorism in the 60's and 70's was 'under consideration'. But after 1990, it became 'religious'. And his appearance became terrible. "A model is presented in terms of game theory. 'A' and 'B' are two staunch opponents holding pistols at each other. Both have one bullet in their pistol. If 'A' is shot at 'B', 'B' is likely to be shot. The same is true of 'B' being shot at 'A'. One possibility is that 'A' can kill 'B' or 'B' can kill 'A'. But if B is a terrorist and decides to carry out a suicide attack, he is more likely to kill A. Since the current terrorists' strategy is suicide attacks, the success of the terrorists is greater in such attacks"<sup>4</sup>. "Another model is that 'A' and 'B' are facing each other. B has threatened to give A thousand rupees or face a bomb blast. There are two options to give A to B or not. If 'A' feels threatened by 'B', then it is wise for him to pay 'B' a thousand rupees to get rid of him. But if 'B' wants to carry out a suicide attack, his threat alone has no credibility. Whether he gets Rs.1000 or not, he can carry out his work"<sup>5</sup>. If the global campaign against terrorism is implemented with this concept of security, then terrorism can be reduced. The same effort should be made in India. But that doesn't seem to be the case.

#### **Shatrujit:**

"With the end of the Cold War and the winds of 'globalization' blowing in the military sector"<sup>6</sup>, initiatives such as joint military exercises between India and the United States are being undertaken. Such missions are taking place in all three forces, the infantry, the air force and the navy. On the other hand, the advancement of science and technology has led to radical changes in the form of terrorism. Due to the separatism and fundamentalism of the people, a growing number of terrorists are carrying out suicide attacks. They have advanced explosives, weapons. "There are networks of terrorists who provide formulaic training. The network is now spread all over the world. Incidentally, the next challenges in the counter-terrorism campaign are changing.

Against this backdrop, the "Shatrujit" joint training camp organized by the US and Indian armies for counter-terrorism and infiltration training was of paramount importance. It was attended by the 21st Punjab Battalion, which protects an inch and an inch of land in the Kashmir Valley, and the 2/1 Marine Regiment of the United States, which is leading operations in Iraq and Afghanistan."<sup>7</sup> A replica of various villages in the terror-hit Kashmir Valley was made on the occasion of the camp at the Commando Training School in Belgaum. The U.S. military, which has dominated the world with its weapons empire, has taken the challenge of terrorism and infiltration seriously, especially after 9/11. That's why about 40 percent of the Mariners' training was reserved for counterterrorism training. Why

---

<sup>4</sup> Saksena K.P. – Reforming the United Nation – New Delhi, Sage Publication – 1993. Page 34

<sup>5</sup> Durch William J. , "The evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping" MartinPress , 1993 Page 36

<sup>6</sup> .Hill Martin, " The United Nations System" Cambridge university press.London. 1978.page 56

<sup>7</sup> Tolly Howard, "The United Nation Commission on Human Rights", WestviewPress,U.S.A.1987 page 77

does the US military need to come to India and participate in such a training camp? Such a question naturally arises. In this context, Major Jonathan Scrabbeck, deputy chief of the Mariners, says that the thrill of the terrorist campaign in Arnold Schwarzenegger's films had become popular in the United States as well. But now 'Jungle Warfare' has become history. With the exception of Vietnam, the challenges ahead are different from those in Iraq. Now is the time for urban warfare. Global networks of extremists are on the rise. Therefore, it is necessary to study not only the strength of our military strength but also the strengths of other armies. No matter how modern the US military is, we now face the challenge of operations in remote areas and beyond. Human rights abuses by the military are being reported around the world.

### **War on Terror:**

Against this backdrop, different skills need to be developed for "Urban Warfare". "Accurate and effective use of minimum weapons, proper planning for it, coordination for each component of Military, minimum damage to public and public property will have to be taken care of. For this, they exchanged skills in conducting actual campaigns in this camp. In addition, planning, strategies, joint operations, and action based on information received from the intelligence agencies were studied."<sup>8</sup> For this, the interaction with the 21 Punjab Battalion was invaluable for the Mariners. Colonel Vijay Nair, Chief of 21 Punjab Battalion, says in this regard. "The Indian Army has played a key role in many previous UN peacekeeping operations." There is no denying the possibility of a joint counter-terrorism operation in the near future. The Indian Army has a long track record in counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency operations in the Kashmir Valley. Efforts to do so began with a joint exercise with the US military. This was practiced for the next three years. During this camp, every American officer, soldier, attested to his extraordinary diplomacy as a political officer. While praising the Indian Army, his 'Between the Lines' and his 'body language' said a lot. U.S. troops are quick to point out that there is minimal damage to civilians in counterterrorism operations. We use a lot of weapons and ammunition. Our infantry work is relatively easy. After the bombardment destroyed everything, we marched to take over the territory. The young soldiers in the US Army were somewhat more ingenious and more equipped than the Indians. Immediately after saying this, the affirmation is added that 'but the bravery of the Indian Army is not broken'. Asking that, only 'May be' smiles like that. However, it is because of this discipline that the Indian Army has gained prominence. The same goes for weapons. U.S. troops had m16. So the Indian Insas. These much-discussed rifles were used by both armies. The Indian soldiers themselves pointed out the flaws in the INSAS. (Which did not need to be brought? No nation

---

<sup>8</sup> Gopalji Malaviya, Peace and Disarmament, "Hope and Reality", India PeaceCentre, Nagpur, 1994, page 20

shows its military shortcomings to another nation. But the Indians showed it. We fell short in this diplomacy.) The M16 is smooth. Using Insas is more troublesome than that. Insas is afraid of being locked up. It was clarified that the vision of m16 is better. But American soldiers are cautious here. There is no difference in weapons except the manufacturing company. They say so. Then when you ask whether you will use Insas, the answer is no way.

“US troops say they want to experience the thrill of operations in remote and difficult terrain like Kashmir, but they are aware that this opportunity will not come. This joint exercise means that it would be a daydream to expect Indo-US troops to restore peace in the Kashmir Valley as soon as Operation Fax Hunt tomorrow.”<sup>9</sup> But in the face of the changing global challenge of terrorism, it is desirable to have the ability to communicate positively with the armies of other countries. In this regard, the joint exercise between the United States and India, the world's largest military power, will no doubt be instrumental in the success of the 'War on Terror'.

### **Indo-US relations and terrorism:**

Former US President George W. Bush visited India in 2006. “The massive protests by Indian Muslims at the time and the terrorist attacks (bomb blasts) at the Sankatmochan Hanuman Temple in Varanasi and elsewhere in Varanasi a few days later set the course for India's fight against terrorism. Both these incidents should be seriously considered by Indian Hindus and Muslims. Only by thinking like this will national unity be strengthened and ethnic and religious harmony be maintained. Failure to do so or fail to do so could have serious consequences for the nation. Unfortunately, There is a class that thinks improperly in both Hindu and Muslim societies. The notion that the United States is the enemy of Islam and can only be countered by a pan-Islamic front is taking root in the minds of the majority of Muslims today”<sup>10</sup>.

What is wrong with Indian Muslims abandoning the idea of national interest while building a pan-Islamic front (for the protection of Islam)? This attitude is trying to create such a current of opinion. Isn't the interest of Islam, the protection of Islam more important than anything else? So what is wrong if we consider Osama bin Laden and his accomplices as leaders and saviors? After all, with the banner of Islam in hand, with great patience and perseverance, they are constantly fighting a lonely America, aren't they? This idea is gaining ground among Indian Muslims, and it is inappropriate. India is forging friendly relations with the United States to safeguard its national interests, mainly economic interests. This is not noticed by the anti-American people. The recent Indo-US nuclear deal is in India's

---

<sup>9</sup> Paul Kennedy and Bruce Russett, *Reforming The United Nations*, ForeignAffairs, New York, September/October 1995, vol.No.5 page 78

<sup>10</sup> Ferid Guliyev and Nozima Askarkhodjaev, 2009. “The Trans-Caspian Energy Route: Cronyism, Competition and Cooperation in Kazakh Oil Export”, *Energy Policy*, page 156

interest. With this agreement, people from both Hindu and Muslim communities will be able to enjoy development by increasing nuclear power generation. In addition, a large number of jobs will be created. But anti-US protesters in Delhi, Mumbai and elsewhere do not seem to mind. Muslims around the world consider America an enemy. So it is a mistake for India to deviate from its original national mainstream, thinking that the US should be considered an enemy. In addition, the issue of the caricature of the Prophet Muhammad, which created a sense of resentment among ordinary Muslims and was also propagated against the United States, will be detrimental to the concept of national coexistence. The failure of secular political parties to curb such an atmosphere of ethnic and religious factionalism is fatal to the country's democracy.

**National Interest:<sup>11</sup>**

A section of the Hindu community is of the view that India should stand by the United States in the fight against terrorism. The United States attaches great importance to the global fight against terrorism. It needs a global lead. It is obvious that the most powerful nation should, of course, lead this fight. So what is wrong with India accepting the leadership of the US and fully supporting the US in this fight? Such thoughts have become ingrained in these people. Now, India's fight against terrorism and America's fight against terrorism are two different things. The US war is not like the Indian war. Although both have reduced their fines against terrorism, there is a difference in the underlying causes and roles behind them. Therefore, the US fight against terrorism and India's fight against terrorism cannot be compared. These people do not realize that the two cannot be seen in the same light. In India, the scourge of terrorism has reached India from time to time. India has always been a victim of terrorism. But India has never created or fertilized terrorism. The United States, on the other hand, has been plagued by terrorism for a long time, but it has long been a breeding ground for terrorism. The United States has taken up arms against it now that it has begun to take its toll. This difference between India and the US needs to be taken into account. Didn't the United States provide weapons of mass destruction and billions of dollars in financial aid to religious groups in Afghanistan? And it was later used against India, wasn't it? "Today, in the name of the war on terror, the United States is pursuing its own imperialist foreign policy. How can we ignore that fact? Doesn't it feel more dangerous and insecure than some of America's recent actions? After the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001 (the planes were shot down at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon), the United States gained the sympathy of the whole world. But the United States lost it in the ensuing invasions of Iraq. The United States has, from time to time, made false, misleading statements about

---

<sup>11</sup> Ferdinand E. Banks, 2003. "An Introduction to the Economics of Natural Gas", *OPEC Review*, page 45

Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. The US is trying to use the same formula to bring about a similar change of government in Iran. So the feeling that America is anti-Islamic was naturally created among Muslims around the world"<sup>12</sup>.

In such a scenario, how can it be appropriate for India to declare its participation in the US war on terror, ignoring the sentiments of Indian Muslims? "Wouldn't the feelings of Indian Muslims be disrespected? Wouldn't it be dangerous for the national interest today and in the future to do so?"<sup>13</sup> The facts cannot be ignored. India has long had cordial relations with almost all Muslim nations. We are credited with inheriting this great cultural year. History has shown that India has never been aggressive. Why should we (India) squander the goodwill we have among Muslim nations by flirting with a superpower that the rest of the world finds difficult or annoying today? Let India be America's enemy or its adversary? Against the backdrop of US role and action, the fight against terrorism, India needs to choose its path with good conscience and distinction. The Indian Hindu and Muslim communities, as well as their religious and political leaders, all have a responsibility. All political parties have the same responsibility. It is the duty of us, the Indian Muslims and their leaders, to be more active against terrorism than we have been so far. That is their national duty.

### **Conclusion:**

In the name of Islam, some forces in that religion are undermining Islam by their actions. Are defaming. Only when wise, thoughtful Muslim leaders stand up against this force will India's struggle against terrorism make sense. Protesting against terrorist acts with words is not enough. Going beyond that, they should take action. Cooperate with intelligence agencies and security forces. In order to dismantle terrorist bases, cut off financial aid and other supplies, they must cooperate with the security forces and intelligence agencies by providing information on their disruptive advisers and guides at the international level. Hindu organizations and their leaders have a similar moral responsibility. The government is responsible for creating an environment conducive to terrorism and extremism only by appeasing the minorities. It will not work like that. Do you understand the justice of Indian Muslims, their rightful expectations, their problems? They should ask themselves such questions. Also, what have we done so far to bring down our extremist forces and principles alone? We are true Hindus. So have you completely banished anti-Muslim and anti-Islamic attitudes? What did you do to create mutual spiritual harmony, heart-to-heart relationship between Hindus and Muslims? They should ask themselves this question, such a heart-to-heart relationship does not develop between Hindus and

---

<sup>12</sup> Gawdat Bahgat, 2002. "Pipeline Diplomacy: The Geopolitics of the Caspian Sea Region", *International Studies Perspectives*, page 87

<sup>13</sup> Gawdat Bahgat, "Energy Security in a New World Order", *The Journal of Energy and Development* 2004, page 91

Muslims. Until then, the concept of 'national unity' does not make sense. It is meaningless. What is in India's interest in the present situation as well as in the future? This should be considered. The goal of establishing peace in the country and the subcontinent will be achieved and our fight against terrorism will be successful only when our leaders start thinking of the interests of the nation, going beyond electoral success and coming to power.

