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THE PARTITION REDUX IN INDIA

ABSTRACT

This exposition has spotlighted the predicament of the Indian minorities and the people of IIOJK; the options available to them to deal with it and how failure of pacific choices to save themselves, could lead to a second partition of India. It surmises that India is suffering from a perpetual dilemma of how to unite a society divided by caste, which abhors the idea of equality, fraternity or sorority. It suggests that since the Indian rulers have cast Muslims as internal enemies; their survival lies in their own political unity and coalitions with other minorities. It reveals why the BJP leadership is sacrificing Indian interests over their personal and political benefits, endangering India and the region. It posits how disproportionate spending on security to implement flawed policies, at the cost of development, could hasten India's break up. It expounds why urgent intervention by the world leaders, the UN and the OIC is warranted to influence Indian politics and policies, and portents that inaction can seriously undermine local and global stability. The exposition predicts that the future of India could be ominous or propitious, depending on the character and conduct of its ruling junta and the role of its masses and media. It discerns that since the Indian Kashmir policy has become untenable and counterproductive, Kashmiris, all over the world, can pursue their goal of self-determination, with renewed vigour and unity. Finally, it explains how the obtaining environments are relatively favorable for Pakistan and based on which, it outlines the contours of a bold and innovative policies for it, to defend its interests.

Key words: Partition, Ultra-nationalism in India, Hindutva, Radicalization, Minorities, BJP, RSS & Self Determination.



Preface

When the British government's 'Cabinet Mission' asked Quaid e Azam on 4 April 1946, why there should be a separate Pakistan, he eloquently propounded the 'Two Nations Theory' in these words: "Throughout her history from the days of Chandra Gupta there had never been any Government of India in the sense of a single Government. The Muslim Moghul Empire had the largest control but even in those days the Mahrattas and the Rajputs were not under Muslim rule. When the British came, they gradually established their rule in a large part of India but, even then, India was only one-third united. The big states and sovereign states were constitutionally and legally already "Pakistans". India is really many and is held by the British as one. The differences in India are far greater than between European countries and are of a vital and fundamental character. Even Ireland provides no parallel. The Muslims have a different conception of life from the Hindus. They admire different qualities in their heroes; they have a different culture based on Arabic and Persian instead of Sanskrit origins. Their social customs are entirely different. A Hindu will wash his hands after shaking hands with a Muslim. No Hindu will let Mr. Jinnah have a room in his building. Hindu society and philosophy are the most exclusive in the world. Muslims and Hindus have been side by side in India for a thousand years but if you go into any Indian city you will see separate Hindu and Muslim quarters. They have different names and use a different calendar. The Hindus worship the cow and even today in certain States a 10-year sentence is imposed for killing a cow. This means nothing to the Muslims. You cannot make a nation unless there are essential united factors. How are you to put 100 millions of Muslims together with 250 million, whose way of life is so different. No Government can ever work on such a basis and if this is

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forced upon India, it must lead us to disaster".¹ Based on this rationality and truth, Pakistan was created sixteen months later. Fast forward now to the year 2002, when a thousand Muslims were viciously murdered and another two thousands injured in the Indian state of Gujarat, where Modi was the CM. Commenting on this massacre, a prominent Indian author, diplomat and politician, Mr. Khushwant Singh, noted in his book titled 'The end of India': 'With sections of the ruling coalition openly supporting the divisive and retrograde agenda of the fundamentalists, it is the very idea of India that is at stake, Indian newspapers have put the blame for this, squarely on the neo-fascist members of the RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal and Shiv Senna, with the collusion of the BJP. Their private armies are designed to implement political agendas through force and to be used in communal riots, there is distortion of facts, injection of false pride in the Hindu race and religion, extreme prejudice and contempt for the minorities 'Unless a miracle saves us,' 'the country will break up. It will not be Pakistan or any other foreign power that will destroy us; we will commit hara-kiri' those who feel secure because we are not Muslims or Christians are living in a fool's paradise'. 'No one is safe',² he warned and lamented in 2003. After ten years of procrastination, the team investigating this carnage, absolved Modi of all blame and the Indian Supreme Court granted bail to the 14 criminals involved in the case in Jan 2020. This is a true example of justice delayed, denied and disavowed, concomitantly to the Muslims, as predicted by the Quaid, much before the Partition.

Gross human rights violations in India have similarly been documented by multiple human rights



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bodies like the UN Human Rights Office (OHCHR),³ Amnesty International⁴ (AI) and the Human Rights Watch (HRW). The HRW observed in 2014 that 'Muslims were arbitrarily detained, interrogated, and tortured on suspicion of terrorism; later investigations found that members of Hindu extremist groups were actually responsible for some of these. The Indian armed forces continue to commit human rights violations in Muslim-majority Jammu and Kashmir State, and in the northeastern states. But members of the military are rarely investigated or prosecuted as they are shielded under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act. Despite repeated domestic and international condemnations calling for repeal of the law; it remains in force, due largely to military opposition'.⁵ The AI endorsed these findings in November 2018 and the OHCHR confirmed the many atrocities in its update on Kashmir in Jul 2019.

Last year, Mr. Modi used every lever of his power and his nexus with the RSS, to deploy the most immoral schemes like 'divide and rule', Muslim and Kashmiri bashing and abuse of the Indian security apparatus, for aggression and false flag operations against Pakistan, to seize a second term in May 2019. Soon after, it disturbed the status quo in IIOJK by scrapping Article 370⁶ of its constitution and imposed a curfew, to prevent mast protests, with 'close to 9.5 lakh personnel from its army, air force and paramilitary forces deployed. The official deception and lies of the Indian media to justify this action and barbarities of the Indian security forces to enforce the legislation were elaborately and accurately documented in Dec, by The New Yorker'.⁷ "The recent attempts to alter the demography of IIOJK, by granting domicile to Indian nationals,⁸ is being bitterly opposed, while the curfew, that includes internet blackout, continues". While the minorities were always regarded less Indian earlier, the conversion of a centuries old mosque into a Hindu temple and the notorious Citizens Amendment Act (CAA) in Feb 2020, also prompted massive demonstrations, arrests, deaths and internet shutdowns across India, till the COVID 19 lockdown, which was abused to crush all opposition and dissent, to the devious legislation and to further establish its majoritarian political agenda.

