

VOLUME 28, ISSUES 1 - 4, JANUARY - DECEMBER, 2021

ISSN 0972-5563

---

# Journal of Peace Studies

---



ISSN 0972-5563

Journal of Peace Studies

VOLUME 28, ISSUES 1 - 4, JANUARY - DECEMBER, 2021

---

PUBLISHED BY INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR PEACE STUDIES

# Journal of Peace Studies

## C O N T E N T S

### FROM THE EDITORIAL DESK

- Tribute to Prof. Riyaz Punjabi  
and Dr. Tarannum Riyaz 1

### ARTICLES

- India's Changing Foreign Policy  
Towards The Gulf: The Role of India  
Diaspora *Nazia Naweed &  
Anisur Rahman* 5
- Geopolitics in the Indian Ocean  
World And Sino-Indian Rivalry:  
A Conceptual Analysis *Mujeeb Kanth* 33
- Accounting for Nepal's Chaotic  
Democratic Transition *Aliva Mishra* 51
- Re-Culturing Foreign Policy and IR:  
Over-Emphasising the Obvious or  
Misplaced Enthusiasm? *Anita K. Behuria* 69

### OPINION

- Pakistan's Worries Since Taliban  
Takeover and Prognosis  
for the Region *Ashok Behuria* 85

### BOOK REVIEW

- Trials, Tribulations and Triumphs*  
by T. K. Ommen, Reviewed by *Anita K. Behuria* 91

### OBITUARY

- Remembering Riyaz:  
Down the Memory Lane *M. Saleem Kidwai* 94
-

*From the Editorial Desk*

**PAYING TRIBUTE TO PROF. RIYAZ PUNJABI  
AND DR. TARANNUM RIYAZ**

The year 2021 was a year of mourning for us at the International Centre for Peace Studies. We lost our chief patron, Honorary President and founder of the Centre, Prof Riyaz Punjabi, who died of cancer on 8 April 2021. A month and few days later on 20 May 2021, his wife and an important and active member of the Centre, Dr. Tarannum Riyaz, succumbed to Covid. The Centre was, in a way, left rudderless without both of them. As it is, the centre was cash-strapped, and following their death, it was difficult to put it all together and proceed again.

Prof. Punjabi was a wonderful human being, an academic par excellence in terms of objectivity in his approach and originality of thought and ideas. He was refreshingly neutral and dispassionate even in matters affecting his own being. Forced to leave his ancestral home, he had relocated his family to Delhi with the start of terrorism in Kashmir in early 1990s. He had to start afresh, but within no time, he established himself as a saner voice from Kashmir in Delhi. The problem of Kashmir was very close to his heart, but in his analysis of the problem, he was as objective as possible. His writings on Kashmir are immensely educative and enlightening. He had to wade his way through political vicissitudes that sometimes called for recalibration of one's approach and reorientation of thinking. However, he was firm about his convictions. He was as patriotic as any Indian can be and always believed strongly that Kashmir and Kashmiris could never belong elsewhere.

For him, as he discussed with us at the Centre, Pakistan was an anachronism and needed to change its outlook to become a normal country and always considered those Kashmiris who would bait for Pakistan as misguided, who would, left to themselves, tire of Pakistan because it was antithetical to the Kashmiri genius. He always argued that a true Kashmiri would feel suffocated in the

constipated religious atmosphere that Pakistanis have created only to demonstrate their separateness from India.

Proud of his liberal and secular outlook, he never held religion in contempt. Unknown to many, even his close friends, shy as he was about anything religious, he invested his knowledge of Urdu and Arabic to understand, and explain, religious texts, and often came out with a progressive interpretation of Quran and Hadees, in close circles. In mid-1990s, he wrote an article on the 'Return of the Caliphate in Kashmir' in which he had explored the dangers of mixing religion with politics in Kashmir by the militants and their masters in Pakistan. He was worried about '*Kashmiriyat*' losing its appeal in the face of 'Islamic jihad' being propagated by terror outfits sponsored by Pakistan, but always held that it was only a passing phase, and '*Kashmiriyat*' ran too deep in Kashmir to be wiped out so easily.

He was deeply agonised by the loss of innocent and young lives in Kashmir and believed that Pakistan can only be pushed back if the people of Kashmir were made to cultivate a sense of Indianness in them and wean themselves away from the constantly bitter Pakistani propaganda. For this, he believed, a sense of mutual trust was absolutely necessary and felt that rest of India had a responsibility and duty to make Kashmiris feel at home in the Indian Union. Therefore, he was a fervent advocate of regional autonomy and often talked about an imaginative recast of Indian federalism (re-federalisation) that could accommodate diverse ways of integrating states with the Union of India. At the same time, he was realistic enough to understand that India was going to be visited by a highly centralising reflex/impulse, whereby such 're-federalisation' would be mocked at as a destabilising force. Nevertheless, he stuck to his ideas and shared it with his worst detractors with a unique disarming smile on his face.

He was deeply valued and respected by people in power who wanted to pick his brains on the ever-tumultuous situation in Kashmir. He always spoke his mind and mostly in a firm and inoffensive manner.

As Vice Chancellor of University of Kashmir during 2008-2011, he tried his best to fight out regressive ideas being spread in the campus by vested interest groups. As a frequent participant in the United Nations Commission on Human Right in Geneva he made his views against extremism and radicalism known through his interventions and often in an impartial manner that sometimes made him unpopular in official circles. He had once told us how one diplomat had once disparagingly called him a “good-running vehicle without brakes”, difficult to regulate and control. However, in recognition of his services, he was awarded ‘Padmashree’ by the Government of India in 2011. In his sojourns in Geneva, he cultivated many friends who treasured their association with him and held him in high respect. Some of them sent in their condolences after his demise.

His sudden departure has left us all shattered. We are all facing a mammoth task of rising to his expectations and matching his passion and dedication for the Centre. As we are slowly pushing ourselves to follow his footsteps, we would expect love, support and guidance of our readers and well-wishers to be able to get the Centre up and running, as he would have desired.

His wife, Dr.Tarannum Riyaz was as happy operating under his shadow as he was sometimes envious of her literary prowess. It was a constructive envy for not being able to produce as much, that kept him focussed on his work at one level, as he went on providing unstinted support to her in her work, in every possible way, on the other. She brought laurels to herself through her deeply sensitive etching of her fictional characters, which she picked up from real life around her, as she would say. She won many awards for her novels and short-stories in Urdu. She was emotionally involved with the Centre and regarded it as her first child. Her untimely loss is deeply mourned by all of us the Centre.

We are grateful to the governing body of the ICPS, particularly to Prof. T.K. Oommen and Prof. Saleem Kidwai who provided the much-required emotional and intellectual support to re-start the Centre

with a new steering group consisting of comparatively younger office bearers with meagre resource, but infinite enthusiasm, to take the dream of Prof. Punjabi forward. As a major leap forward, this issue of the Journal is being published with the hope that we are being able to fulfil the expectations of the large community of academics and scholars who have continued with their support and encouragement over the years to ensure that a research journal of this calibre retains its quality and infuses a sense of originality in the thought process of especially young researchers in India.

This issue is a tribute to the memory of Prof. Punjabi who had started this journal with the pious hope of harvesting intellectual capital from the vast community of Indian scholars, analysts, academics and experts in areas related to peace building and conflict resolution. We welcome comments and suggestions from our readers to continually improve the quality of the journal.

#### **Editorial Board**