# TRANSFORMATION IN INDIAN POLITICS AFTER THE PULWAMA ATTACK

## Hatice ÇELİK[*]

### Abstract

*The Republic of India (India) is one of the states of South Asia that has made itself more visible politically, economically and culturally in recent years. Increasing its economic capacity and policies exhibited under Prime Minister Modi also intensified the academic interest over India. Some developments in the region in 2019 and 2020 have also directly affected India's domestic politics. After the Pulwama attack on February 14, 2019, both India, Pakistan, and Kashmir faced some important situations. In this study, after the Pulwama attack, the decisions taken by the Indian government in domestic and foreign policy (only Pakistan and Kashmir will be included in this section) will be examined. The political and social implications of these decisions will be assessed, and the Indian elections, the abolition of Kashmir's autonomy status, and finally, the Indian Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) will be discussed as cases. The study will mainly benefit from the official statements of the Indian government and decision-makers and the constitutional amendments made. In this context, the changes and transformation in the domestic and foreign policy of India will be tried to be revealed. The main argument of the study is that the Pulwama attack has been a turning point for the Indian government, and this attack is seen as the legitimizer of many critical decisions taken in domestic and foreign policy. In other words, it is concluded that with the Pulwama attack, the security policies have been prioritized in the domestic and foreign policy of India.*

***Keywords:*** *India, Pulwama Attack, Indian Domestic Politics, Transformation.*

## PULWAMA SALDIRISI SONRASI HİNDİSTAN SİYASETİNDE DÖNÜŞÜM

### Öz

*Hindistan Cumhuriyeti (Hindistan), Güney Asya'nın son yıllarda siyasî, ekonomik ve kültürel olarak kendini daha fazla görünür kılan devletlerinden biridir. Artan ekonomik kapasitesi ve Başbakan Modi iktidarında sergilenen politikalar*

*Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi, Doğu ve Afrika Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Asya Çalışmaları Anabilim Dalı, hatice.celik@asbu.edu.tr, https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1409-8865.

*Hindistan'a olan akademik ilgiyi de artırmıştır. 2019 ve 2020 yılında bölgede yaşanan bazı gelişmeler de doğrudan Hindistan iç siyasetini etkilemiştir ve etkilemeye devam etmektedir. 14 Şubat 2019 tarihinde meydana Pulwama saldırısı sonrasında hem Hindistan hem Pakistan hem de Keşmir önemli bazı durumlarla karşılaşmıştır. Bu çalışmada Pulwama saldırısı sonrasında Hindistan hükümetinin iç ve dış siyasette (bu bölüme sadece Pakistan ve Keşmir dahil edilecektir) aldığı kararlar incelenecektir. Bu kararların siyasi ve sosyal yansımaları değerlendirilecek olup, sırasıyla Hindistan seçimleri, Keşmir'in özerklik statüsünün kaldırılması ve son olarak Hindistan Vatandaşlık Yasası Değişikliği vaka olarak tartışılacaktır. Çalışma temel olarak Hindistan hükümetinin ve karar alıcıların resmî açıklamalarından ve yapılan anayasa değişikliklerinden faydalanacaktır. Bu bağlamda incelenen durumlar üzerinde Hindistan iç ve dış siyasetindeki değişim ve dönüşüm ortaya konmaya çalışılacaktır. Çalışmanın temel argümanı ise Pulwama saldırısının Hindistan hükümeti için bir dönüm noktası olduğu, bu saldırının iç ve dış siyasette alınan pek çok kritik kararın meşrulaştırıcısı olarak görüldüğüdür. Bir başka ifade ile Pulwama saldırısı ile birlikte Hindistan iç ve dış siyasetinde güvenlikleştirme politikalarının önceliklendirildiği sonucuna varılmaktadır.*

***Anahtar Kelimeler****: Hindistan, Pulwama Saldırısı, Hindistan İç Siyaseti, Dönüşüm.*

## Introduction

India has constituted an important place in the Asian political history. Although this situation has many reasons, one of them is worth mentioning. The reason of this significance is related with India's civilizational roots. India is not only a nation-state, but it is a civilization by itself. This is providing a richness to India, but beside it is also putting responsibility on India in many issues, like justice, democracy, governance, etc. Indian civilization has been shaped by different ethnic and religious identities' contribution for centuries. This unity in diversity phenomena may sometimes push the nation-state's boundaries. However, if India is seen more than a nation-state, it has to look ways to make all Indian citizens feel part of this harmonious civilization.