Due to its persistent refusal to settle its disputes peacefully with its neighbors, India has been the world's largest importer of major arms for many years, though sixty percent of its 1.3 billion people are poor



Today, most of the top posts in the Indian government are occupied by members or former members of the RSS, who are firmly committed to the ideology of Hindu ultra-nationalism, Nazi racism and Mussolini's fascism. Besides, 33 percent of the Indian minorities belonging to the lower caste Dalits and Muslims are multi-dimensionally poor,⁹ 'majority of prisoners in Indian jails are also from these two minorities'¹⁰ and 'more than 55 percent of under-trials in India are Muslims, Dalits or tribals, according to official Indian data'.¹¹ Similar instances have been cited by the US Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF), who gave India its lowest rating in its annual report for 2020.¹²

An authentic Indian publication reported in 2015 that its Northeastern States (NES) are very disturbed and disclosed that the government had been using a policy of divide and rule in these areas, through the involvement of RAW for using one faction against the other group.¹³ The NES include Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland, where the people are fighting for their political and religious rights, which are being denied to them by more than 200 thousands Indian troops.¹⁴ Further, a minority, less than thirty percent of Indian population, comprising upper caste Hindus, is ruling a majority of low caste Hindus who are treated like slaves and despised, since a very long time. Thus, India is clearly violating the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which instructs: 'Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by rule of law'.¹⁵

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been the world's largest importer of major arms for many years,¹⁶ though sixty percent of its 1.3 billion people are poor.¹⁷ Last year, CNN revealed that India is now the world leader in internet shutdowns,¹⁸ aimed at suppressing protests against the government. Since all these matters have profound implications for the region, Pakistan and India itself, they merit further deliberation.

Purpose and Scope

This treatise is aimed at an evidence based appraisal of the predicament of the principal Indian minorities and the people of the IIOJK; the response options available to them, along with their impact on the unity of India and regional peace; with a view to draw conclusions, proffer recommendations and indicate a way forward for the world, India and Pakistan.

Predicament of Main Minorities

The Plight of Indian Muslims

At the time of Partition in August 1947, most Muslims subscribed to the idea of Pakistan, but some chose to stay back in India, because of four reasons: fear of the unknown, to retain their properties, maintain ties with their extended families or simply because they couldn't afford to migrate. Thereafter, as long as India maintained a constitutional commitment to secularism, it saw some religious harmony. But this ended in 1969, when over 400 Muslims were murdered by Hindu extremists in the Indian state of Gujarat.¹⁹ Thereafter, religious violence against Muslims was repeatedly incited for political reasons, making them feel insecure inside their homeland. But since the coming into power of the BJP government in 2014, Indian Muslims have constantly been persecuted, brazenly discriminated and systematically victimised. Today, Mr. Modi's party and its affiliates have demanded that 'India's Muslims should reconvert to Hinduism and hand over various mosques and shrines to the Hindus. The symbols of Muslim identity like beards, caps and head scarves invite suspicion, scorn and even violence in India. The scariest trend has been the murdering of Muslims suspected of possessing

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beef, for ferrying home cattle, purchased legitimately from markets elsewhere'.²⁰ A senior BJP leader, Subramanian Swamy recently told a foreign news agency that 'They (Muslims) are not in an equal category (among Indian citizens').²¹ As the Hindu Right controls the state, as well as non-state apparatuses, the social and economic boycott of Muslims has pushed them further down the societal ladder and made them unwelcome in public spaces and housing colonies. For reasons of safety as well as necessity, in urban areas, many Muslims, including the elite, are retreating into enclaves that are often hatefully referred to as "Mini-Pakistans." A frequent war cry of the murderous mobs that have overrun India's streets is "Mussalman ka ek hi sthan, kabristan ya Pakistan!"—Only one place for the Mussalman, the graveyard or Pakistan.²² In the IIOJK, where 8 million people are struggling to survive under the heaviest military occupation in the world, thousands of Kashmiris, including children, civil-society activists and political figures, are imprisoned since 5 Aug 2019. Here the internet is continuously shut, firewalled and weaponized for nearly a year, and what has been recently allowed is known as a white list, a handful of régime sanctioned websites that excludes social media platforms.²³ The CAA is also manifestly discriminatory against Muslims and could create unprecedented statelessness and is comparable to the government of Nazi Germany which had the power to decide who was a rightful citizen and who wasn't. Thus in December 2019 the first to react were the students of Aligarh Muslim University and Delhi's Jamia Millia Islamia. In response, students were ruthlessly beaten and some were maimed, anger spread to campuses across the country and spilled over into the streets. Outraged citizens led by students and Muslim women, occupied Delhi's iconic Shaheen Bagh for months to protest, tens of thousands and sometimes a hundred thousand people, blocked a major road for almost two



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months. The anthem of this new uprising was a variation of the chant of the Kashmiri freedom struggle, "Hum kya chahtey hen? Azadi!-What do we want? Freedom" The protesters in India were also calling for freedom from caste and repression. On the streets, every one was aware that any sympathy for the Kashmiri cause expressed will be met by nationalist hellfire when it comes to Muslims; for everything even parking tickets and petty crime different rules apply. That is how deeply unwell India has become. Police in the state were entering people's homes at night, terrorizing and looting them. People spoke of being kept naked and beaten for days in police custody. They described how hospitals had turned away critically injured people, how Hindu doctors had refused to treat them. Modi, as usual blamed the protests on Pakistan. To the Hindu fascists, Muslims are the "internal enemy" whose real loyalties lie outside India. A well-known taunt thrown at Muslims as well as anyone else who challenges the Hindu nationalist view is: go to Pakistan'.²⁴ Many Indians, especially the poor Muslims, lack documentary evidence of when and where they were born; even birth certificates have become widespread only in recent decades. While non-Muslims would not be bothered, undocumented Muslims would abruptly bear the onus of proving that they are Indians. A prominent Indian parliamentarian is of the view that after the CAA, India stands isolated, its soul stands divided and it is in turmoil due to the Modi government's political recklessness.²⁵