## References

1. Purushottam Gangaram Salvi, "Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj (father and inventor of Hindavi Swarajya) in Marathi, Venus Publications Pune, 1983 page 22
2. Basu Rumki, "The United Nations", Sterling Publishers pvt.Ltd., New Delhi 1993, page 205
3. Saksena K.P. – Reforming the United Nation – New Delhi, Sage Publication – 1993. page 23
4. Saksena K.P. – Reforming the United Nation – New Delhi, Sage Publication – 1993. Page 34
5. Durch William J. , "The evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping" MartinPress , 1993 Page 36
6. Hill Martin, " The United Nations System" Cambridge university press.London. 1978.page 56
7. Tolly Howard, "The United Nation Commission on Human Rights", WestviewPress,U.S.A.1987 page 77
8. Gopalji Malaviya, Peace and Disarmament, "Hope and Reality", India PeaceCentre, Nagpur, 1994, page 20
9. Paul Kennedy and Bruce Russett, Reforming The United Nations, ForeignAffairs, New York,September/October 1995, vol.No.5 page 78
10. Ferid Guliyev and Nozima Askarkhodjaev, 2009. "The Trans-Caspian Energy Route: Cronyism, Competition and Cooperation in Kazakh Oil Export", *Energy Policy*, page 156
11. Ferdinand E. Banks, 2003. "An Introduction to the Economics of Natural Gas", *OPEC Review*, page 45
12. Gawdat Bahgat, 2002. "Pipeline Diplomacy: The Geopolitics of the Caspian Sea Region", *InternationalStudies Perspectives*, page 87
13. Gawdat Bahgat, "Energy Security in a New World Order", *The Journal of Energy and Development* 2004, page 91

# Refugee-As an Indian Perspective

**Snehal Anil Nikam**

*Assistant Professor*

*Defence and Strategic Studies Department*

*Bhonsala Military College*

## **Introduction-**

Every human being has the Right to live with dignity and to be given a nationality status. It is a Universal obligation of every nation that no individual should be left in a condition of statelessness. The concept of nationality acts as a vital link between an individual and a nation. It enables the person to ensure certain rights and duties and to be secured by a particular nation to which he belongs. But in the case of Refugees it does not happen so, because Refugees are the ones who has left their native country due to various reasons as established by the International law. They migrate to another country where they will be either or not given protection and rights depending upon the municipal laws of the country to which they are migrated.

India is one of the few countries that welcome refugees with hospitality and has also ascertained certain rights over them for their security. Over the past decades India has given protection and shelter to various refugees from different countries like Myanmar, Vietnam, Americans, Persians, Syrians, Palestinians, Ethiopians, Afghans and Christians. India has no specific legal framework for the status of refugees but still has extended certain essential fundamental rights over them. India is not a signatory member to the United Nations Refugee Convention 1951 and its protocol of 1967.

On the other hand though steps have been taken under the international laws for the protection of the rights of the refugees, those rights are not effectively implemented among the nations due to the variations in the implementation of the international laws within their territory. India is the follower of the Specific Adoption Theory according to which an international law is ordered to be applied under its municipal laws, and requires the adoption of its principles through a relevant legislation passed by the Parliament of India.

Refugees are the human barometer of political stability, justice and order in much of the world. They constitute evidence for political failure or success in today's human society. A significant number of refugees living at a given place is often an indicator of a breakdown in governance at their place of origin, or of the fact that the people have become victims of its own governmental abuse or of an external aggression, or that coherent governance has ceased to exist.

## **Who is a refugee?**

"Refugee" from a lay person's standpoint, is a person who has left home and seeks refuge elsewhere because of war or persecution or natural disaster.

From its inception, refugee status has evolved in response to changing social and political conditions. The initial concern with de jure (by law) statelessness shifted to embrace de facto (the fact) unprotected groups, and further to protect individuals at ideological odds with their state. The common thread is a recognition that it is reasonable for groups and individuals to disengage from fundamentally abusive national communities, at which point refugee law exists to provide protection by the international community. "boat people," "economic migrants," "displaced persons," "illegal aliens" or "people who have been firmly resettled elsewhere. As a result the estimated number of refugees in the world today varies significantly, depending on the preference of different countries, and on how individual States choose to define "a refugee."

What is indisputable and uniformly evident in all refugee populations is the fact that they have been forced out of their comfort zones and have lost control of their present and future. Essentially, they are the equivalent of wreckage floating on the sea. Local people in the country in which they are "washed" may feed and shelter them, but sooner or later the time comes when their existence has to be officially acknowledged and legally recognized.

As a concept of international law, the term refuge has evolved considerably since its entry into international affairs after World War I. The earliest international legal instruments recognizing refugees date from the 1920s and assigned refugee status to specific national groups- for example, to Russians fleeing the Bolshevik Revolution. Such national groups were viewed as lacking the protection of their country of origin and in need of international protection. The Evian Conference of 1938, which addressed the flight of Jews from National-Socialist Germany, marked the first instance of international recognition of the refugee as a victim of persecution.

The response of the international community after the First World War to the phenomenon of forced migration was to define a discrete subclass of forced migrants as "refugees" who, in turn, became the object of international attention and legal obligations. Those qualifying as refugees found themselves entitled to help in the form of coordinated efforts by both the host government and international institutions designed to work for their benefit. At the end League of Nations did not attempt to define a refugee in general terms but chose to deal with each crisis as it developed. The refugees covered by these agreements had the following general characteristics:

1. They were nationals of a particular territory



2. They had lost the protection, in law or in fact, of the particular government controlling the said territory.
3. They were stateless or possessed no other nationality.

### **Indian and Refugee**

India is a follower of various principles like non-violence, integrity, security etc. The features like security, social welfare, integrity, democracy are embedded in the Preamble of Indian Constitution.

The various principles of United Nations Declaration of Human Rights 1948 have been established under various fundamental rights like Right to Life and Liberty under Article-21, Right against Unlawful Detention under Article-22, Right to Privacy which was extended under Article-21.

The education of Human Rights is embedded under Article-26 of the Indian Constitution . Even the ancient Vedas of Hindu mythology in India insist on Human Rights . Human Rights also form the essential product of Democracy. The remedies are established under Article-32 and 226 of the Indian Constitution. The concept of protection of refugees falls under the ambit of human rights. Refugees are those who leave from their native countries to seek shelter from other nations due to either internal conflict or insecurities. In order to provide Protection for the refugees on an international level the United Nation Convention on Refugees of 1951 was framed in order to initiate the voluntary action of developed nations. The protection of refugees is based on the concept that hunger, poverty, security threats recognise no border. The Right to Dignity which enables a person to make one's own free choices, respect for the choices and conditions to operate is also applicable to the Refugees.

The refugee problem has been existing even before World War II. A study shows that in 2015 there were a total of 2,01,381 refugees and 6,480 asylum seekers present in India. Mostly in the case of refugees the men, women and children were targeted for abuse by the police, the military or other officials in the country of origin which forced them to evacuate. India acts as the host to refugees who leave their native countries.

Various instances that stand as an example are in the cases of refugees from Sri Lanka, Tibet, Jammu people from Bangladesh, China, Tribal people from Burma, Afghanistan, Iran, Sudan etc. In India there is no specific legislation for refugees and mostly they are treated as aliens but There are certain constitutional & administrative guidelines that deal with refugees in the form of the following three Acts.

1. The Registration of Foreigners Act 1939 deals with the Foreigners,
2. The Foreigners Act of 1946 empowers the State to regulate the entry, presence and departure of aliens in India.

3. The Foreigners Order 1948 under Section-2 defines the term Foreigner as those who are not the citizens of India, which can refer to aliens of categories like immigrants, tourists and even refugees. The government of India has power to limit the entry and even to issue orders to the refugees to return to their native countries when there is a risk for the internal peace, absence of valid identity proof such as passport.

India receives a mass influx of refugees to whom it has to provide shelter, camps, socio-economic measures .

### **Constitutional Provisions for Refugee**

The Constitution of India is the basic and supreme document governing the entire administration and legislative actions of the Indian government. It enumerates the key principles to be ensured in the administration of the Indian government. It also ensures the various fundamental rights and duties for its citizens. Some of the rights are also extended to the foreigners and thus thereby extending to the refugees also.

The constitutional provisions are as follows-

1. Equality before the law or equal protection of the law

Right to equality is established under the Article-14 of the Constitution of India. Equality is one such principle which is guaranteed in almost the majority of the written constitutions in the world. This right ensures that every individual are treated in an equal manner without any discrimination from one another. This right is extended for both citizens and non-citizens of India. Thus it includes foreigners thereby extending to the refugees as well. The wordings of article-14 are as follows, *“The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or equal protection of laws within the territory of India.”*

Under this right the refugees can attain certain privileges as they are bound to be treated equally along with the citizens of India

2. Right to Life and Personal Liberty.

Right to life and personal liberty is established under Article-21 of the Constitution of India.

According to this right every individual has the right to live a peaceful life irrespective of his race, religion, nationality.

The wordings of article-21 are as follows:

*“No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.”*

It is one such right which is wider in manner to cover various important aspects of life.

1. **Right to live with human dignity-** it is one such right that states that every individual is secured to lead a dignified life until he harms the peace of the society or violates the law of India. Thus even refugees are entitled to lead a dignified life in India
2. **Right to livelihood-** this right is similar to that right to life under article-21 and acts as substantiate right to the latter ensuring the right to basic amenities, shelter etc.
3. **Right to health and medical assistance -** this right establishes the right to adequate medical assistance and health care to every individual in India. Thus under this the refugees are entitled to proper medical assistance until their stay in India.
4. **Right to constitutional remedies-** no right will be effective unless there is a remedy established under law in case of its violation.

Thus the above stated fundamental rights will be meaningless unless there are constitutional remedies guaranteed by law. Article-32 and article-226 are the two vital constitutional remedies guaranteed by the constitution of India in case of violation of fundamental rights.

### **The Special Treatment/Provisions**

#### **(a) Exemption from penalties-**

India is pathetic towards the status of refugees. According to the Indian law, foreigners are liable for a term not extending five years and are also liable to fine. However India has not implemented this provision without any reasonable cause. In case of large influxes of refugees, India laid down the principle of the refugee convention under Article-3 which states that the contracting States shall not penalise any refugee for illegal entry into their territory if good cause for such entry is shown.

#### **(b) Identity and travel documents-**

India issues identification certificates to the refugees thereby showing their refugee status. But no refugees were given travel documents so far except for the Tibetan refugees. The Tibetan refugees were given travel documents under which they could travel to foreign countries and could return to India.

This is in accordance with the provisions of the Refugee Convention under Article-28 which states that the contracting States shall provide travel documents for the refugees within the prescribed conditions.

### **Rohingya refugees in india**

The Rohingyas are an Indo-Aryan ethnic minority group in Rakhine. The Rohingyas are the most persecuted minority group in the world. Their educational rights are restricted only in fundamental

Islamic studies. Myanmar is a multi-religious country. India and Myanmar have a robust and rugged relationship in their own legacy. Earlier 4000 Rohingya muslim came to India and settled in Jammu and Kashmir.

Myanmar is a muslim community originating from Arakan kingdom situated on the western coast of Burma. The list contained in the Citizenship Act 1948 of Myanmar passed after Burma got independence didn't apply for Rohingyas.

According to the United Nations high Commissioner for Refugees, Rohingyas are one of the world's largest and most prominent groups of stateless people.

The New York Times Report states that there were 2000 to 6000 Rohingyas found in boats in the Andaman sea.

On February 26.2021, the Indian Coast Guard found a vessel, which had 81 Rohingyas aboard, while eight were dead and one was missing. This incident again brought forward the issue of India's stance on the Rohingya issue as India was not ready to accept these 81 refugees into its territory.