From the international system perspective, India, since it gained its independence from the British Empire, has been a critical state in the South Asia region. Its increasing young population, economic capacity, and well-being have direct reflections on the political stage inevitably. The independence itself was both a success in terms of foreign and internal politics and a kind of trauma for the Indian people. At the end of the independence struggle, India emerged as two nation-states, as many Muslim-populated provinces preferred to join the newly emerging Islamic Republic of Pakistan (hereafter Pakistan). The independence and the start of the Cold War era had been the two main features to shape not only the Indian foreign policy but also

the internal politics of India. The colonial rule that lasted almost 200 years in the Indian sub-continent shaped the vision, memory, and perspectives of the politicians and society.

One of the clearest political characteristics of Indian politics, after the independence, had been the usage of an anti-imperial discourse. In addition to this, India had found itself in the Cold War's bipolar structure just after it became independent. As a combination of anti-imperial stance and Cold War bipolar international system, it resulted in the fact that this paved the way for the famous non-alignment movement of Indian political history. In this regard, it is surprising enough to see that none of the superpowers of the time, neither the United States of America (USA) nor Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), attached strategic importance to India (Ganguly ve Pardesi, 2009: 5). At first glance, the ignorance of the superpowers may seem to be an advantage for the Indian politicians, mainly for Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Due to this ignorance, Nehru was able to construct a freer space in his country's relations with the outside world. However, the situation was not the same for the regional affairs. China, as being the other giant country of the region and neighbor of India, emerged as a possible threat to India directly.

This threat was realized with the clash between India and China in 1962 due to a border disagreement. This power struggle was not the first one for India during post-independence era. India had come to the edge of a regional war with Pakistan over Kashmir[1] region in 1947. This part of the Indian foreign policy may sound a little different from the non-alignment movement. At this point, it should be remembered that the non-alignment policy does not necessarily require keeping away from conflict. It is more related to the idea of not being a part of either camps or blocs of the Cold War for which it can be said India accomplished.

After the Cold War ended, India had also faced many challenges that many non-alignment states had to face. The world was no longer a bipolar system, and the USA seemed to be the winning side of the competition. Moreover, China has been in a continuous rise since it adapted the economic reforms with Deng Xiaoping leadership. Although China's economic rise was also inspiring and encouraging the Indian economy, the strong solidarity between China and Pakistan on Kashmir since the Simla Agreement (1972) had been a potential risk for India. However, the declaration of Bangladesh as an independent state in 1971 created serious changes both for India and Pakistan. Since Pakistan was in a political shock, India had intensified its control in Kashmir during the late 1970s onwards. This control was not limitless surely since Kashmir was an autonomous region under the Indian

Constitution. This autonomy characteristic was giving the Kashmiris some sort of rights independent of Indian constitutional limitations. But the world woke up to an interesting decision of Indian parliament on the 5th of August 2019. The Indian Parliament canceled the autonomy of Kashmir which was guaranteed under the Article 370 of Indian Constitution (BBCa, 2019).

This decision was not taken suddenly. Indian politics have been in a change since the current Prime Minister Modi came to power in 2014. With this governmental change, the internal and foreign policies of India have been transformed, too. In this regard, the study will try to investigate the main turning points in Indian domestic and foreign policy since 2019. The year 2019 was not chosen as arbitrary. 2019 was a year of important decisions that were connected with each other and resulted in the securitization of Indian politics. For this aim, firstly Pulwama attack will be explored as the beginning of the transformation because the Pulwama attack is argued to be the start of the clear transformation of Modi government's policies. After this, the Indian election campaign and the election results will be analyzed. Thirdly, the abolition of Kashmir's autonomous status will be touched upon. Finally, the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) will be looked into. All these cases are seen as examples of the intensifying securitization discourse in Indian political affairs.