Islamophobia in India is widespread, and the Indian Supreme Court has legalized, without evidence,²⁶ the construction of a Hindu temple, on the site of a 470-year-old mosque at Ayodhya. To erase Muslims heritage in India, BJP lawmakers want the renaming of the Taj Mahal as Shivaji, Ram or Krishna Mahal.²⁷ The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh (UP), with approximately 45 million Muslims, is the founder of the Yuva Vahini, a Hindu terrorist organization and has stated that he wouldn't stop until he turns UP and India into a Hindu state. In February 2015 he commented: 'If given a chance, we will install statues of Hindu deities in every mosque'.²⁸ Hindu extremist organizations carried out terrorist attacks against Muslims like the 2006 Malegaon blasts, the Mecca Masjid bombing (Hyderabad), and the 2007 Samjhauta Express bombings (also linked to Prasad Shrikant Purohit, an Indian army

officer) and the Ajmer Sharif Dargah blasts.²⁹ In February and March 2020, multiple foreign media outlets, including the BBC reported that during the violence in Delhi against the CAA, hundreds of Muslims, had been killed or injured in a planned manner, with numerous well-documented examples, showing the police aiding the attackers, and the victims concluding: 'We will have to protect ourselves from now on. Delhi will not save us any more'.³⁰

Totaling around 201 million (2018 estimate), India's Muslims constitute the world's third-largest and biggest Muslim-minority population. They represent a majority of the local population (96 percent) in Lakshadweep and JIOJK (70 percent). The largest concentration about 47 percent of all Muslims live in the three states of UP, West Bengal, and Bihar. Dense but scattered concentrations of Muslims are also found in 15 other states.³¹ The share of Muslims in India's 545 seat lower house of parliament is currently at a 50 year low. In the 1980 election, almost 10 percent of those elected were Muslim. In 2014, it was less than 4 percent. Although Muslim population in India is 14.2 percent of the total (2011 census), but their representation in the Lower House comes to less than 5 percent of its composition. This trend does not auger well for the future of the Muslims, who are 'expected to number 311 million by 2050, making India a country with the largest population of Muslims in the world'.³² If they were a nation by themselves at that time, they would be the fourth largest in the world, after China, India and the US. However, the Muslims are not flourishing as their share in elite government services in 2006 was less than 5 percent, according to an Indian government report³³ and these days, they are politically disenfranchised and denied their fundamental rights. While they lament this attitude, it scares and angers





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them and often makes them wonder in despair, at the apathy of their fellow citizens, the clear bias of the Indian judiciary against them, the prejudice of the media towards their plight and the inaction of world at their predicament. Due to such xenophobic treatment, Indian Muslims have started to see the wisdom and logic behind the Two Nations Theory, cited above. As over 38 percent³⁴ of Muslims continue to live in poverty in urban areas; the above historic remarks of the Quaid are even more relevant in India, as they were, before the Partition. But while the Muslims are the main targets of oppression, other minorities, particularly the Dalits, Christians and Sikhs are also harassed and discriminated against.

The Caste Division of India- Dalits and Others

India has always been an apartheid state, as the 'Caste System' in the Hindu religion, ordains and promotes gross inequality per se. As Hindus are split into four main rigid societal groups, according to their birth and work, it brings to fore the grave dangers faced by human rights and equality in India, that are so dear to most modern nation-states and which are prominently enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). These rights entitle everyone to freedom without distinction of birth, religion, race, caste, colour, etc. Not so for over 300 million³⁵ low caste Hindus, called Dalits and Scheduled Tribes, who live in India and over 36 percent³⁶ of whom are poor. They are ostracized, segregated, humiliated, discriminated and condemned as 'untouchables' by the high caste Hindus. Most of them practice Hinduism but not of the kind done by the higher castes, from which they are excluded in local religious life. In the literature of Dalit liberation and ideology, their writers and poets declare war on Hinduism and Dalits who follow their spiritual leader, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who abandoned Hinduism due to its 'official gospel of inequality', are convinced that they cannot redeem their dignity while remaining within Hinduism and exhort their followers to stop worshipping Hindu gods'.³⁷ Thus, millions of Dalits have converted to other religions to escape tyranny, but this right is now being denied to them by the state and the RSS. They have been given some quotas in government jobs and education etc. for which they have to provide documentary proofs of their low caste, which is cumbersome exercise and is essentially meant to prevent their conversion.

Cast also plays a pivotal role in the distribution and control of knowledge, power, property, resources, sexuality and dignity. For instance, 'the high classes Hindus hold 41 percent of the total wealth in the country, which is almost double their population size of 22.28 percent'.³⁸ The World Inequality Data Base reported that 'Upper Caste households earn nearly 47% more than the national average earning'.³⁹ The National Geographic noted that 'nearly 90 percent of all the poor Indians and 95 percent of all the illiterate Indians are Dalits'⁴⁰ and in 2016, over 40800 cases of atrocities against Dalits was recorded⁴¹ in India, mainly in UP, Bihar and Rajasthan. Thus, though Dalits are Hindus, they are actually a minority, since they are a socially subordinate and underprivileged group, due to their cast.