India shares a porous border with Bangladesh and, hence, it is expected that a large number of Rohingya Muslims will cross the border. This is hazardous. According to official figures, about 40,000 Rohingya refugees have already entered the country while analysts believe that the actual number is much more. Both Bangladesh and Indian security personnel claim that Rohingya Muslims are a big threat to the security of the region as a large number of young Rohingyas are thoroughly radicalised. The camps of Rohingya refugees are in the Chittagong area of Bangladesh which is infamous for Islamic extremism and secessionist activities. In the past, terrorists from the North-East took shelter in this region before and after terrorist attacks in India. After Sheikh Hasina came to power, these terrorist camps were destroyed.

The Government of India has taken the righteous decision to not bow down to international pressure and instead, to repatriate Rohingya refugees. The Government should now be firm in dealing with biased Muslim organisations, NGOs, human right activists and hypocrites who do not think before criticising the Government. India has limited resources and a huge population. Hence, people have full rights on resources. Second, India is already fighting with terrorism at several places, including Pakistan-sponsored terrorism as well as left Wing Extremism. Hence, India cannot afford a large number of radical Rohingyas in diverse parts of the country.

## **Conclusion**

Every individual is entitled to lead a dignified and peaceful life; no person should be left with a condition of statelessness. It is the duty of each and every nation to ensure the above rights to every

individual across the world. In the case of refugees the above rights are not assured to them in all the cases. India, though is not the signatory member to the 1951 Refugee Convention it is an active supporter to the refugees who seek the assistance of India, but the recognition of refugees under the definitions of Foreigners and Aliens leads to certain absurdity in certain cases. Though there are certain reasons to justify for not framing a municipal legislation regarding the refugees in India.

Moreover the present form of regulations administering the refugees in India involves the political dominations in deciding the remedial measures to the refugees.

Thus the research highlights the need for a specific municipal legislation governing the provisions relating to refugees with well defined definitions and reducing the involvement of politics.

The refugee problem continues to challenge the international community. While refugee-receiving States should maintain their commitment to the protection of refugees and encourage tolerance towards diversity, refugee-producing States have the duty to prevent acts that produce mass exodus of their populations.

At the same time the world needs to reach an agreement on how best to prevent new flows of refugees. The root causes of these situations should be further studied and rectified. If poverty is the major cause of refugee flows, some solutions could be found in development aid or technical assistance.

If violent conflicts are the causes of flows, solutions may be found in preventive diplomacy, in the promotion of mediation as the means to conflict resolution and in respect for provisions of humanitarian law.

## काश्मीर बाबतचे कलम ३७०

प्रो. (डॉ.) बबन देवनाथ तोडकर  
संरक्षण आणि सामरिकशास्त्र विभागप्रमुख  
न्यूआर्ट्स, कॉमर्स अँड सायन्स कॉलेज, अहमदनगर  
[babantodkar@gmail.com](mailto:babantodkar@gmail.com)

फो. ९८९००७६७९१

प्रतावना :

भारतीय संसदेने जम्मू - काश्मीरमधून घटनेच्या ३७० कलमातील बहुतांश तरतूदी ५ ऑगस्ट २०१९ रोजी समाप्त केल्या. परिणामी जम्मू - काश्मीरला मिळालेला विशेष दर्जा देखील नष्ट झाला. लडाख आणि जम्मू - काश्मीरहे दोन स्वतंत्र केंद्रशासित प्रदेश जम्मू - काश्मीरला विभाजित करून बनविण्यात आले. यात जम्मू - काश्मीर मध्ये विधानसभा असेल मात्र लडाख चंदीगडप्रमाणे थेट केंद्राच्या आधीन राहिल. या केंद्रशासनाच्या ऐतिहासिक निर्णयानंतर त्याचे पडसाद देशभर उमटणे स्वाभाविक होते. अशा प्रसंगी आपल्या पुढे काही प्रश्न पडतात. ते म्हणजे काश्मीर प्रश्न नेमका काय आहे? कलम ३७० नेमके काय आहे? ही कलमे हटविल्यानंतर परिणाम होतील? यांची उत्तरे शोधण्यासाठी हा संशोधनपर लेख लिहिण्याचा केलेला खटाटोप आहे.

संशोधन लेखाची उद्दीष्टे :

खालील उद्दीष्टे 'काश्मीरबाबतचे कलम ३७०' या संशोधन लेखासाठी निश्चित केलेली आहेत.

- १) काश्मीरच्या ऐतिहासिक पार्श्वभूमीचा अभ्यास करणे.
- २) काश्मीरचा प्रश्न किंवा समस्येचा अभ्यास करणे.
- ३) कलम ३७० काय आहे याचा अभ्यास करणे.
- ४) कलम ३७० अंतर्गत इतर बाबींचा अभ्यास करणे.

संशोधन लेखाचे गृहीतक :

भारताच्या स्वातंत्र्यापासून काश्मीरचा प्रश्न ज्या ज्या वेळी उपस्थित झाला, त्या त्या वेळी काश्मीरची समस्या व त्या संदर्भात असलेले कलम ३७० नेमके काय आहे, हे प्रश्न उभे राहिले म्हणून याचा सविस्तर अभ्यास करण्याचे ठरविले आणि 'काश्मीरबाबतचे कलम ३७०' या संशोधन लेखामध्ये त्याचा ऊहापोह करण्यावर भर दिला. कारण ही माहिती लेखी स्वरूपात प्रस्तुत करण्याची आज नितांत गरज आहे. तसेच आज या लेखाचा समाजाला आणि इतर संशोधकांना निश्चितच फायदा होईल.

संशोधन पध्दती :

संशोधन शोध लेखामध्ये इतिहास व विश्लेषण पध्दतीचा अवलंब केला असून शोध लेखातील विवेचन द्वितीय साधनसामग्रीवर आधारलेले आहे यासाठी विविध वर्तमान पत्रातील लेखांचा उपयोग करण्यात आलेला आहे.

ऐतिहासिक पार्श्वभूमी :

ऐतिहासिक काळापासून काश्मीरसंबंधी माहिती आढळते. सुरुवातीला हा भाग हिंदू राज्याच्या ताब्यात होता. त्यानंतर तेथे मुसलमान, सुलतान, चक घराणे, नंतर अकबराने हा भाग आपल्या सत्तेखाली आणून मोगल साम्राज्यास जोडला. औरंगजेबाच्या अत्याचाराला कंटाळून काश्मीरच्या पंडितांनी रणजितसिंहाची मदत मागितली. ती त्याने ताबडतोब दिली. त्यानंतर राजा रणजितसिंहाचीच सत्ता या भागावर होती .

गुलाबसिंह हा डोग्रा घराण्याचा संस्थापक. तो याच रणजितसिंह वंशातला होता. जम्मूमध्ये गोंधळ आहे हे पाहून रणजितसिंहाने १८०८ मध्ये भाई हुकूमसिंहाला जम्मू शीख राज्यात समाविष्ट करण्याची आज्ञा दिली. १८१५ ते १८२० या काळात गुलाबसिंहाने सरहद्दीवरील लढ्यात भाग घेतला. १८२० मध्ये त्याला जम्मूचा प्रदेश जहांगीर म्हणून मिळाला. १८४१ साली त्याने किश्तवार, लडाख, बाल्टीस्थान हे प्रांत काश्मीर राज्यास जोडले. १८४६ साली झालेल्या इंग्रज - शीख युद्धात गुलाबसिंह तटस्थ राहिला. याचे बक्षिस म्हणून इंग्रजांनी गुलाबसिंहाबरोबर अमृतसरचा करार करून जम्मू - काश्मीर राज्याची पायाभरणी केली. त्यानंतर हे राज्य इंग्रजांनी गुलाबसिंहच्या ताब्यात दिले. गुलाबसिंहाने त्यानंतर गिलगिट प्रांत काश्मीरला जोडून काश्मीर संस्थान निर्माण केले. या कराराच्यावेळी काश्मीरी जनतेला काश्मीर संस्थान निर्माण झाल्याचे सांगण्यात आले नव्हते. भारताला स्वातंत्र्य मिळाले तेव्हा काश्मीरवर गुलाबसिंहाचा नातू राजा हरिसिंह राज्य करत होता. त्यानेच हे संस्थान भारतात २६ ऑक्टोबर १९४७ ला सामील केले. यावेळीही काश्मीरी जनतेचा कोणताही विचार केलेला नव्हता. तसेच ५ऑगस्ट २०१९ मध्ये जम्मू - काश्मीर राज्य नष्ट करून त्याचे दोन भाग करण्यात आले हेही काश्मीरी जनतेला विश्वासात घेऊन केले नाही .

काश्मीरचा प्रश्न किंवा समस्या :

हिंदुस्थानवर इंग्रजांची राजवट होती, तेव्हा जम्मू - काश्मीर हे स्वतंत्र संस्थान होते. इतर संस्थानापेक्षा लष्करी, आर्थिक, राजकीय व आकाराच्या मानाने हे सर्वात मोठे संस्थान असल्यामुळे काश्मीरने स्वतंत्र राहण्याचा निर्णय घेतला. वास्तविक पाहता त्याकाळात २/३ काश्मीर मधील जनता मुस्लिम होती, काश्मीरची सर्व दळणवळण यंत्रणा पाकिस्तानवर अवलंबून होती, काश्मीरचा प्रदेश भारतापेक्षा पाकिस्तानला जवळ होता. या सर्व परिस्थितीचा विचार करता आज ना उदय हे संस्थान पाकिस्तानमध्येच विलीन झाले असते, यामध्ये तिळमात्र शंका नव्हती. पण पाकिस्तानी राज्यकर्त्यांनी धीर धरला नाही. त्यांनी सुरुवातीला अतिरेक्यांच्या व नंतर सैनिकांच्या मदतीने काश्मीरी जनतेला त्रास देण्यास सुरुवात केली. यामागे काश्मीरच्या महाराजांवर दबाव टाकणे हा पाकिस्तानचा हेतू होता. त्यानंतर काश्मीरमध्ये येणारे अन्नधान्य व सामानाची आवक थांबवून पाकिस्तानने काश्मीरची गळचेपी सुरु केली. त्याचा परिणाम काश्मीरमधील जनजीवन विस्कळीत होण्यात झाला. त्यानंतर २२ ऑक्टोबरला पाकिस्तानने काश्मीरवर हल्ला केला. परिस्थितीचे गांभीर्य लक्षात घेऊन राजा हरिसिंहने काश्मीरची सर्व सत्ते अब्दुल्ला यांच्याकडे देऊन ते जम्मूला निघून गेले. शेख अब्दुल्लाने भारताकडे मदत मागितली, पण भारताने काश्मीर हे स्वतंत्र असल्यामुळे मदत करण्यास नकार दिला. त्यानंतर २६ ऑक्टोबर १९४७ ला जम्मू - काश्मीर हे संस्थान भारतात विलीन करण्यात आले. त्यानंतर हा प्रश्न हाताळण्यासाठी भारतीय सेना अतिशय बिकट परिस्थितीत काश्मीरमध्ये गेली. तेथे तिने सर्वच आघाड्यांवर पाकिस्तानी सैनिक व हल्लेखोरांना मागे पिटाळण्यास सुरुवात केली. त्याचवेळी काश्मीरचा प्रश्न भारताने

युनेच्या व्यासपीठावर उपस्थित केला. त्यामुळे जम्मू - काश्मीर प्रश्नाला आंतरराष्ट्रीय स्वरूप प्राप्त झाले. युनेच्या मध्यस्तीने काश्मीरमधील भारत पाकिस्तान यांच्यातील युद्ध थांबवण्यात आले. दोन्ही फौजा ज्या ठिकाणी उभ्या होत्या त्यामधून उभय राष्ट्रातील युनेच्या मध्यस्तीने सीमा रेषा आखण्यात आली. तेंव्हा १/३ काश्मीरचा भाग पाकिस्तानकडे व २/३ काश्मीरचा भाग भारताकडे राहिला. पाकिस्तानच्या ताब्यातील काश्मीरच्या भागाला 'पाकिस्तान व्याप्त काश्मीर' तर भारताकडील काश्मीरला 'आझाद काश्मीर' असे म्हणतात.

तेंव्हा पासून ते आजपर्यंत पाकिस्तानने कधी कूटनीतीचा तर कधी दहशदवाद्यांची मदत घेऊन काश्मीर जिंकण्याचा प्रयत्न केला पण त्यामध्ये त्यांना यश आले नाही. काश्मीरप्रश्नावरून पाकिस्तानने भारतावर १९६५, १९७१ व १९९९ मध्ये युद्ध लादले. पण त्यामध्येही त्यांना यश मिळू शकले नाही. म्हणजेच १९४७ मध्ये निर्माण झालेला काश्मीरचा प्रश्न/ समस्या अद्यापपर्यंत सुटू शकलेली नाही. कारण काश्मीरचे लष्करी किंवा सामरिक व राजकीय महत्व उभय राष्ट्रांसाठी फार महत्वाचे आहे .