## 1. The Pulwama Attack

On the 14th of February 2019, there occurred an explosive attack in Pulwama highway which connects Pulwama district with Srinagar, the capital of Indian Administered Jammu Kashmir (IAJK). 42 paramilitary personnel of India were killed (Fareed, 2019). It was the deadliest attack on Indian forces in the region since 1989. Prime Minister Narendra Modi made a Twitter statement immediately after the attack on Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF):

> Attack on CRPF personnel in Pulwama is despicable. I strongly condemn this dastardly attack. The sacrifices of our brave security personnel shall not go in vain. The entire nation stands shoulder to shoulder with the families of the brave martyrs. May the injured recover quickly (Modi, 2019).

The attack was accepted by the Jaish-e-Mohammed (BBCb, 2019). Jaish-e-Mohammed is a militant group whose top leaders are known to be based in Pakistan; however, Pakistan authorities denied any connection with the attack. It is very clear that the Indian authorities view the Jaish-e-Mohammed as a terrorist organization and managed to make the United Nations (UN), the USA

and the United Kingdom (UK) accept it as a terrorist organization as well. On the other side, Pakistan does not accept it as a terrorist group, although Jaish-e-Mohammed tried to kill the former Pakistani leader Pervez Musharraf in 2003.

Indian Prime Minister explained his reaction by saying the responsible people would pay a high price for this attack. At the beginning, India reacted by lifting Pakistan's Most Favored Nations trade benefits. This was an economic reaction but many were expecting a move that would escalate the tension in the region. This did not come late. 12 days after the Pulwama attack, India told that they launched airstrikes against a militant camp of Jaish-e-Mohammed in Balakot, which is located at Pakistan's north-western Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (BBCc, 2019). This airstrike was a historic event since it was the first military operation of India across the Line of Control (LoC)[2]. In other words, with this Balakot airstrike, the Indian air force was crossing the border and organizing an operation in Pakistani territory for the first time.

Pakistan was fast enough to retaliate this strike. Just after two days, Pakistan shot down two Indian jets, one of whose pilots were captured alive (CNN, 2019). The alive pilot's name was Abhinandan Varthaman, and his video was shown on the internet to prove that he is alive. He became a symbol in India, and even his pictures were used in some cities to attract the nationalist voters for the upcoming elections. However, those pictures were removed later on due to the election committee's decision. With the jets shooting, tension climbed more and more and led the whole world watch this issue in fear since both Pakistan and India possess nuclear weapons; such a crisis would result in a disastrous war. The fear was overcome when Pakistan Prime Minister kept his promise and handed over the pilot as a sign of goodwill on 1st of March (Gettleman ve Raj, 2019). Nevertheless, the issue became a hot debate in the Indian election campaign. This will be elaborated in the following part.

### 2. Indian Elections

Before focusing on the elections which were held in April-May 2019, it is better to have a look at the pre-election developments and the statements of politicians.

Around 900 million citizens were expected to vote in these elections in India. Elections began on April 11, and voting took place in different parts of the country on April 18, April 23, April 29, May 6, May 12, and May 19, respectively. The counting of the votes was held on 23 May. As a result of the election, 543 lawmakers would be elected to the parliament. These elections

were held under a very critical environment when it combined with India's rising economic power, educated labor force, general labor capacity, nuclear power, and the tension it had experienced recently on Pakistan and the Kashmir region. To understand the election campaign, it is better to look at the popular parties in the elections, their leaders, and the developments that have influenced the agenda recently.

The first of the two favorite parties of the election is the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party - Indian People's Party), the party of Prime Minister Modi. Modi, who achieved victory in the 2014 general elections, especially adopts the Indian nationalist discourse and gets a high rate of votes from the state of Uttar Pradesh, which is the most populous state in India and has a population of 221 million (India Population, 2019). This is a region where agricultural activities are intense; however, the people of Pradesh have experienced serious problems due to falling potato and onion prices in recent months, and it has been frequently stated that this would pose a risk for Prime Minister Modi and his party BJP in the upcoming elections.

Krishna Advani, one of the founders of BJP, started a discussion that would affect the pre-election agenda with an article published on his blog. In the text, Advani stated that the basic principle he followed throughout his life was "Nation First, Party Next, Self-Last". He expressed that the essence of Indian democracy is respect for diversity and freedom of expression and that he sees the BJP as a competitor since he never regarded those who disagreed with him politically as an "enemy" since its inception (Advani, 2019). Similarly, he stated that in the context of the concept of Indian nationalism, they never regarded those who did not agree with "us" politically as anti-nationalists. He added that the party is committed to ensuring the freedom of choice and respect for each citizen, both politically and personally.