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Christians and Tribes in North East India

About 32 million Christians live in India and Christianity is the third-most followed religion after Hinduism and Islam. They are in majority in four North Eastern Indian states of Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh, with substantial presence in Tripura and Sikkim. Over 200,000 security forces are assigned internal security tasks in these and other distressed and persecuted north Indian states. According to Wikipedia, anti-Christian violence in India has been seen by the HRW as a tactic used to meet political ends. The acts of violence include arson of churches, conversion of Christians by force, sexual assaults, murder of Christian priests and destruction of their schools, colleges, and cemeteries. Hindus who convert to Christianity are harassed, deported and often murdered. Pope John Paul II⁴² has also stated that "free exercise of the natural right to religious freedom was prohibited in India". Over the past seven years, India has risen from No. 31 to No. 10 on Open Doors' World Watch List, in persecution severity of Christians. In the past Pope Benedict XVI and the Vatican has expressed their concerns on this. As of 2020, USCIRF has equated India in minority persecution with North Korea.⁴³

Indian Sikhs

Totaling about 31 million worldwide, India's Sikh population stands at approximately 21 million, 76% of which lives in the Indian State of Punjab, forming about two-thirds majority of the population there. After the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984



The persistence of caste and the attacks of the ruling class on its own people and constitution have greatly shrunk pluralism and democracy in India

by two of her Sikh bodyguards, for the desecration of the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the Hindus killed 3,000 Sikhs in New Delhi and at least 8,000 more across India.⁴⁴ At least 50,000 Sikhs were also displaced; their properties destroyed and their women gang-raped,⁴⁵ with the help of the police, who were empowered to detain suspects for any reason, ostensibly as suspected terrorists. The police were accused of killing unarmed suspects in staged shootouts and burning thousands of dead bodies to cover up the murders. This included the cremation of over 2,000 bodies of Punjab policemen not collaborating in "counter-terror" operations. The Indian CBI, the Supreme Court of India and the National Human Rights Commission of India certified the validity of this data.⁴⁶ Today Sikhs, all over India,⁴⁷ and abroad, in countries like Bangladesh, Canada and Germany⁴⁸ are under surveillance by the Indian authorities on suspicion of separatism. Though the Sikhs have been demanding for a separate homeland in India since long, they have now demanded a global referendum, among the international Sikh community, between 2020 and 2022, on the question of succession from India and establishing Punjab as an independent country.⁴⁹ Sikhs continue to face discrimination in Indian states other than Punjab. Outside, the suspected Khalistan supporters in India are "harassed by police and Intelligence agencies and in many cases falsely implicated in criminal cases which take years to resolve".⁵⁰

Bizarre Tests of Patriotism

These days, non-Hindus in India are also facing weird and terrifying tests to prove their patriotism. The verification of one such test is reliant on what they eat. If they dare to eat beef in public; they are criminals worth lynching by a mob and storing beef, even in the freezer can invite the wrath of the 'cow vigilantes'.⁵¹ Why? Because Hindus believe that such habits could mean complicity in the 'murder' of holy animals. Another test includes chanting of the 'Jay shiri ram' (glory to Rama) cry by the non-Hindus, to prove their loyalty.

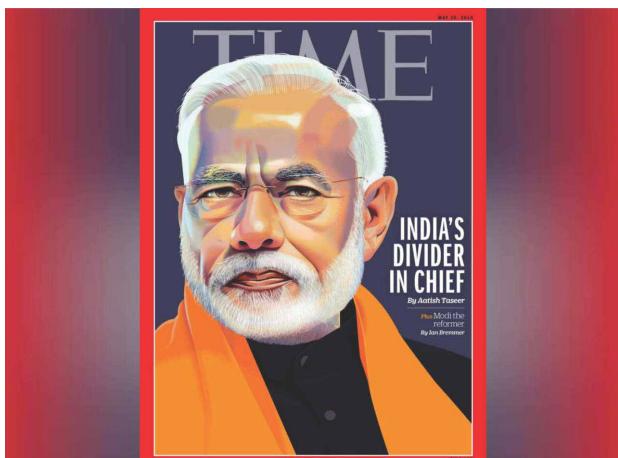
Conclusions

International Ramifications for India

The persistence of caste and the attacks of the ruling class on its own people and constitution have greatly shrunk pluralism and democracy in India. As

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the movement built on hate in India continues to sustain itself by creating strife and fear, the Indian mainland, home to the world's so called biggest democracy has become 'the global leader in internet shutdowns, far outpacing even authoritarian states'.⁵² These developments have substantially tarnished India's reputation and the international cost to India, of pursuing numerous, flawed domestic and foreign policies has climbed sharply. The world now sees India's dark face through many lenses. Some are calling it self-centered, isolated and oblivious of the world around it. Others have named it a fascist state, dictatorial polity and policies. It is also termed a rogue state, because of disregard of international treaties and obligations with China, Pakistan (UNSC resolutions, Shimla pact, Indus Water Treaty etc.), Bhutan and Nepal. Even Bangladesh, an ally of India is unnerved at the Indian interior minister's threats of pushing Bengali migrants into the Bay of Bengal and calling them 'termites'. Constitutionally, India is a secular democracy; however it has morphed into the world's biggest theocracy where religious prejudice is sponsored by the state. The Economist published a cover page titled 'Intolerant India' in Jan 2020 and the situation in India recently compelled the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) to place India on the 'list of countries of particular concern', recommending "targeted sanctions on Indian government agencies and officials responsible for severe violations of religious freedom and human rights by freezing those individuals' assets and/or barring their entry into the US". Many Indian intellectuals, living abroad have accused the BJP of sowing divisions in India and questioned if India can break up along the lines of its own caste divisions. The





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'Time' magazine described Modi as India's "divider in chief" with Modi's picture on the cover of its May 20 edition.⁵³ Attacks on Muslims have also prompted condemnation and concern from the OIC and a backlash from some Gulf States. Lastly, slogans and signs of nuclear preemption have portrayed India as a reckless state that could destabilize Asia.⁵⁴

Domestic Repercussions for India

It appears that Under BJP and RSS rule, the Indian past is reinventing itself, and becoming its present, preventing it from escaping the captivity of its desires. So, with bigotry as its defining ideal, can India and its minorities endure another four years of the RSS and BJP rule? Probably yes, but this will certainly take India to a very dark place. Indian leaders are likely to continue accusing neighbours, to mask their inability to resolve the inherent contradiction in their society due to the prevalence of the caste system, through the slogan of Hindutva. They will also attempt to retain the supremacy of the Hindu upper caste, mainly from anti-minorities platforms, but will not hesitate to target anyone who stands in the way of the perpetuation of their agenda and rule. This paradox has the potential to severely destabilize the Indian society, erode its secular construct and even imperil its union. While some democratic forces will lament this outcome, it will not be widely condemned by the Indian corporate media or those affected by it, due to favors by the state, fear of reprisals or both. However, in terms of its international image and stature, India is and will continue to pay a heavy price for the continuation of such policies.