कलम ३७० :

काश्मीरच्या अस्मितेच्या सुरक्षिततेसाठी साशंक असलेले आणि भविष्याची चिन्ता असलेले काश्मीरी लोक भारतात विलीन होण्यासाठी मानसिकदृष्ट्या तयार नव्हते. शिवाय हा प्रश्न संयुक्त राष्ट्राकडे गेल्यामुळे त्याला आंतरराष्ट्रीय स्वरूप मिळाले होते. अशा वेळी काश्मीरी लोकांना सुशासनाची संस्कृती टिकवण्याची हमी मिळावी म्हणून भारताने जम्मू - काश्मीरसाठी एक श्वेतपत्रिका १९४८ मध्ये जारी केली. तसेच संयुक्त राष्ट्राने मध्यस्थी केलेली असल्याकारणाने विलीनीकरण तात्पुरते आहे, तसेच काश्मीरबाबत लोकांचे मत महत्वाचे असेल हे त्यावेळी भारताने मान्य केले. त्यानुसार जम्मू - काश्मीरसाठी ३०६ अ हा मूळ मसुदा तयार केला. त्यालाच कलम ३७० म्हणून ओळखले जाते .

शेख अब्दुल्लायांच्या संदिग्ध भूमिकेमुळे तसेच पंतप्रधान नेहरू संयुक्त राष्ट्रांमध्ये गेलेले असल्यामुळे ३७० कलमाची आणि काश्मीर भारतात यावा यासाठी काय पावले उचलावीत असा पेचनिर्माण झाला होता. तेंव्हा सरदार पटेलांनी सामीलनामा ही संकल्पना मांडली आणि पेचातून तोडगा काढला. त्यानुसार जम्मू - काश्मीर जनतेचे काही अधिकार अबाधित ठेवत तसेच त्यांच्या सार्वमताची हमी देत काश्मीर भारतात सामील झाले . म्हणजेच भारतीय संविधानांतर्गत जम्मू - काश्मीरचे स्वतंत्र संविधान आहे. सदर कलमाच्या 'अधिकार क्षेत्रात' वेळोवेळी बदल झाले. मात्र भारतीय संविधानातील नागरिकत्व, मूलभूत हक्क, राज्यातील वरिष्ठ न्यायालयाची कार्यक्षेत्र, निवडणूक प्रक्रिया आदी बाबी काही अपवादात्मक तरतुदीद्वारे या राज्यास लागू होतात. राष्ट्रपती - संसद यांचे अधिकार, निवडणूक आयोगाची कार्यपद्धती, महालेखापालाचे कार्यक्षेत्र, वरिष्ठ न्यायालयाचे अधिकार व व्याप्ती या बाबी भारताच्या मूळ राज्यघटनेत जशा आहेत तशा स्थितीत काश्मीरलाही लागू होतात .

मात्र, राज्य लोकसेवा, राज्यांतर्गत आणीबाणी लागू करणे, राज्यांच्या सीमांमध्ये बदल करणे, राज्य धोरणाची मार्गदर्शक तत्वे असे राज्यघटनेतील मुद्दे काश्मीरला जसेच्या तसे लागू होत नाहीत. म्हणजे नेमके काय तर, अशा मुद्द्यांचा अवलंब करण्यापूर्वी काश्मीरच्या राज्यविधानसभेची सहमती घेणे गरजेचे होते.

कलम ३७० मधील प्रमुख मुद्दे :

१) काश्मीरला विशेष राज्याचा दर्जा मिळाला. म्हणजेच हे राज्य विशेष स्वायत्तता असलेले राज्य आहे.



- २) जम्मू - काश्मीर राज्यावर संविधानाचे कलम ३५६ नुसार राष्ट्रपती राजवट लागू होऊ शकत नाही. तर राज्यपाल राजवट लागू करता येऊ शकते .
- ३) कलम ३७०मुळे जम्मू - काश्मीरवर १९७६ चा शहरी भूमी कायदा लागू होत नाही.याचाच अर्थ जम्मू - काश्मीरचा रहिवासी नसणारा व्यक्ती जम्मू - काश्मीरमध्ये जमीन खरेदी करू शकत नाही.
- ४) जम्मू - काश्मीरमधील ज्या महिलेने इतर राज्यातील मुलाशी लग्न केले असेल, तर तोसुद्धा येथे जमीन खरेदी करू शकत नाही. याउलट संबंधित महिलेचे नागरिकत्व मात्र संपुष्टात येते.
- ५) देशात आर्थिक आणीबाणी लावण्याची तरतूद कलम ३६० मध्ये आहे हे भारतीय घटनेचे कलम जम्मू - काश्मीरवर लागू होत नाही.
- ६) भारतातील सर्व राज्यांमध्ये लागू होणारे कायदेसुद्धा या राज्यात लागू होऊ शकत नाहीत.
- ७) जम्मू - काश्मीर विधानसभेचा कार्यकाळ ६ वर्षांचा असतो. तसेच इतर राज्यांमध्ये हा कार्यकाळ ५ वर्षांचा असतो. कलम ३७० द्वारे करण्यात आलेली ही विशेष तरतूद आहे.
- ८) कलम ३७० नुसार जम्मू - काश्मीर राज्यासाठी स्वतंत्र राज्यघटना व स्वतंत्र ध्वजही मंजूर करण्यात आलेला आहे.
- ९) कलम ३७० मुळे जम्मू - काश्मीरच्या नागरिकांकडे दुहेरी नागरिकत्व आहे.

कलम ३७० का हवे त्याचे समर्थन :

कलम ३७० कायम ठेवण्याच्या बाजूने बोलायचे झाल्यास या कलमामुळे जम्मू - काश्मीरच्या लोकांना त्यांच्या सोईनुसार त्यांचे हित आणि कायदे निश्चित करण्याचा अधिकार मिळतो. केंद्र सरकारच्या दबावातून मुक्त होऊन ते स्वतःसाठी आपल्या गरजांनुसार कायदा तयार करू शकतात .

या कायद्यातर्गत इतर राज्यातील लोकांना जम्मू - काश्मीरात नोकरी मिळविण्याचा अधिकार नाही. राज्याच्या शासकीय सेवादेखील केवळ जम्मू - काश्मीरच्या उमेदवारांसाठीच आहेत. त्यामुळे राज्यातील तरुणांसाठी रोजगारांच्या संधी सुरक्षित आहेत.

जम्मू - काश्मीर राज्यात मालमत्ता खरेदी करण्यास 'या राज्याच्या मूळ निवासीव्यतिरिक्त अन्य रहिवाशांना' परवानगी नाही. विशेष म्हणजे २००२ पर्यंत राज्यातील मूलनिवासी नसलेल्या मुलाशी लग्न केल्यास तिच्या वडिलोपार्जित संपत्तीतील अधिकारही मिळत नसे. मात्र, २००२ मध्ये वरिष्ठ न्यायालयाने एका निर्णयाद्वारे हा भेद दूर केला. सध्यातरी येथे 'काश्मीरेतर' नागरिकांना जमीन खरेदी - विक्रीस, उद्द्योगाच्या स्थापनेस परवानगी नाही.

कलम ३७० च्या विरोधात केले जाणारे तर्क किंवा ते का नको:

जम्मू - काश्मीरमध्ये लागू असलेल्या कलम ३७० मुळे दहशतवादाला खतपाणी मिळत आहे. या कलमांतर्गत पाकिस्तानी नागरिक जम्मू - काश्मीरच्या महिलेशी लग्न करून काश्मीरचे नागरिकत्व मिळवू शकतो. अशा रीतीने पाकिस्तानी दहशतवाद्यांनाही नागरिकत्व सहज मिळते .

जम्मू - काश्मीरमध्ये माहितीचा अधिकार आणि शिक्षणाचा अधिकार यासारखे कायदे लागू होत नाहीत. कलम ३७० मुळे तेथील नागरिक या कायद्याच्या लाभांपासून वंचित रहात आहेत. तेथे माहिती अधिकार केवळ केंद्र सरकारच्या कार्यालयासाठीच लागू होतो.

जम्मू - काश्मीर राज्यातील अल्पसंख्याकांच्या हितासाठी भारत सरकार कलम ३७० अंतर्गत काहीच करू शकत नाही. तथापि, अल्पसंख्याकांच्या हिताकडे दुर्लक्ष्य करत असल्याचा आरोप जम्मू - काश्मीर सरकारवर लावला जात आहे .

कलम ३७० हटवल्यानंतरचे बदल:

- १) जम्मू - काश्मीरचे वेगळे संविधान राहणार नाही.
- २) काश्मीरी लोकांकडे केवळ भारताचे नागरिकत्व असेल.
- ३) यापुढे भारतातील कोणत्याही नागरिकाला जम्मू - काश्मीरमध्ये मालमत्ता विकत घेता येईल.
- ४) जम्मू - काश्मीर मध्ये यापुढे केवळ भारताचा तिरंगाच फडकावला जाईल.
- ५) काश्मीरी लोकांना इतर भारतीयांप्रमाणे सर्व अधिकार मिळतील .
- ६) जम्मू - काश्मीरमधील कायदे आणि नियम नष्ट होऊन तेथे भारतीय कायदा लागू होईल.
- ७) केंद्र जम्मू - काश्मीरमध्ये आर्थिक आणीबाणी आणि इतर निर्णय बाकी राज्यांप्रमाणे घेऊ शकते.
- ८) जम्मू - काश्मीरचे विभाजन होऊन जम्मू - काश्मीर आणि लडाख असे दोन केंद्रशासित प्रदेश तयार केलेले आहेत.
- ९) संसद या प्रदेशामध्ये कोणताही कायदा लागू करू शकते. यामध्ये अगदी प्रदेशाच्या सीमा ठरविण्यापासून ते नामांतरापर्यंत सर्वच गोष्टीचा समावेश होतो.
- १०) जम्मू - काश्मीर राज्यात यापुढे केंद्रीय गृहमंत्रालयाच्या नियंत्रणाखालील पोलीस यंत्रणा असेल .
- ११) येथील विधानसभेचा कार्यकाळ इतर राज्यांच्या विधानसभेप्रमाणेच ५ वर्षांचा असेल.

संदर्भ सूची :

- १) Frankel J., The Making of Foreign Policy, London, Oxford University Press, 1963.
- २) Kayathwal, Mukesh Kumar, Security and Foreign Policy in South Asia (Pointer Publishers, Jaipur, 1999)
- ३) ParanjpeShrikant (ed.), India' s Internal Security: Issues and Perspectives (Kalinga, New Delhi, 2009)
- ४) देवळाणकर शैलेंद्र, भारताचे परराष्ट्रीय धोरण : सातत्य आणि स्थित्यन्तर
- ५) तोडकर बबन भारत आणि जग
- ६) महाजन हेमंत, काश्मीरमध्ये विकासाची नवी वाट, पुढारी, ०६/०८/२०१९
- ७) देवळाणकर शैलेंद्र, कलम ३७० : असताना आणि नसताना, विवेक मराठी, ०६/०८/२०१९
- ८) परब विनायक, कलम ३७० : विशेषाधिकार रद्द पुढे काय? लोकप्रभा, ०९/०८/२०१९

## “कलम370 रद्द केल्यानंतर पाकिस्तानचा दृष्टीकोण”

**Dr. Subhan Tulshiram Jadhav**

*Assistant Professor;*

*Department of Defence and Strategic Studies,*

*School of Arts & Humanities,*

*Kavayitri Bahinabai Chaudhari North Maharashtra University,*

*Jalgaon, Maharashtra*

[subhanjadhav@gmail.com](mailto:subhanjadhav@gmail.com)

09960777272

### **Abstract**

भारत आणि पाकिस्तान यांच्यात स्वातंत्र्यानंतर तीन सैन्य संघर्ष होण्या मागील मुख्य हेतू हा जम्मू आणि काश्मीरप्रदेश आहे, तर इ. स. 1980 नंतर पाकिस्तानने गैरसरकारी संघटनेच्या (non-government Organisation) आधारावर जम्मू आणि काश्मीर क्षेत्रात इस्लामिक दहशतवाद निर्माण केले आणि इ. स. 1999 मध्ये घुसखोरांच्या मदतीने कारगिल क्षेत्र काबीज करण्याचा प्रयत्न केला ज्याचा परिणाम या काळात दोन्ही देशात कमी तीव्रता असलेला पण सामरिक दृष्टीने महत्व असणारे युद्ध झाले, या संघर्षावेळी आंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तरावर प्रत्येक राष्ट्राच्या निदर्शनास जम्मू आणि काश्मीर मध्ये पाकिस्तान द्वारे निर्माण करण्यात येणारा दहशतवाद लक्षात आला. जम्मू आणि काश्मीरला राजकीय आणि सामरिक महत्व असलामुळे 2001 नंतर पाकिस्तान आणि भारत सोबतच चीनसुद्धा प्रत्यक्षपणे जम्मू आणि काश्मीरशी जोडला गेल्याने ह्या भूक्षेत्राला अन्यासाधारण महत्व प्राप्त झाले. भारतसरकारने काश्मीरला देण्यात आलेल्या कलम370 (विशेष राज्याचा दर्जा) मुळे जे महत्व होते ते 05 ऑगस्ट, 2019 मध्ये रद्दबातल केल्यानंतर त्याचा परिणाम चीन आणि पाकिस्तान कसा दिसून येतो याची पाहणी करणे व पाकिस्तानचा दृष्टीकोण काय आहे? त्याचा भारताच्या सुरक्षेवर काय परिणाम जाणवतो? याचा सविस्तर अभ्यास करण्याचा मुख्य हेतू असल्याने कलम 370 रद्द केल्यानंतर पाकिस्तानचा दृष्टीकोण काय? हे पाहण्याचा प्रयत्न आहे.