These statements were perceived beyond a regular explanation before the election. Such that there have been interpretations that this is an implied critique of Prime Minister Modi and his team. The main reason for this is that Modi accuses those who do not support him as taking an anti-nationalist attitude and claims that these people are in cooperation with Pakistan. He even said that the election manifesto of the rival party, the National Congress of India[3], was prepared with the support of Pakistan. Advani, on the other hand, tries to say that being anti-BJP or not voting for Modi is not a betrayal of the country.

On the other hand, Pradesh Province Government President Sri Yogi Adityanath started another discussion before the election with the explanation

that "Indian army is the army of Modi" at the election rally held on 31 March in Bisada (HindustanTimes, 2019). This statement was harshly criticized by the opposition parties for the military being used for elections. In addition to the opposition, some retired generals reacted to this statement, emphasizing that the army could not belong to any political party or leader and that the army belongs only to the public (Jacob, 2019).

The strongest opponent to BJP is the Indian National Congress Party. The Congress Party was the leading political figure in India's independence movement. However, in recent years, it has been losing its political support from the society. With the overall popularity of rightist parties in general in the world, India is not an exception within this framework. BJP frequently resort to nationalist rhetoric, especially over the Kashmir tensions with Pakistan a few weeks ago, while Congress Party has drawn attention to the increasing unemployment and economic slowdown in recent months.

## 2.1. The Election Campaign and the Results

India completed the election marathon on 19 May 2019. Approximately 900 million citizens went to the polls, and the votes were counted on May 23, 2019. The ruling party, BJP (the party of Prime Minister Modi), succeeded in sending 303 deputies to Lok Sabha (the lower wing of the Indian Parliament), consisting of 542 deputies[4] (BBCd, 2019). With the support of smaller conservative parties to BJP, the ruling block was expected to consist of approximately 360 deputies. According to the final results, the BJP and its allies got 347 seats in the parliament (Pong&Shrikanth, 2019). The Congress Party, the main opposition party, failed to catch up with the pre-election predictions, and only 52 members could gain seats in the Parliament, which is way below what was expected. While analyzing the results, it may be helpful to look closer to the election process since there occurred some important events before and during the election. These developments can be divided into fields as economy, domestic policy and foreign policy.

During the election propaganda, in domestic politics, it is seen that Prime Minister Modi tried to consolidate Hindu voters by using a language wrapped in Hindu nationalism. However, when the population of approximately 200 million Muslims of India taken into account, it was also possible that this language of politics prompted Muslims to worry and could lead them to favor the main opposition party, the Congress Party. In addition, the recent emphasis on Hinduism in school books was another internal development that was a concern among the Muslim population and other segments of society.

Another topic before the elections that is closely related with and an important part of domestic politics was the internal economic condition. Indian farmers, who experienced serious problems, especially in agricultural production in 2018 (Goel&Kumar, 2019), made it possible to think that this issue would be reflected in the election results. Because in the crowded provinces such as Uttar Pradesh, where Modi's voter base is located, the majority of people were making their living with agriculture, and the falling potato and onion prices in the last months increased public unrest. When it is considered that 70% of the population of India lives in rural areas, the seriousness of the situation can be understood better. For this reason, stimulus packages were announced to support the agriculture sector and farmers before the elections. While the rural population was encountering such problems, it also cannot be said that the urban and educated population was in a very good condition. The fact that 1 out of every 5 graduates was unemployed, the increasing unemployment rates stood as another problem for the government. After the election results, the growth rates announced by the government showed that the growth in the last quarter was 5.8%, indicating that the growth rate was 6.8% last year.

Another important development that took place one month before the elections started was in the field of foreign policy. It was the Pulwama attack discussed above. This process, which started with the Pulwama attack and caused tensions with Pakistan, led to further strengthening of Hindu nationalism, which was successfully used by Prime Minister Modi both during and after the election period. Such that the leaders of neighboring countries such as Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Bangladesh were invited to the celebration of the election victory in New Delhi, while Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan was not invited. This attitude showed that Prime Minister Modi did not give up the anti-Pakistan rhetoric he used before and during the elections to hold the voters together, and he was willing to continue to use this rhetoric immediately after the elections.