India is spending bulk of its military budget on internal security, with diminishing returns, due to its flawed policies in IIOJK and the NE. The resultant, incessant attrition of its forces and the financial cost by India is clearly prohibitive, given the state of its post Covid economy and the needs of spending on minorities or development. This will continue to prevent India's rise, even as a regional power. Unilateral actions, in defiance of UN resolutions, on the status of IIOJK have additional political, diplomatic and military costs as well, like the standoff at Laddakh between India and China in Jun 2020. When equated with China, this cost is clearly unsustainable for India. Thus the real threats to India are from its own unsound policies and not its neighbors.



The Maoist Revolution in India

The three broad options available to the minorities to deal with their difficulties include: First; Prayer, Petition and Protest. Second; Use of Political Means combined with the first option and finally; endeavors for self-rule or separate homelands

Options for Indian Minorities

The three broad options available to the minorities to deal with their difficulties include: First; Prayer, Petition and Protest. Second; Use of Political Means combined with the first option and finally; endeavors for self-rule or separate homelands.

As part of the first option, the range of protests against the CAA, the legislation about IIOJK and the treatment of minorities have included mild non-cooperation, passive defiance, nonviolent resistance, marches, placard-waving, and other pacific methods. Non-violent obstruction of access to airports or blocking main highways were wisely avoided, as they could turn public opinion against them and help legitimize legal actions or force against protesters. But in future, if the government uses violence against peaceful protesters, it could compel them to commit acts of violence to protect themselves, as modern democratic thought has long held that individuals have a right to counter-violence in self-defense, against tyrannical government and political injustices. This will certainly develop a momentum of its own, which might go beyond this customary and current option.

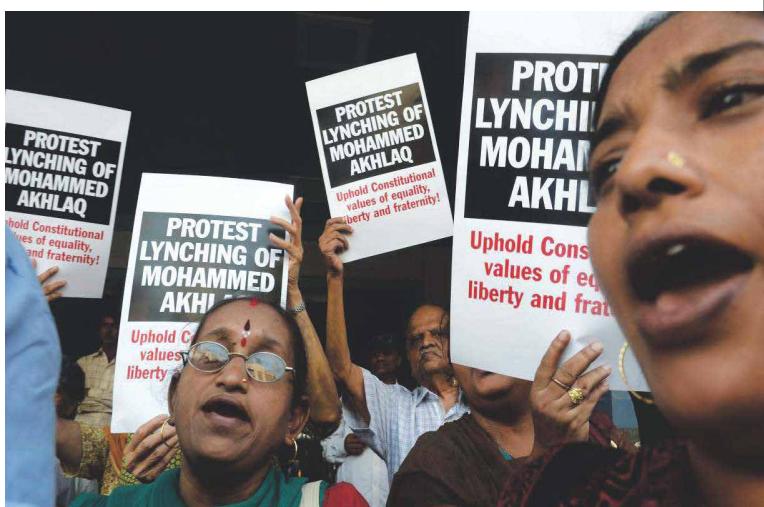


Ironically and paradoxically, opposition to India's division may be against the divine beliefs of the ruling castes in India, of strict exclusion from all 'impure' and lowly people

The emphasis in the second option is on a durable and collective political struggle, combined with all other peaceful measures, stated above. As part of this course, Indian Muslims had devised a political survival strategy since the rise of the extremists in India in 1989, which was based on cooperating with other social groups to vote for the party best placed to defeat the BJP, but this did not succeed. The main reason for this was the dispersal of Muslims all over India, apart from some areas in the north and north-eastern states. Besides, due to widespread Islamophobia, Muslims politicians found it difficult to attract votes from people of other faiths or social classes. Both these factors are prevalent even now, though the CAA protests saw some harmony between Muslims, Dalits and followers of anti-caste and class leaders. Though this fragile alliance was decimated by the government's fake-news projects, it could lead to the desired unity among all minorities to acquire more political space, regain some of their constitutional rights and also attempt that the BJP and RSS combine does not get another term. By 2060, Pew estimates, that there will be more Muslims in India than anywhere else in the world and they will constitute 19% of Indians. However, their representation in the parliament is unlikely to rise, without formation of coalitions with others. The same is true for others, as individually the minorities lack both sufficient electoral numbers and strong, charismatic leadership to steer them out of this predicament. Unless they realise and address these weaknesses they will continue to be marginalised, Hinduised, victimised and dehumanized. Together, the minorities named above (including scheduled tribes and others) comprise nearly half the population of India, which could be their real strength. Besides, they must reject those politicians among them, who are either sympathetic to the present regime or show hesitation to speak for their rights. They must individually and collectively ask for an increase in reservations, not only in public sector employment and education, but more essentially, the insurance of a specified ratio of representation for them in all elective bodies at the state and federal levels. Only through political harmony, backed by sustained pacific efforts can they hope to get, what is rightfully theirs. In places where minorities are overly dispersed and mingled with the high class Hindus, some internal displacement by them to other safer places, where they have bigger population

clusters, will be inevitable but this will reduce their vulnerability and ensure substantial political empowerment.