प्रस्तावना:-

कलम 370 संदर्भात आज आंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तरावर पाकिस्तान द्वारे भारताला घेरण्याचे काम केले जात आहे तसेच जम्मू आणि काश्मीर राज्याला विशेष दर्जा देणारे कलम रद्द केलाच्या मुद्यावरून आंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तरावर पाकिस्तानद्वारे मोठ्या प्रमाणात विरोध निर्माण केला जात आहे. अंतर्गत प्रश्न असल्याचे स्पष्टीकरण भारत सरकारद्वारे केले आहे तर भारताच्या सुरक्षा दृष्टीकोनातून ‘कलम ३७०’ रद्द महत्वपूर्ण असल्याचे मानले जाते. काश्मीर प्रश्न हा कोणत्या ना कोणत्या स्वरूपात मांडण्याचा प्रयत्न पाकिस्तान करत असतो आणि त्याच्या

साह्याने चीन हा काश्मीर संदर्भात त्यांचे आर्थिक आणि राजकीय हित साधण्याचा जो प्रयत्न दिसून येतो त्याची मांडणी करण्याच्या दृष्टीने महत्वपूर्ण आहे तसेच या मुद्द्यावर पाकिस्तान आणि चीन संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघ मध्ये एकत्र दिसून आल्याचे पाहतो. कलम 370 रद्द करण्यावरून पाकिस्तानचा दृष्टीकोण हा भारत विरुद्ध राहण्यामागील काय हित आहे हे पाहणे महत्वाचे आहे.

पार्श्वभूमी:

मुस्लीम लोकसंख्याच्या आधारावर काश्मीर हा पाकिस्तान मध्ये राहावा अशी जिना यांची मागणी होती. पण महाराजा हरिसिंग यांना स्वायत्त काश्मीर हवा होता जेपाकिस्तानला मान्य नसल्यामुळे टोळीवाल्यांच्या साह्याने काश्मीर मध्ये हल्ला केला आणि राजकीय अस्थिरता निर्माण करण्याचा प्रयत्न होता पण 26 ऑक्टोबर 1947 रोजी अॅक्सेशनवर सही करून जम्मू आणि काश्मीर भारतात सामील केला आणि द्विराष्ट्रात पहिला शस्त्रास्त्र संघर्ष झाला यासंदर्भात भारत सरकारने संयुक्त संघात प्रश्न उपस्थित केला आणि दोन्ही राष्ट्रांचे सैन्य जिथे आहे त्याठिकाणी राहिल्यामुळे आधी युद्धबंदी सीमारेषा आणि शिमला करारानुसार नियंत्रण रेषा. भारत सरकारने जम्मू आणि काश्मीर मध्ये पर्यायी सरकार स्थापन केली आणि प्रशासकीय प्रमुख शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्लाह यांना नियुक्त केले. कलम 370 हे राष्ट्रपती यांच्या आदेशा वरून तात्पुरता स्वरूपाने लागू करण्यात आले होते जम्मू काश्मीर विधान सभेने भारतीय संविधान 1956 मध्ये स्वीकार केला होता.भारत सरकारद्वारे काश्मीर संदर्भात धोरणात्मक बदल होण्याला इ.स. 1964 पासून सुरवात झाली. मात्र केंद्रामध्ये साविधानात्मक बदल करण्या संदर्भात स्पष्ट बहुमत नसल्यामुळे धाडसी निर्णय क्षमता दिसू शकले नाही याचे कारण संसदेमध्ये या कलम संदर्भातील चर्चासत्रा वेळी जम्मू आणि काश्मीर मधील प्रादेशिक पक्ष नॅशनल काँग्रेस सभाग्रहातून बाहेर जात किंवा अनुपस्थित राहत होते. कलम 370 संदर्भात आग्रही आणि त्याचा सर्वाधिक लाभ हा नॅशनल काँग्रेस पक्षाला झाला आहे, आज हि नॅशनल काँग्रेस आणि प्रादेशिक पक्ष कलम 370 पुनः प्रस्थापित करण्यात यावी हि मागणी आहे. जम्मू आणि काश्मीर संदर्भात दुसरी बाजू हि फुटीरतावादी ज्यात ऑल पार्टीस हुरयत कॉफरन्स जे संयुक्त काश्मिरियत संदर्भात पाकिस्तान आणि भारत यांचाकडे वेगळ्या काश्मीरची मागणी करताना दिसतात. या दोनबाजूंचा इतिहास आणि आजच्या परिस्थिती नुसार पाकिस्तानचे मुख्य दोन दृष्टीकोण आहेत पहिला हा भारतातील काश्मीरी नेता, फुटीरतावादी आणि दहशतवादी (लष्कर तयाबा आणि इंडियन मुजाहिदीन) संघटनांना प्रत्यक्ष आणि अप्रत्यक्ष पाठींबा दिला आहे.दुसरा म्हणजे इ. स. 1963 मध्ये पाकिस्तान आणि चीन यांच्यात झालेला व्यापारिक मैत्री करार नंतर पाहण्याचा दृष्टीकोण महत्वपूर्ण आहे. या करारापासून पाक व्याप्त काश्मीर मधून काराकोरम मार्गाची निर्मिती झाली आणि मे 2001मध्ये पाकिस्तान आणि चीन यांच्यात आर्थिक आणि सामरिक दृष्टीकोनातून करार झाल्याने पाकिस्तान हा राष्ट्रहित आणि शत्रूचा शत्रू आपला मित्र ह्या म्हणीनुसार चीनचा अधिक जवळीक निर्माण केला आहे.

पाकिस्तानवर झालेला परिणाम:

जम्मू आणि काश्मीर संदर्भात भारत सरकार द्वारे करण्यात येणाऱ्या कोणत्याही बदलाचा परिणाम हा पाकिस्तानवर होणे हे स्वाभाविक आहे, पण केंद्र सरकारने घटनात्मक बदला सोबत जम्मू आणि काश्मीरची विभागणी करून राज्याला कलम 370 मुळे विशेष राज्याचा दर्जा काढून केंद्रशासित प्रदेश निर्माण केल्यामुळे जम्मू आणि काश्मीर प्रदेशावर केंद्र सरकारचा अधिकार निर्माण झाला आहे. ज्यामुळे ह्या क्षेत्रातील प्रादेशिक

पक्ष, फुटीरतावादी गट, आणि इ. स. १९८० नंतर काश्मिरियत विचारसरणीवर निर्माण झालेल्या सुशिक्षित उग्रवादी युवा वर्ग यांना पाकिस्तान द्वारे ज्या विचारच्या आधारावर पाकिस्तानी सरकार व सैन्याद्वारे मिळणारा पाठींबा

असला तरी त्याची मर्यादा किंवा मानसिकतेमध्ये मोटा बदल निर्माण होईल आणि काश्मीर क्षेत्र मर्यादित राहिल्यामुळे पाकिस्तान मध्ये आणि युनो सारख्या अंतरराष्ट्रीय व्यासपीठावर काश्मीर मधील बदलाकडे लक्ष केंद्रित कारणाचा प्रयत्न भारत सरकारने केला आहे.

पाकिस्तान सरकारने ६ ऑगस्ट, २०१९ रोजी संसदेचे आपात्कालीन सत्र बोलावले पहिला महत्वपूर्ण परिणाम झाल्याचे दिसून आले आहे. पाकिस्तान मधील दोन्ही सभागृहाच्या संयुक्त सत्रामध्ये भारताच्या नियंत्रणात असलेल्या जम्मू आणि काश्मीर मधील चीताजनक परिस्थितीची समीक्षा करणे आणि लाईन ऑफ कंट्रोल लागून असलेल्या क्षेत्रात भारत सरकारने १०,००० सैन्याची तुकडी तैनात केले असे अधिकृत माहिती आहे तर अनधिकृत ७०,००० सैन्य तुकडी असल्याची माहिती संदर्भात सभागृहात चर्चा झाली. पाकिस्तानमधील सर्व राजकीय पक्षांनी जम्मू आणि काश्मीरला विशेष दर्जा देणारे कलम ३७० रद्द केल्याचा निषेध केला. पाकिस्तानच्या राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा परिषदेने ७ ऑगस्ट, २०१९ रोजी बैठक घेऊन भारतासोबत असलेले राजनयक संबंध कमी किंवा डाऊन ग्रेडिंग करण्याचा आदेश दिला आणि द्विराष्ट्रातील व्यापारिक संबंध निलंबित केल्याचे घोषित केले आणि द्विराष्ट्रात असलेल्या व्यवस्थेचा आढावा घेण्यावर हि सहमती झाली. सुरक्षा परिषदेने १४ ऑगस्ट २०१९ रोजी स्वातंत्र्य दिवस हा काश्मिरी सोबत एकता म्हणून घोषित केला आणि १५ ऑगस्ट हा भारतीय स्वातंत्र्य दिवस हा काळा दिवस म्हणून पाळला जाईल. पाकिस्तानच्या राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा परिषदेच्या बैठक संपल्यानंतर पंतप्रधान इमरान खान यांनी काश्मीर संदर्भात संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघाच्या सुरक्षा समिती पुढे मांडणार असल्याची घोषणा केली. तसेच बैठकी मध्ये पंतप्रधानानी निर्देश दिले कि, भारतात वर्णद्वेषाचे शासन आहे, त्यांची रचना आणि मानवी हक्कांचे उल्लंघन उघड करण्यासाठी सर्व राजनय वाहिन्यांनी सक्रीय राहवे. पाकिस्तानने मोठ्या प्रमाणात अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तरावर काश्मीर संदर्भात मत परिवर्तन करण्याचा प्रयत्न केला. भारत-पाकिस्तान यांच्यातील संमझौता एक्सप्रेस रद्द करण्यात आली आणि जम्मू आणि काश्मीर राज्यातील लोकसंख्या जबरदस्तीने बदलत अस्लाचा आरोपही पाकिस्तानने केला आहे. पाकिस्तानच्या परराष्ट्र मंत्रालयाने सांगितले कि “जम्मू आणि काश्मीर हे अंतरराष्ट्रीय मान्यता असलेली विवादित क्षेत्र आहे आणि भारत सरकारने कोणतीही एकतर्फी पाऊल या वादग्रस्त स्थितीत बदल करू शकत नाही”, हि बेकायदेशीर पावले रोखण्यासाठी पाकिस्तान सर्व शक्य पर्यायांचा उपयोग करेल.

पाकिस्तानच्या बाजूने सामरिकमहत्व:

काश्मीरप्रश्न किंवा मुद्द्याचा विचार केला तर पाकिस्तान त्याच्या राजनयिक आणि सैनिकी पर्याय मर्यादित असलाचे जाणून आहे. हेअडथळे पाहून व जाणून असल्यानेच पाकिस्तानला विश्वास आहे कि त्याची काही यशस्वी सामरिक रणनीती ठरविण्यात आले आहेत. पाकिस्तानच्या एक दृष्टीकोण हा काश्मीर मधला दहशतवाद आणि फुटीरतावादला देण्यात येणारे समर्थन हे सामरिक रणनीतीचे यशस्वी "कैलिब्रेट" आहे. दुसरा दृष्टीकोण हा भारतातील मुख्य भूक्षेत्रात किंवा प्रमुख शहरात होणाऱ्या दहशतवादी हल्लामुळे किंवा घटनांमुळे भारतावर एक प्रकारचा दबाव निर्माण करणे. तर आंतरराष्ट्रीय व्यासपीठावर काश्मीर मध्ये होणाऱ्या घटना ह्या

कश्मीरी नागरिकांच्या अधिकारावर किंवा स्वातंत्र्यावर हल्ला आहे आणि या विरुद्ध कश्मीरी नागरिक किंवा युवा वर्ग हा शस्त्र अस्त्राच्या साह्याने उठाव करत त्यांची मागणी मांडत असल्याचा आव किंवा प्रदर्शित करण्याचे कार्यहे पाकिस्तानचे सामरिक रणनीतीचा एक भाग आहे.