### 3. Kashmir's Special Status

Kashmir, since the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 has been a matter of conflict in foreign policy for both countries. Not only in foreign policy but also in domestic politics, Kashmir has always been a significant card to be used in the election campaigns. Before the April-May 2019 elections took place, Modi and BJP made critical statements for their potential voters. Under this paper's limitation, two of those statements are of great importance. Those two are the promise of BJP to regulate the autonomy of

IAJK and to implement the National Registration of Citizens (NRC)[5]. On the 8th of April 2019, Modi said that "Nationalism is our inspiration" at the release of the BJP's election manifesto at the party headquarters in New Delhi (Ghoshal & Kumar, 2019). Beside this nationalist discourse, the BJP and Modi were also referring to the special status of Kashmir as an obstacle for economic development. In the manifesto, it is mentioned that "We believe that Article 35A is an obstacle in the development of the state" (Ghoshal & Kumar, 2019). Article 35A was prohibiting outsiders to buy property in IAJK, which the BJP claimed it was preventing the development of the region. In this regard, this issue was constructed both as a nationalist discourse and an economic-development discourse by the BJP. Here, it is argued that the nationalist voters were happy with the cancelation pledge; however, lifting the property buying obstacle also made the ordinary Hindu citizens who had been waiting to buy lands in the region happy. As the final outcome, the Indian Parliament took the decision after the election and canceled the special status of IAJK on the 5th of August 2019. With this decision, IAJK was divided into two parts as Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh. The state's constitution, as well as its penal code and state flag, was nulled, and the region became subject to the same central laws as all other Indian territories (Ellis-Petersen, 2019). By the decision, Jammu and Kashmir would have its own state legislature, while Ladakh would be controlled directly from New Delhi.

After BJP accomplished one of the critical pre-election pledges, now it was time to change the citizenship act. This issue will be examined under the next title.

### 4. Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA)

With a population of 1.3 billion, India is the second largest population in the world, after the People's Republic of China. The largest minority group of the Hindu dominated society is the Muslims that are known to be around 200 million. Nevertheless, in this geography where different religions and ethnicities have lived together for centuries, there has been turmoil after the August 5, 2019 decision taken by the Indian parliament. With this decision, intense military power was deployed to the region, and serious difficulties were encountered in accessing communication channels with the region. While the effects of this development have not yet cooled, another discussion emerged.

What creates controversy was a change in the Indian Citizenship Law of 1955. The law was attempted to be amended by the Modi government, which started an intense debate in the parliament after the BJP won the election[6]. The Indian parliament is a two-wing structure. These, also known as Lok Sabha, and Rajya Sabha, are two separate structures, which are referred to as the lower or upper wing. Although the BJP holds the majority in Lok Sabha, it could not catch the majority in Rajya Sabha. However, many opposition representatives in Rajya Sabha supported the government in the amendment of the law. It is also noteworthy that this is one of the issues that the majority of the opposition parties rarely support the Modi government. Therefore, the new law was able to pass through both councils, although the BJP was not the majority in the upper wing. With the amended law, the Indian authorities gained the power to grant citizenship to all immigrants from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh. The only minority group that is not included in this law is the Muslims.

According to the new law, all immigrants from Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism, and Christianity, or Parsi, who came to India by December 31, 2014, from these three Muslim majority countries of South Asia, now have the opportunity to obtain Indian citizenship (BBCe, 2019). According to the new law, an immigrant has to wait only five years after entering Indian territory to obtain citizenship, which means that he/she will receive all the benefits that a natural citizen of India will have. In the previous law, this period was determined as 11 years.

BJP argued that the new law would "save people fleeing persecution from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh" (Zargar, 2019). However, Muslims in India and some politicians from the opposition parties said that the BJP was wrong, and they criticized it harshly. The objections did not only remain at the level of political criticism, but a group of Indian Muslims brought the matter to the legal ground by petitioning the Indian Supreme Court that it violated the articles of equality, fundamental rights, and the right to life.