If the two options stated above miscarry, the minorities could be constrained to resort to the last choice of self-rule or separation from India. This option will surely be countered by the state with ruthless force, like the siege of the Golden Temple in Amritsar in 1984 and the present Indian actions in Kashmir. This may temporarily suppress the uprising; but the foundations of a second partition of India, would have been formally laid, which could then be strengthened by other means, as outlined in the previous options. Indian cities are already segregated on the basis of religion and caste. But such reactions could eventually lead to the split-up of India, purely on the basis of the people's wishes, beliefs, caste, ethnicity and demography, in accordance with the ratio of their respective population⁵⁵ and geographic dictates, similar to the first Partition in 1947. It may comprise a large and distinct homeland for upper caste and radical Hindus, called Akhand Bharat and sixteen separate territories for the minorities. The latter could include a confederation of six 'Islamic States of India' for the Muslims in West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, portions of UP, Kerala and Lakshadweep Islands etc., where they have a sizeable presence. Further division could comprise autonomous states for Dalits carved out of UP, West Bengal, Bihar and Tamil Nadu based on their demographic profile; Khalistan for the Sikhs in Indian Punjab and independence or self-rule for the Nagas, Mizo Tamils, Tripuris, Manipuris, Karbis, Kamtapuris and Bodos, etc. By uniting contiguous states and union territories, wherever possible, this division could produce segregated homelands for upper and low caste Hindus that will suit both, due to caste considerations and geographical dictates. This will also resolve the problem of the size of present day India, which is too big to manage economically⁵⁶ or even to rule effectively. To some, this scenario may appear far-fetched, but it is less





India has the dubious and senseless distinction of being the second biggest arms importer of the world in 2020, though it ranks at 129th position in the global human development index, with nearly 22 percent of its population living below poverty line and an abysmal ranking of 184 out of 191, in terms of its spending on healthcare, at 1.15% of the GDP

unpredictable than the breakup of the Soviet Union. It may also be chaotic but less messy than a civil war and could be compared with events of the break-up of Yugoslavia, out of which many stable, more unified and peaceful states have emerged. The new states may probably be more at peace with themselves and with others, as rationalised earlier. Even with their relatively small sizes, they may be more cohesive and manageable; resembling what India was, prior to the British rule. The historical context of the Sub-Continent also reveals that India was never a single country in the past, as it comprised a loose union of many states that were ruled successfully by numerous dynasties.⁵⁷ Ironically and paradoxically, opposition to India's division may be against the divine beliefs of the ruling castes in India, of strict exclusion from all 'impure' and lowly people.

If the minorities are denied all the above options, they may be compelled to resort to civil disobedience and violent resistance, which may lead to their genocide or a protracted civil war in India, internal displacement, cross border movement of refugees and migration abroad by millions. This may be the doomsday scenario for India and the world.

The Price of Retention and Altering the Status of IIOJK

Indian attempts to alter the status of IIOJK, has once again underscored Kashmir as a serious dispute among three nuclear neighbors, with global

implications. It has also evinced a sense of bitterness, injustice, disillusionment and humiliation among Kashmiris, all over the world. It has also united all the pro-plebiscite Kashmiri political parties and factions like the APHC, Hurriat Conference and many others, with pro government parties like the People's Democratic Party and the National Conference etc, against the government. This has further consolidated and fueled the Kashmiris struggle for freedom. As it violates India's own constitution, the decision has further complicated the Kashmir issue for everyone. By making Kargil as part of Laddakh, it has put over 78 percent of the Muslim population in Kargil sub-region to a major disadvantage, as previously they looked towards the Kashmir Valley for their political and social empowerment; this could trigger a migration any time. Political engineering has labeled India from an 'administrator' to a 'coloniser' of Kashmir and in July 2020, the UN Special Rapporteurs sent their third communication to India since August 5, 2019, expressing 'grave concern over alleged excessive use of force, ill treatment during arrests and detentions'.⁵⁸ The EU and OIC have raised similar apprehensions repeatedly. The information siege in IIOJK for nearly a year (till September), has comprehensively externalized the Kashmir dispute and has attracted wide condemnation by the international media outlets, many Western governments, various human rights organizations and the OIC. All this has badly tarnished the Indian image abroad and outraged the conscience of mankind. Coupled with the reactions to the CAA, this milieu has also overstretched the Indian diplomatic and economic options, to pursue their present policies or to retain IIOJK for long. Similarly, bulk of the Indian Army, Civil Armed Forces and Police are employed on one mission: To retain IIOJK. For this, India is spending over \$ 71 billion annually on its defense expenditure,⁵⁹ which was approximately 32 per cent of the total capital outlay of the government in 2019.⁶⁰ For many decades, heavy expenditure on internal security is merely being squandered, due to lack of support from the local population. This support is now non-existent. It is mainly due to this 'mission impossible' that India has the dubious and senseless distinction of being the second biggest arms importer of the world⁶¹ in 2020, though it ranks at 129th position in the global human development index,⁶² with nearly 22 percent of its population living below poverty line⁶³ and an abysmal ranking of 184 out of 191, in terms of its spending on healthcare, at 1.15% of the GDP.⁶⁴ A boom in Kashmiri





While the thought of India's disintegration could possibly sober up its leaders, compel them to abandon their hazardous ideologies and reverse their fallacious dogmas, however, it is more likely that the fear of India's split-up may induce disproportionate government responses against the minorities that could accelerate India's division or impel a civil war in India

economy and creation of millions of new jobs was given as a rationale for the Indian actions in Kashmir last year; however, by Aug 2020, the curfew and lockdown of IIOJK had cost its economy more than \$ 5.3 billion and the loss of over 500,000 jobs.⁶⁵ While the human cost of these tasks to its security forces is substantial, it has never been released by the Indian government. Even NATO has realized in Afghanistan that any amount of spending on security will not succeed without backing by the people. However, India appears unwilling to learn from this example. The India-China standoff due to renewed illegal Indian claims over Chinese territory in east Laddakh and Aksai Chin and the Chinese reaction to this has obligated India to earmark substantial forces to defend the LAC, by thinning out from elsewhere but this will eventually need separate resources, with additional costs. All these spending will inhibit developmental spending, that will enhance India's internal vulnerabilities.