जिहादी सैन्य (पाकिस्तान आधारित "अतिथी अतिरेकी" किंवा अप्रत्यक्ष काश्मीरी गटातील) त्यांचे कार्य केवळ काश्मीरपुरते मर्यादित ठेवण्यासाठी किंवा त्यांचा विस्तार भारताच्या इतर भागात करणे. लष्कर-ए-तयाबा, इंडियन मुजाहिदीन, जमत-उद- दावा आणि जमात-ए-इस्लामीसारख्या संघटना ज्या पाकिस्तान मध्ये सामाजिक आणि राजकीय कार्य करत मोठ्या प्रमाणात पाठींबा मिळवितात आणि काश्मीर मध्ये दहशत हल्ले करत किंवा कश्मीरीस्वतंत्र्य "भारत विरुद्ध जिहादी" निर्माण करत आजादी सारखे शब्द वापरतात आणि पाकिस्तानच्या गुप्तहेर संघटनांच्या आदेशाचे पालन करत भारतात दहशतवादी वातावरण निर्माण करण्याचे काम ह्या संघटना करतात.

ह्या संदर्भात उदहरण म्हणजे पाकिस्तान सैन्याच्या साहाय्याने कारगिल भागावर घोसखोरानी जी कार्यवाही केली तो त्यांचा 1999 मधील सामरिक रणनीतीचा भाग आहे. ह्यायुद्धास अेइसि'मेट्रिक्संघर्ष म्हणतात जे इतर संघटनांच्या सहीने लढले जाणारे युद्ध आहे.भारतात कारगिल युद्ध असे संबोधले जातेब्रूस रायडेल यांच्या ब्लेस हाऊस मधील रिपोर्टचा संदर्भ घेतला तर अमेरिका, युरोप आणि आशिया खंडातील अनेक राष्ट्रांनी पाकिस्तानवर दबाव निर्माण केल्याने आणि पाकिस्तानचे पंतप्रधान नवाझ शरीफ आणि इतर राजकीय नेतांचा कुटेतरीपाठींबा नसल्याने त्यांनी अमेरिकन अध्यक्ष बिल क्लिंटनयांच्या मध्यस्थीने कारगिल संघर्ष हा पूर्ण युद्धात रुपांतरित नाही झाला आणि या संघर्षामुळे आंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तरावर काश्मीर मधील अस्थिरतेस आणि दहशतवाद संदर्भात पाकिस्तान जबाबदार असल्याचे दिसून आले. इ. स. 2001 आणि इ. स.2008 मध्येभारतावर झालेल्या दहशतवादी हल्लामागे मुख्यतः काश्मीर संदर्भ जोडला जाऊ शकतो कलम 370 मुळे जीस्वयता काश्मीरला मिळाली त्या विचारांचं रुपांतर फुठीरतावाद, आजादी आणि जिहाद संदर्भात बदलताना दिसून आले त्याचा परिणाम आजादी आणि जिहाद म्हणून आज काश्मीर मध्ये युवा वर्ग भारतीय सैनिकावर हल्ले करत असल्याचे अनेक घटना आहेत. जम्मू आणि कश्मीर प्रदेशाची विभागणी हि लढाख प्रदेशाला व जनतेला एका बाजूने महत्वाचे आणि विकास होण्यास सहायक राहिल काश्मीर खोऱ्यात होणाऱ्या घटनांचा लडाखशी काही संबंध नसताना प्रभाव जाणवत होता तर विभागणीमुळे फुठीरतावाद, आजादी आणि जिहाद ह्यासारख्या मानसिक आणि धार्मिक विचारणा सुद्धा प्रादेशिक चौकटीत ठेवण्याचा प्रयत्न सरकार करत असलाचे जाणवते.

पाकिस्तान आणि चीनचासंयुक्त दृष्टीकोण:

मे २००९ मध्ये चीनचे पंतप्रधानझहू रोंगजी यांनी पाकिस्तानला भेट दिली आणि पाकिस्तान राष्ट्रअध्यक्ष जनरल परवेझ मुशरफ यांच्यात ग्वादर बंदरगहाच्या विकास संदर्भात करार झाला आणि द्विराष्ट्रांचा कश्मीर संदर्भाचा दृष्टीकोण बदलला चीनच्या दृष्टीनेवन बेल्ट वन रोड प्रोजेक्टच्या मदतीने जगावर आर्थिक साम्राज्य निर्माण करण्याच्या दृष्टीने आणि आफ्रिकाव पश्चिम राष्ट्रांशी संपर्क हा जलद गतीने निर्माण होण्याच्या दृष्टीने चीन नेनोव्हेंबर 2014 मध्ये चीन-पाकिस्तान इकॉनॉमिक कॉरिडोरची घोषणा केली आणि 46 बिलियन डॉलर गुंतवणूक करणार असल्याची घोषणा केली हा प्रोजेक्ट पाक व्याप्त काश्मीर मधून जात असलाने आणि वन बेल्ट

वन रोड प्रोजेक्टच्या दुसरा मार्गनवीन सिल्क रुट हा तिबेटमधून अक्साई चीन मार्ग क्षिंग यांग प्रांतात जातो. ह्या दोन्ही मार्गान भारताच्या जम्मू आणि काश्मीर राज्यातून आहेत तर भारताने राज्याची विभागणी करून दोन केंद्रशाषित प्रदेशाची रचना केली आकृतीक्रमांक1.2 नुसार पहल्या आकृती नुसार जम्मू काश्मीर केंद्रशाषित प्रदेशातून म्हणजे पाक व्याप्त काश्मीरसिपेकचा प्रोजेक्ट जातो ज्यात 2019 मध्ये चीनच्या घोषणे नुसार 64 बिलियन डॉलर गुंतवणूकवाढ केली आहे ज्यात काश्मीर मधील गीलगीट आणि बाल्टीस्तानचा भागातील नौसर्गिक संसाधनावर आधारित प्रोजेक्ट आहेत भारताने चीनचा कश्मीर मध्ये होणाऱ्या प्रोजेक्ट ला विरोध दर्शविला आहे. दुसराबाजूला लडाख प्रदेशातील जनतेसाठी घेण्यात आलेल्या या निर्णयामुळे आणि अक्साई चीन प्रदेशांसंदर्भात भारताचा दृष्टीकोण बदलून घेण्याची भीती आणि तिबेट व क्षिंगयांग प्रांतात जोडणारा मार्ग हा लडाखमधून जात असल्याने भारतासोबत संवाद राहिला नाही आणि सीमा विवाद संघर्ष होण्याचे करण कलम 370 रद्द करणेचीन आणि पाकिस्तानच्या दृष्टीने अडचण निर्माण करणारे असल्याचे मान्य करावे लागेल. मुख्यतः जम्मू आणि काश्मीरची विभागणी हि भाषाच्या तत्वावर आधी होणे गरजेचे होते पण कलम 370 मुळे हे शक्य झाले नाही. हे आद्य करून भारत सरकार स्वतंत्र पासून प्रलंभीत असलेला काश्मीर प्रश्न आणि १९६२पासूनचा अक्साई चीन प्रश्न भिन्नस्वरूपात सोडविण्याचा प्रयत्न करू शकेल.

1.

आकृतीक्रमांक1.2 चीनचे न्यू सिल्क रुट आणि भारतीय सीमा प्रदेश



Source 1: Adnan Aamir, *Calling CPEC, China-Punjab Economic Corridor is not a mistake*, <https://nation.com.pk/01-May-2015/calling-cpec-china-punjab-economic-corridor-is-not-a-mistake> (Assessed on 24/07/2021)



Source 2: *Road to Tibet*, <https://www.greattibettour.com/tibet-travel-tips/road-to-tibet>  
(Assessed on 24/07/2021)

### निष्कर्ष (Conclusion):

भारताच्या सार्वभौमत्वचा दृष्टीकोनातून विचार करता कलम ३७० कडून टाकणे हे हिताचे आहे. काश्मीर आणि लडाख सामरिक दृष्टीने महत्वाचे आहेत. भारतीय आर्थिक खर्च मोठ्या प्रमाणात काश्मीर मध्ये शांतता स्थापन करण्यात जात असल्याचे अनेक उदहरण आहेत. जसे २००१ ते २००८ या वर्षाची तुलना केली तर संरक्षणावर होणारा खर्च आणि विकासावर होणारा खर्च हा खालील तक्ता क्रमांक १.३ नुसार दिला आहे. ह्या तुलनेला बारकाईने पाहता संरक्षण आणि विकास खर्च हा ४००० ते ७००० मिलियन डॉलर दिसून येतो जो भारत सरकार करते पण जर जवानाच्या बलिदानाचा विचार केला तर दर वर्षी संघर्षाच्या काळात जसे पराक्रम मोहिमेत १८४७ जवान शहीद झाले. इ. स.२००० मध्ये ६३८ तर २००१ मध्ये ७०६ जवान शहीद झाले आहे. परराष्ट्र मंत्री जयशंकर यांनी दिलेल्या माहिती नुसार तीन दशकात भारताने ४० हजार जीव गमावले आहेत. जयशंकर म्हणतात “जम्मू आणि काश्मीर संदर्भात गेल्या महिन्यात भारतीय संसदेने ज्या बदलाना मंजूरी दिली, जेकी हे शासन आणि विकासाच्या गरजेतून प्रेरणा आहे, हे राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षेशी संबंधीत आहे.” याचा अर्थ विकास, संरक्षण खर्च आणि शहीद जवान यांचा एकंदरीत विचार हा राज्याच्या चौकटीत विचार केला तरी विशेष दर्जा प्राप्त राज्य असताणा सीमेपलीकडील दहशतवादामुळे काश्मीर मध्ये विकास साधता आला नाही. म्हणून राष्ट्राच्या सुरक्षेच्या दृष्टीने कलम ३७० रद्द करणे महत्वाचे होते.



तक्ताक्रमांक 1.2 तुलनात्मक खर्च

वर्ष	संरक्षणावर खर्च		विकासावर होणारा खर्च	
	मिलियनरुपी	मिलियनडॉलर (US \$)	मिलियनरुपी	मिलियनडॉलर (US \$)
2001-2002	149,254	2,377	126,250	2,010
2002-2003	159,700	2,666	129,200	2,157
2003-2004	184,904	3,216	161,000	2,800
2004-2005	211,717	3,682	227,718	3,960
2005-2006	241,063	4,045	365,100	6,126
2006-2007	249,858	4,144	433,658	7,192
2007-2008	277,300	4,591	451,896	7,482

Source: “Defence and security policy of Pakistan”, CIDOB International Yearbook 2012. <http://www.cidob.org/en/content/download/32424/527037/file/Annex+Defence+Policy+Pakistan.pdf>

भारत सरकार द्वारे काश्मीर संदर्भात घेण्यात आलेला हा निर्णय म्हणजे भारतीय परराष्ट्र धोरण हे काश्मीरच्या दिशेने दिसून येते. याचा मोठा परिणाम हा प्रत्येकात पाकिस्तानवर झाला आणि अप्रत्यक्षपणे चीनलाही जाणवत असेल. पाकिस्तानने कलम ३७० च्या मुद्यावरून भारताला मानव अधिकाराच्या आणि इस्लामच्या नावे जगात वेगळा करण्याचा प्रयत्न करण्यास सुरु केले आहे. चीनच्या साह्याने अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तरावर पाकिस्तान सरकार द्वारे भारता विरुद्ध जसे आव्हान निर्माण केले जात आहे. त्यादृष्टीने चीनने सुधा अक्सार्ड चीन किंवा लाधाख च्या मुद्यावर लष्करी हालचाल सुरु केली आहे. ३ नोव्हेंबर २०१९ रोजी ग्लोबल टाईम्सच्या रिपोर्ट नुसार “केंद्रशासित प्रदेश लाडाख” ला चीन मान्यता देणार नाही आणि चीन भारतीय सीमा क्षेत्रात आपले संरक्षण दृढ करेल आणि चीन आपले प्रादेशिक सार्वभौमत्वाचे संरक्षण करेल आणि पाकिस्तानशी संवाद साधेल आणि संयुक्तपणे भारताच्या या निर्णयाचा विरोध करेल. चीन सरकारचं अधिकृत न्यूसद्वारे अशा प्रकारे मांडणी हि एक प्रकारे भारतास चेतावणी आहे.