Recommendations and the Way Forward

Global Repercussions and Obligations

By now, the world powers must have recognized the following five drivers behind the present behavior of the BJP rulers. First: they rely on fear, religious divisions and war mongering that attracts votes; they have created the hype of a two-front threat from China and Pakistan, for the same purpose, and for enticing US support and they will even seek war, due to their lust for power. Second; promotion of interfaith harmony or peace in Kashmir does not bring political benefits as violence and despair of religious minorities and Kashmiri Muslims do. Third; it is much easier to demonise minorities, externalize inefficient governance and scapegoating neighbors; specifically Pakistan (as its default mode), than to manage the economy, bring about internal stability, resolve disputes or manage conflicts. Fourth; Mr. Modi is severely handicapped in governance matters due to his earlier (chai wala) back ground and his innate hate and contempt for all things that are non-Hindu. Finally, the BJP is trying to suppress individual, religious and ethnic identities and nationalities to impose the Hindutva ideology in India, but this will fail and could even cause its collapse, like a similar Yugoslav experience that failed in 1989. All this demonstrates that the major challenges facing India are self-induced and essentially

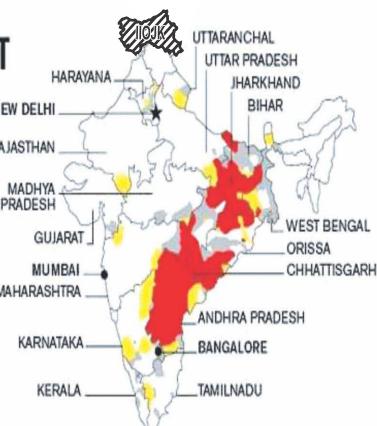
internal. This warrants careful monitoring of India's perilous and stressed national security landscape that is clearly susceptible to a partition redux, an open rebellion in IIOJK, domestic radicalization of the minorities and chaos by influx of international non-state actors. While the thought of India's disintegration could possibly sober up its leaders, compel them to abandon their hazardous ideologies and reverse their fallacious dogmas, however, it is more likely that the fear of India's split-up may induce disproportionate government responses against the minorities that could accelerate India's division or impel a civil war in India. Thus, if pacific options of the Indian minorities fail, their democratic option of self-rule or separation from India may have to be reckoned with by the big powers, as this will be less shambolic than a civil war. The wishes of the Indian minorities cannot be ignored anymore, due to the enormity of their size, their deprivation, the nature and scale of their oppression and their adverse consequences. Neither can the world overlook the dangers of the new spike in India's revisionism and ultra-nationalism. Thus, all friends of India, particularly Russia and the US must intervene urgently, to prevent it from undermining itself and the regional environment. They must pre-empt genocide of minorities, mass internal displacement and unprecedented migration by Indians abroad; creating a global crisis and stop their bets on the BJP rulers, as they are a liability and a cause of embarrassment for India and for them, due to their undemocratic and

THE SPREADING NAXALITE THREAT

AREAS IN INDIA AFFECTED BY LEFT-WING EXTREMISM

- HIGHLY AFFECTED
- MODERATELY AFFECTED
- MARGINALLY AFFECTED

Data: The Institute of Conflict Management



<https://tidesacademy.com/lwe-a-cancer-in-indias-heart/>



As India's information siege of IIOJK continues for over a year, it remains a blot on the conscience of humanity and all the big powers, warranting correction by the big powers and the UNSC

apartheid practices. It is in their interest to admonish the Saffron brigade for their deafness to the wellbeing of its own citizens and to make their support to India conditional to equal treatment, economic benefits, religious and job protection to their minorities. Contrarily, they should back the people, if they perceive themselves at mercy of the 'Hindu Raj,' and demand 'Azadi' (freedom), from oppression. If the world powers dither from this, the onus of the anarchy and fragmentation of India will be on them as well. In that case, India's nuclear weapons will have to be managed, as it was done after the breakup of the Soviet Union. Even otherwise, the world must heed the Pakistani leadership's grave concern and warning over the possession of nuclear weapons by Indian fanatics, which are seriously endangering the security of the entire world.

The international community needs to compel India to annul its unilateral actions to change the status of IIOJK as it has endangered regional peace, caused tensions among three nuclear neighbors and violates the UDHR. As India's information siege of IIOJK continues for over a year, it remains a blot on the conscience of humanity and all the big powers, warranting correction by the big powers and the UNSC.

While the role of foreign media has generally been commendable, fair and impartial during the coverage of the horrific rise of the BJP and its impact, it seems to have faded somewhat due to the Corona Pandemic. Nevertheless, this subject is too vital to be overlooked and will need their unceasing attention.

Due to its influential position, the US has a bigger and onerous responsibility to preserve peace in Asia that is home to a quarter of the world's population. However, US procrastination on the grave human rights violations of its minorities and Kashmiris by India is disturbing the regional tranquility, causing mass resentment and tarnishing the US reputation in India and abroad, particularly among the two billion Muslims worldwide. To offset this, the US may implement the recommendations of the 2020 report of USCIRF in India and press for release of Muslim leaders and innocent citizens, during the CAA protests and those detained without charge since 5 Aug 2019 in IIOJK. Contrarily, they must accept if the Indian minorities act on what

Thomas Jefferson believed, while drafting the American Declaration of Independence: 'if rulers exceeded their constitutional authority, the people would in principle be justified if they resorted to armed revolt'. To avert this, Washington must use its leverage with New Delhi to end the barbarities in Kashmir, support the UN resolutions on Kashmir and prevent India from misusing the FATF and aggression against Pakistan. Conversely, US efforts to reshape the Asian architecture, including the Afghan peace process will miscarry. Finally, the control of the Indian nuclear weapons by Hindu extremists should be a matter of grave concern for the US, whether India stays united or divided.

Since all Indian Muslims have been cast as internal enemies by their rulers; the panacea of their survival and future, lies in their own political unity, alliances with other minorities and their persistence, to prevent the larger entities from subsuming them

As the OIC is mandated to be the savior and the voice of the two billion Muslims and their aspirations, it needs to shun its seclusion and play an immediate, assertive and practical role to protect the Indian Muslims and Kashmiris from oppression.

Role of Indian Masses and Media

The people of India must know that creation of internal strife and antagonism against neighbors, to mask policy failures, gain votes or divert attention from the ill treatment of its people, may benefit some politicians but it is suicidal for India, which they can prevent. They must comprehend the logic of Mr. Nehru's commitment to the world on Kashmir that: 'We would ultimately abide by the verdict of their plebiscite, we have given our word of honour and we cannot go back on it'. Patriotic citizens could either prevent the fundamentalists in India from using religion and national security for political mileage, through the power of the ballot, or face national schism. They must also question the enormous and unaffordable military spending, at the cost of their welfare. Since all Indian Muslims have been cast as internal enemies by their rulers; the panacea of their survival and future, lies in their own political unity, alliances with other minorities and their persistence, to prevent the larger entities from subsuming them. Hopefully, the free Indian media will also resort to honest, responsible and courageous reporting on the loss of the minority's sentiment of cohesion, damage to their country's



The domestic and international costs of Indian internal and external policies, including its cold war with China, exceeds their benefits, due to which it stands isolated, more insecure and vulnerable

reputation and erosion of domestic and regional peace, due to their ruler's policies.

Response by the People of IIOJK

The people of IIOJK must refuse to live as 'subjects' or second rate citizens in India, even if their quasi-statehood is restored by India. Their ultimate goal is their right of self-determination, bestowed by the UN, which cannot be rescinded by Indian domestic legislation, passed without their consent. The present unprecedented unity that has emerged by default, across their political divide is a great prospect for Kashmiris, living all over the world, to continue their struggle, against the siege of their liberties, the division of their homeland and distribution of their lands to non-Kashmiris. They must be rest assured that like the Afghan issue, the use of the military instrument by India to solve a political dispute sans their consent, will never succeed. They should therefore be certain about their final victory, shun factional internal politics, remain steadfast in their resolve and be ready to offer even greater sacrifices for their invincible cause. Towards this end, their young leaders have a bigger and onerous responsibility to lead like Nelson Mandela, who stated during his trial for 'terrorism' in 1963: 'I am prepared to die for freedom'.

Recommendations for Pakistan

The four, visible and entwined shifts in the environments, which favour Pakistan, and that can be leveraged in our national response paradigm, include: One; India will continue to tread on its perilous and suicidal path, as long as the RSS and BJP rule endures. Two; the domestic and international costs of Indian internal and external policies, including its cold war with China, exceeds their benefits, due to which it stands isolated, more insecure and vulnerable. Three; the world has rejected the Indian stance on IIOJK, where the people are more alienated from India and more united among themselves. Finally, as Indian policies are not commensurate with its power potential and the obtaining milieu, it can pursue them only at a great peril to itself. This opportunity has enabled Pakistan to further mobilise international public opinion in favor of its policies, through the following

actions: Organize global awareness initiatives and protests, at influential world capitals and issue calendars for the same; extensive use of all social media platforms and managing air time on foreign TV, motivating Muslims/ Kashmiris diaspora to play their role in raising voice for oppressed; publishing a white paper on the geo-strategic implications of Indian treatment of Muslims, Kashmiris and other minorities, as enumerated in this rendition, to sensitize important capitals abroad and foreign missions at Islamabad. This could preferably be done in coordination and consultation with China, the UN, the HRW, OHCHR, AI, USCIRF, the Commission of Human Rights at the Council of EU, and the OIC.

The growing Islamophobia in India and the atrocities in IIOJK must be highlighted through a special, emergency OIC summit for punitive diplomatic and economic sanctions against India. The summit agenda could include direct appeals to all Muslims, owning big private businesses, to sever their dealings with India.

Our national security strategy must focus on convincing the world that India is a state that sponsors terrorists and that Pakistan is the victim. This must comprise provision of the dossiers of all major acts of Indian terrorist activities against it, including the confessional statements of Khalbhushan Yadav, to all members of the OIC, FATF and the UNSC. In coordination with China, Pakistan must demand expansion and enhancing the role of UNMOGIP for conflict management in Kashmir. The security planning must factor in; the implications of control of the Indian nuclear weapons by the RSS zealots, raising the level of international cognizance about this perilous development and the collective global measures for the disposal of this arsenal; in the event of India's break up. A skillful politico-diplomatic strategy, in collaboration





Due to its policies, India appears on a 'self-destruct' mode and its liberty of action is curtailed for a meaningful land offensive against Pakistan. This should compel India to adopt a policy, based on cooperation with its neighbours

with friendly countries will be needed to support these missions.

Due to its policies, India appears on a 'self-destruct' mode and its liberty of action is curtailed for a meaningful land offensive against Pakistan. This should compel India to adopt a policy, based on cooperation with its neighbours. However, due to political considerations, it is likely to continue its confrontation with

Pakistan, through state sponsored terrorism, disinformation campaigns, misuse of FATF for economic coercion and military intimidation at the LOC. To deter this, besides the measures enumerated above, the government has to cater for appropriate defense spending in the budget that has seen constant reductions in the last few years. In either case, it must adopt an aggressive conventional response posture, prompt reprisals, escalation ascendancy in all domains and superior preparedness. To halt the persistent violations of the LOC, we must declare and execute swift retribution against the Indian military command and control centers in IIOJK, in addition to strong retaliation at the sub-tactical level, at the frontline.

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