**Reference:**

1. Peter R. Lavoy (ed.), *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: the causes and consequences of the kargil conflict* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
2. Mussarat Javaid Cheema, *International Community on Kargil Conflict*, A Research Journal of South Asian Studies Vol. 28, No. 1, January – June 2013, pp.85-96  
E-int/ueDocs/cms\_Data/docs/pressData/en/gena/08657En.htm
3. Naveen Sharma, *General Pervez Musharraf, General V. P. Malik and the Kargil Conflict*, Pointer, Journal of the Singapore Armed Forces VOL.37 NO.3-4 pp. 81-85.
4. Stephen F. Burgess, “Struggle for the Control of Pakistan: Musharraf Takes on the Islamist Radicals” Barry R. Schneider and Jerrold M. Post, (ed.) *Know Thy Enemy: Profiles of Adversary Leaders and Their Strategic Cultures* (Alabama, USAF Counterproliferation Center, 2003). [http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/cpc-pubs/know\\_thy\\_enemy/burgess.pdf](http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/cpc-pubs/know_thy_enemy/burgess.pdf) (Accessed on 30 June 2013).
5. *The Unfolding Of Kargil War - Remembering Our Brave Hearts on the 18th Kargil Vijay Diwas* <https://thelogicalindian.com/rewind/kargil-war-vijay-diwas/>
6. Francine R. Frankel, *American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House*, <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/casi>
7. Jayant Prasad, *The Kargil War and India's Security Environment*, Journal of Defence Studies, IDSA, New Delhi.  
<https://idsa.in/system/files/jds/13-3-2019-kargil-war-india-security-environment.pdf>
8. Ashley J. Tellis, C. Christine Fair & Jamison Jo Medby *Kargil: Lessons Learned on Both Sides*, RAND publication 2001.  
[https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mr1450usca.9?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mr1450usca.9?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)
9. *Kashmir's situation would have been different had Panditji let Patel to handle it: Jitendra Singh*, Business Standard, 29 June 2019. Assessed on 23/07/2021  
[https://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ani/kashmir-s-situation-would-have-been-different-had-panditji-let-patel-to-handle-it-jitendra-singh-119062900096\\_1.html](https://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ani/kashmir-s-situation-would-have-been-different-had-panditji-let-patel-to-handle-it-jitendra-singh-119062900096_1.html)
10. *Kashmir article 370: Pakistan President call for emergency parliament session*, India today, August 5, 2019 Islamabad.
11. Nusheen Yusuf, *Pakistan summons joint parliamentary session after India revokes Article 370*, Geonews, date August 05, 2019. <https://www.geo.tv>.
12. Sanaulah khan, *Pakistan Suspends trade ties with India, asks Indian envoy to leave*, Dawn news, August 07, 2019, dawn.com/new/149809

13. Abhinav Pandya, *J&K: Review of Developments Post the Abrogation of Article 370*, Vivekananda International Foundation, VIF Paper- October 2019.
14. *India suffered 1,874 casualties without fighting a war*, the Times of India, 01, May2003.  
<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Indiasuffered1874casualtieswithoutfightingawar/article-showprint/45016284.cms> (Accessed on on 01/04/2016).
15. Praveen Swami, “The Roots of Crisis—Post-Kargil Conflict in Kashmir and the 2001–2002 Near-War” Zachary S. Davis (edi), *The India-Pakistan Military Standoff*, (New York; Palgrave, 2011) p.31.
16. *Revocation of J&K's special status has national security connotation: EAM Jaishankar*, India Today, 21 September, 2019.  
<https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/revocation-of-jammu-and-kashmir-special-status-has-national-security-connotation-eam-jaishankar-1601515-2019-09-21>  
Aadil Brar, *How Zhou Enlai's Ghost Still Haunts the India-China Border Dispute in Ladakh*, The Wire,  
<https://thewire.in/history/how-zhou-enlais-ghost-still-haunts-india-chinas-border-dispute-in-ladakh>

स्वातंत्र्यवीर वि.दा.सावरकर आणि श्री. गो. नी. दांडेकर यांनी रेखाटलेले छत्रपती  
संभाजी महाराज- एक चिकित्सा.

**Dr.Vishnu Pawar**  
Head,  
Department Of Political Science  
Bhonsala Military College, Nashik 422005  
[vishnu.pawar@bmc.bhonsala.in](mailto:vishnu.pawar@bmc.bhonsala.in)  
Mob.9404687721

मराठ्यांचे दुसरे छत्रपती, संभाजी महाराज. जन्म १६५७ आणि मृत्यु १६८९, अवघ्या बत्तीस वर्षांचे आयुष्य. या अल्पायुष्यात संभाजी महाराजांनी आपल्या कर्तृत्वाचा ठसा उमटवलेला दिसतो. परंतु काही इतिहासकारांनी संभाजीच्या कर्तृत्वावर शंका निर्माण करून त्यांचे चारित्र्य विकृत करण्याचा प्रयत्न केलेला आहे. संभाजीराजांबद्दल द्वेष भावना मनात बाळगून बखरकार मल्हार रामराव चिटणीस तसेच कृष्णाजी सभासद यांच्याकडून अप्रस्तुत इतिहास लेखन झाल्याचा अनेक विचारवंतांचा दावा आहे. या बखरकारांच्या आधाराने संभाजीराजांच्या कर्तृत्व आणि चारित्र्यावर अनेकांनी शंका व्यक्त केल्या असल्या तरी ज्यांना सामाजिक, राष्ट्रीय, राजकीय तथा सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रात प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त झालेली आहे, त्यांनीही संभाजीराजांच्या जीवनाबद्दल एकांगीच विचार केलेला आहे ही खचितच चांगली गोष्ट नाही.

प्रस्तुत लेखात इतिहासतज्ञ व साहित्यिक श्री गोपाल नीलकंठ दांडेकर आणि राष्ट्रीय इतिहासकार व साहित्यिक स्वातंत्र्यवीर विनायक दामोदर सावरकर यांनी छत्रपती संभाजी राजांच्या जीवनावर केलेल्या लिखाणाची चिकित्सा केलेली आहे.

श्री गो नी दांडेकर, छत्रपती शिवाजी महाराज आणि छत्रपती संभाजी महाराज यांची तुलना करतात. सर्वसामान्य माणूस एखाद्याला श्रेष्ठ ठरविण्यासाठी तुलनेचा आधार घेतात. सामाजिक आणि राष्ट्रीय चळवळीत काम करणाऱ्या तसेच इतिहासाचे अभ्यासक असलेल्या लेखकांकडून ती अपेक्षा नाही. मात्र श्री गो नी दांडेकर यांनीही सर्वसामान्यांच्या नजरेतूनच संभाजीराजांना मानलेले दिसते. त्यासाठी दोघांच्याही जीवनातील काही प्रसंगांचे दाखले ते देतात. उदाहरणार्थ, छत्रपती शिवरायांनी जयसिंगाला लिहिलेल्या पत्रात म्हटले आहे, प्रत्येक क्षणी तलवार चालवून भागत नाही, कित्येकदा ढाल फेकून पळही काढावा लागतो. छत्रपती शिवरायांच्या या विचाराला आणखी स्पष्ट करताना श्रीयुत दांडेकर पुढे म्हणतात, अंतिम जयासाठी अनेकदा पराभवही पत्करावा लागतो हा सहाय्यद्रीचा वाटा वळणांनी शिवरायांना शिकवलेला पाठ होता, म्हणूनच छत्रपती शिवाजी महाराज चाणाक्षवृत्तीने राहिले, मात्र संभाजीराजांमध्ये ही चाणाक्षवृत्ती उतरली नाही. त्यांना माघार घेण्याची कला अवगत नाही. खरे तर या दोन्ही राजांची पार्श्वभूमी वेगवेगळी आहे. हे दोघे पिता-पुत्र खरेच! म्हणून दोघांच्याही वागण्यात सारखेपण असावे असे कसे गृहीत धरले जाते? शिवाय छत्रपती संभाजी राजांच्या कारकीर्दीत स्वराज्या भोवती आलेल्या मुघलशाही, आदिलशाही तसेच इंग्रज आणि पोर्तुगीज व जिंजीचा सिद्धी अशा सर्वांना तोंड देण्याचे सामर्थ्य छत्रपती संभाजी राजांनी दाखविले हे कसे विसरता येईल? शत्रूंचा समाचार घेताना स्वराज्यातील

स्वराज्यद्रोही असलेल्या अनेकांना सरळ करत, अनेकांची मर्जी सांभाळत राज्यशकट चालविण्याचे कसब संभाजीराजांनी दाखविले हे नजरेआड करून कसे चालेल? पोर्तुगीजांशी लढताना संभाजीराजांनी आपला अबलख घोडा खाडीच्या चढत्या पाण्यात घुसवला. खंडोबल्लाळ यांनी पुढे येऊन घोड्याचा लगाम धरला नसता तर काय होते कुणास ठाऊक असा प्रश्न उभा करून संभाजी राजाची बेभानता अधोरेखित करतात. संभाजी राजांची ही जिवावर बेतणारी खेळी म्हणजे एक प्रकारचे दुस्साहस होते असे श्री दांडेकर ठरवतात. शिवाजी महाराजांनी असे दुस्साहस केले नसते असे म्हणतात. छत्रपती शिवरायांची अफजलखान भेट, सिद्धी जोहरच्या वेढ्यातून पन्हाळ्याहून विशाळगडाकडे प्रयाण तसेच मुगल बादशहा औरंगजेबाच्या मगरमिठीतून अर्थात आग्याहून सुटका या सर्व गोष्टी शिवरायांच्या जिवावर बेतणाऱ्या नव्हत्या काय? शिवाजी महाराजांनी अशा विविधप्रसंगी मृत्यूचा धोका पत्करूनच जीवाची बाजी लावली आहे. स्वराज्यासाठी सर्वस्व झोकून दिलेले आहे. आर या पार अशा लढाया केलेल्या आहेत. संभाजीराजांनी दिलेला पोर्तुगीजांचा लढा असो किंवा औरंगजेबाच्या दरबारात मृत्यूला सामोरे जाण्याचा प्रसंग, दोन्ही ठिकाणी त्यांनी साहसच दाखविले आहे असेच म्हटले पाहिजे. प्राप्त परिस्थितीत योग्य तो पर्याय निवडणे हे नेत्याचे काम संभाजी महाराजांनी योग्यपणे केले आहे असेच वाटते. श्री दांडेकर संभाजीचे दिलेरखानाकडे जाणे म्हणजे एक अपकृत्य होते असे म्हणतात. श्रीयुत नामदेवराव जाधव यांच्यासारखे इतिहासकार आणि जिजाऊचे वंशज संभाजीचे दिलेरखानाकडे जाणे आणि मुघल सत्तेला स्वराज्यावर आक्रमण करण्यापासून थांबून ठेवणे हा छत्रपती शिवाजी महाराज आणि संभाजी यांनी ठरवून केलेले कारस्थान होते व त्यात ते यशस्वीही झाले असा दावा करतात. छत्रपती शिवरायांमध्ये धगधगीत स्वातंत्र्यलालसा होती. याची हवी तेवढी कल्पना संभाजीराजास आली नव्हती असे एका बाजूला दांडेकर म्हणतात. दुसऱ्या बाजूला तेच संभाजी राजांच्या वीरमरणाला एका राजपुताचा आत्मयज्ञ असे संबोधतात. ज्या वीर मरणाने संपूर्ण मराठी राज्य पेटून उठले होते आणि दोन तपांपर्यंत लढत होते. राज्याभिषेकानंतर संभाजी राजे अपूर्व रूपे उदेजले, त्यासाठी त्यांच्यासमोर शतदा नम्र झाले पाहिजे असेही श्री दांडेकर म्हणतात.

स्वातंत्र्यवीर सावरकर खरेतर एक महान व्यक्तिमत्व. राष्ट्र हेच जीवनाचं इप्सित मानून, आलेल्या प्रत्येक संघर्षाला तोंड देणारा वीर. स्वातंत्र्यलढ्याच्या यज्ञकुंडात आपल्या जीवनाची समिधा अर्पण करणारे एक राष्ट्रीय प्रतीक. शास्त्रीय, सांस्कृतिक तथा आध्यात्मिक दृष्टीने मानवी जीवनाकडे बघणारे एक अभ्यासू व्यक्तिमत्व. तरीही संभाजी राजांचे चरित्र समजून घेताना त्यांनी दाखविलेला संभाजी राजांबद्दलचा दृष्टिकोन योग्य वाटत नाही.

स्वातंत्र्यवीर सावरकर हिंदुपदपादशाही या आपल्या ग्रंथात संभाजीराजांबद्दल लिहितांना म्हणतात, शूर पण नाकर्ता पुत्र. ज्या संभाजीने अगदी बालवयापासून आपला निर्भयपणा, बाणेदारपणा, राष्ट्रनिष्ठा, भूमीनिष्ठा तथा स्वराज्यनिष्ठा वारंवार सिद्ध केली आणि छत्रपती शिवरायांच्या विश्वासाला पात्र ठरत पंधराव्या सोळाव्या वर्षीच स्वतंत्र मोहिमेचे नेतृत्व केले, त्या संभाजीला नाकर्ता पुत्र कशाच्या आधारे म्हणायचे? संभाजी राजाने स्वराज्यद्रोही असलेल्या अष्टप्रधान मंडळातील मोठमोठ्या नेत्यांना कठोर शासन केले. इतकेच नाही तर अष्टप्रधानमंडळातील सरसेनापती हंबीरराव मोहिते वगळता इतर सर्वांना दूर ठेवून राज्यशकट स्वतःच्या हिमतीने चालविले हे काहींच्या मनात सलत असावे. त्याचाच परिपाक म्हणून बाळाजी आवजी चिटणीस यांचे वंशज मल्हार रामराव चिटणीस यांनी संभाजीच्या मृत्यूनंतर सव्वाशे वर्षांनंतर लिहिलेली चिटणीस बखर संभाजी

बदलच्या वाईट गुणांनी भरलेली दिसते. संभाजीच्या द्वेषापोटी तसेच संभाजी राजांना नालायक, बदफैली ठरवण्याच्या दृष्टीने हे लिखाण केलेले आहे. स्वातंत्र्यवीर सावरकरही छत्रपती संभाजीराजांच्या मृत्यूला हौतात्म्य बहाल करताना संभाजी राजांच्या कर्तृत्वाला कसे विसरतात हे अनाकलनीय आहे. चिटणीस बखरीत वर्णन केल्याप्रमाणे रागीट स्वभाव व मदिरा आणि मदिराक्षी याविषयी अत्यंत आसक्ती या दूर्गुणामुळे नेतृत्वाच्या योग्यतेचे संभाजीराजे नव्हते असे सावरकर म्हणतात. संभाजी राजांची नऊ वर्षांची कारकीर्द, त्यात जवळजवळ सव्वाशे लढाया आणि एकाही लढाईत पराजय नाही हा इतिहास सावरकरांच्या नजरेतून कसा विसरू शकतो हा प्रश्नच आहे. सावरकरांचे स्वतःचे धगधगते जीवन कसे उभे राहिले आणि त्यासाठी करावे लागणारे कष्ट किती असतात याची सावरकरांना जाण असताना हुतात्मा संभाजीराजांना त्यांनी विषय लंपट ठरवावे हे अयोग्य तर आहेच शिवाय विरोधाभासी आहे. कारण विषयासक्ताला संभाजीराजांसारखा भीमपराक्रम करणे कदापीही शक्य नाही हे सामान्यांच्याही ध्यानी आल्याशिवाय राहत नाही. भारताचे भूतपूर्व पंतप्रधान स्वर्गीय अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी सावरकरांच्या संभाजीराजेंविषयीच्या संकुचित दृष्टिकोनाला छेद देणारे पुढील वक्तव्य करतात,

व्यक्ती की पुण्याई, व्यक्ती की शक्ती, व्यक्ती का स्वत्व प्रकट होता है अंतिम क्षणामे। संभाजी महाराज समझौता कर सकते थे, पर उन्होंने नहीं किया। अगर वे शरीर से दुर्बल होते, अगर मनसे कच्चे होते, जीस तरह के व्यसनों का जीवन मे उल्लेख किया जाता है, अगर उस तरहके व्यसनों का वे शिकार होते तो अंतिम परीक्षा में विफल हो जाते। लेकिन अंतिम परीक्षा मे सफल रहे।

स्वातंत्र्यवीर सावरकर संभाजीराजांनी निधनाच्या क्षणी धर्मासाठी मृत्यू स्वीकारला अर्थात औरंगजेब बादशहाची धर्मातराची ही मागणी फेटाळून लावली आणि मृत्यूला कवटाळले म्हणूनच ते हुतात्मा होय असे म्हणतात. खरंतर इतिहासकारांमध्ये अनेकांनी संभाजीराजांच्या मृत्यूसमयी औरंगजेब बादशहाने धर्मातराची मागणी केलेलीच नव्हती या अर्थाने ऐतिहासिक साधनांचा अन्वयार्थ केला आहे. कृष्णाजी सभासद आणि मल्हार रामराव चिटणीस या तथाकथित संस्कृती रक्षकांनी सनातन हिंदूधर्मासाठी संभाजी राजे बलिदान करते झाले असे दर्शविलेले आहे आणि त्याद्वारे समाजमनात हिंदू धर्माविषयी सहानुभूती निर्माण करण्याचा प्रयत्न केला आहे. सावरकरही हिंदुत्वासाठी आग्रही असल्यामुळे संभाजीराजांच्या धर्मासाठीच्या मृत्यूला गौरवित करतांना दिसतात.

खरंतर संभाजी राजे हे स्वराज्य धर्माचे रक्षण करते होते. त्यांना अखिल मानवधर्म अभिप्रेत होता. त्यासाठीच ते संपूर्ण आयुष्यभर प्रयत्नरत होते. एका ठिकाणी स्वातंत्र्यवीर सावरकर संभाजीला शिवाजी महाराजांची भौतिक संपत्ती राखता आली नाही मात्र अतुलनीय हौतात्म्याने शिवरायांची नैतिक व आध्यात्मिक संपत्ती नुसती राखताच आली नाही तर ती अनेकपटींनी उज्वलतर आणि बलशाली केली असे म्हणतात. सावरकरांच्या या विचारांमध्येही विरोधाभास वाटतो. भौतिक संपत्तीचे रक्षण करणे खरेतर दुय्यमच! परंतु जे संभाजी महाराज शिवरायांची नैतिक आणि आध्यात्मिक संपत्ती राखू शकतात, ती बलशाली करू शकतात, त्यांना शिवाजी महाराजांची भौतिक संपत्ती राखता आली नसती? निश्चितपणे राखता आली असती आणि संभाजीराजांनी ती संपत्ती राखलेली आहे असे नामदेवराव जाधव ऐतिहासिक पुरावे देऊन स्पष्ट करतात.

सावरकर संभाजीच्या आत्मसमर्पणाच्या अंतिम महत्कृत्यामुळे त्यांच्या सर्व चुका आणि दुष्कृत्ये लोक विसरले असे सांगतात. वास्तविक संभाजीचे हे आत्मसमर्पण वा स्वराज्यासाठीचे बलिदान मराठी राज्यामध्ये

प्रत्येकात स्वराज्याची चिंगारी पेटविणारे ठरले हे खरेच! परंतु छत्रपती संभाजी महाराजांचे नऊ वर्षांचे धगधगते आयुष्य सच्चा मराठी मावळ्यांना सतत स्फूर्ती आणि प्रेरणा देणारे होते, सर्वसामान्यांचे कल्याण करणारे होते व आया-बहिणींना संरक्षण देणारे होते याच्याही नोंदी इतिहासामध्ये आहेत. संभाजी राजांच्या सर्व चुका आणि दुष्कृत्य लोक विसरले असे म्हणणे हे संभाजीराजांचा अपमान करण्यासारखे आहे. बखरकारांनी आपल्या पितरांच्या मृत्यूचा बदला घ्यायचा म्हणून बखरकारांनी संभाजीचे चरित्र पदोपदी मलीन केले आहे. दुर्दैवाने स्वातंत्र्यवीर सावरकरांसारखा राष्ट्रीय इतिहासकारही बखरकारांच्या या द्वेषमूलक इतिहासाला बळी पडलेले दिसतात.

थोडक्यात श्री गो नी दांडेकर यांनी संभाजीराजांचे शूरत्व मान्य केले आहे. परंतु संभाजी राजांबद्दल द्वेषभाव मनात ठेवून लेखणी करणाऱ्या बखरकारांना ते खोडू शकले नाहीत. स्वातंत्र्यवीर सावरकर संभाजी राजांना हुतात्मा ठरवून त्याचा भारताच्या स्वातंत्र्य लढ्यासाठी राष्ट्रीय भावना निर्माण करण्याकरता उपयोग करून घेतात परंतु बखरकारांनी रंगविलेले संभाजी राजांचे मलीन चरित्र नाकारू शकले नाहीत.

संदर्भ:

१) छत्रपती संभाजी महाराज स्मारक ग्रंथ.

संपादक- श्री. जयसिंगराव पवार.

मंजुश्री प्रकाशन, कोल्हापूर.

२) खरा संभाजी

श्री नामदेवराव जाधव.

# Membership Details

## *Membership*

- ❖ Patron Member
- ❖ Life Member
  - A person who donates a minimum of Rs. 10,000/- is entitled to become a life member.
- ❖ Students Member
  - Any Students enrolled for any courses in statutory University or establishment can apply for such membership by paying or ending Rs.1000/- for one academic year. Any Student member can't step up to the category of Donor member by fulfilling the terms & conditions given for the Donor Member.

## *Note :-*

- Acceptance of becoming a member of each category will be subject to the approval of the executive committee
- Members will be provided information and facility to different activities undertaken by the centre.
- Library facilities will also be provided to the members of each category as per procedure prescribed by the Director.



## **Advertisement (Per Issue)**

Sr. No.	Particulars	Per Issue
01	Back Cover Page	Rs.15000
02	Inside Cover Page	Rs.10,000
03	Full Page	Rs.5,000
04	Half Page	Rs.2,500
05	One Fourth Page	Rs.1,000

## **Membership (Daksh)**

Sr. No.	Particulars	Per Issue
01	Institution (Life Membership)	Rs.25,000
02	Individual (Life Membership)	Rs.15,000
03	Students for 3 Yrs.	Rs. 2,500
04	Students for 2 Yrs.	Rs.1,500
05	Students for 1 Yrs.	Rs.1,000
06	General Membership (Yrly)	Rs.1500

# Bhonsala Research Centre for Conflict & Peace

*Bhonsala Military College, Nashik-422005*

## Membership Card

Name : \_\_\_\_\_

Address : \_\_\_\_\_

I/We wish to become a member of BRCPP as Patron / Institutional / Life / Student please find herewith membership free of Rs. \_\_\_\_\_

by Demand Draft/ RTGS/ Cash

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

For Office Use Only

### **Details of Payment**

Bank/ Cash/ :- \_\_\_\_\_

Drawn on:- \_\_\_\_\_

Date:- \_\_\_\_\_ No.:- \_\_\_\_\_

Amount Rs.:- \_\_\_\_\_

Sign of A/c clerk

### **Note:**

Draft / RTGS/ Cash to be made favouring Principal, Bhonsala Military College, Nashik (Postal Order will not be entertained)

Resolution No. _____ Passed by the Committee	For BRCCP Office Membership :- _____
Meeting of _____	Nature :- _____
	No :- _____
	Sign of Co-Ordinator

## Communication Details

Name of College :- Bhonsala Military College  
Postal Address :- Rambhoomi, Dr.Moonje Path,  
Nashik-422005,  
Maharashtra, India  
Website :- [www.bmc.bhonsala.in](http://www.bmc.bhonsala.in)  
E-Mail :- [principal@bmc.bhonsala.in](mailto:principal@bmc.bhonsala.in)  
Phone No :- 0253-2309610 / 12 / 13  
Fax No. :- 0253-2309611

## For Contributors

Name of Chief Editor :- Dr R. I. Raut  
Address :- Room No. 44, 1st Floor,  
Department of Defence & Strategic  
Studies  
Bhonsala Military College Camps,  
Rambhoomi, Dr.Moonje Path,  
Nashik-422005,  
Maharashtra, India  
Email :- [daksh@bmc.bhonsala.in](mailto:daksh@bmc.bhonsala.in)  
Phone No :- 0253-2309610 / 12 / 13 (Ext:-228)  
Mobile No. :- +91-9923314421