Sonia Gandhi, the President of the Indian National Congress and opposition leader, said that the day when the new law was adopted by the BJP government "is a dark day in the constitutional history of India" and "the transition of the draft of the nationality law amendment, narrow-minded and bigoted forces victory over India's pluralism". "The bill essentially challenges the idea of India, where our ancestors fought, and instead it creates a disturbed,

crooked and divided India where religion will be the determinant of citizenship," she continued (India, 2019).

By introducing the new law, the BJP has had a great reaction from the people of India. Especially in Assam, one of the northeastern provinces, people started to express their reactions on the streets, and the demonstrations still continue (Human Rights Watch, 2020). In general, this is not perceived as an issue that only concerns Muslim asylum seekers. Rather, it is seen that religion is placed on the basis of the definition of Indian citizenship, which is stated to be secular in the constitution. Naturally, this disturbs many segments of society.

The BJP used the discourse of "a large number of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh (Muslim) entered India" as a political argument during and after the elections (NDTV, 2019). Therefore, this explanation had been frequently encountered, and it is believed to be specifically targeting this group of people.

The Citizenship Act (The Gazette of India, 2019) was passed after the BJP introduced the NRC. The Indian National Citizenship Registration List is a document that includes those who can prove that they came to the country the day before March 24, 1971, when neighboring Bangladesh left Pakistan. Under the NRC, a citizen must prove that their ancestors have been living in India since 1951. NRC was completed in Assam, the north-east province of India. In the draft version of the list published last year, four million people were left out and remained stateless. According to the list prepared in accordance with the new law, this time, around 1.9 million people left out since they were not able to prove their citizenship.

## Conclusion

Under Prime Minister Modi, important decisions on critical issues for the Indian political history have been taken. The two most prominent ones are on Kashmir and the Citizenship Act. Both issues helped the BJP during the 2019 April-May elections because the Indian economy was giving negative signals, and it was expected that this economic slowdown would result in a decline of votes for the BJP. However, both Kashmir and CAA helped the party to intensify its nationalist discourse, mostly by positioning the Muslim minority as the "other" of the "society" and shaping the matters from a security-oriented perspective. For instance, regarding the Kashmir's special status, it was one of the arguments that the terrorist groups were easily continuing their activities in IAJK since Pakistan is providing help to those groups. Therefore, directly

connecting the IAJK to New Delhi would help to solve this security concern. With CAA, it was also claimed that those immigrants who could not submit necessary documents to get citizenship were problems for the society both in terms of security and employment. As argued at the beginning of the study, the BJP government and Prime Minister Modi were able to take these decisions and implement them due to the Pulwama attack. Since the Pulwama attack had been one of the deadliest attacks in Indian history since 1989, people's anger and reaction were used to justify those steps. In other words, the Pulwama attack has provided a legitimization ground for the Modi government for these historic decisions.

**References**

Advani, K. (2019). Nation first, party next, self-last: LK Advani in a blog post. The *Economic Times*. Retrieved April 12, 2020, from https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation-first-party-next-self-last-l-k-advani-in-a-blog-post/articleshow/68725479.cms.

BBCa. (2019). Kashmir in lockdown after autonomy scrapped. *BBC News*. Retrieved April 15, 2020, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49246434

BBCb. (2019). Pulwama attack: India mourns Kashmir dead. *BBC News*. Retrieved April 12, 2020, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-47266001?intlink_from_url=https://www.bbc.com/news/topics/cgmkz7g3xn0t/pulwama-attack&link_location=live-reporting-story

BBCc. (2019). Balakot: Indian air strikes target militants in Pakistan. *BBC News*. Retrieved April 16, 2020, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-47366718

BBCd. (2019). India Elections 2019. *BBC News*. Retrieved April 20, 2020, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-48315659?intlink_from_url=https://www.bbc.com/news/topics/c27kzzpqm7xt/india-elections-2019&link_location=live-reporting-story

BBCe (2019). Citizenship Amendment Bill: India's new 'anti-Muslim' law explained. *BBC News*. Retrieved April 7, 2020, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-50670393

CNN. (2019). Pakistan says it shot down two Indian jets as Kashmir border crisis deepens. *CNN World*. Retrieved April 10, 2020, from https://edition.cnn.com/2019/02/27/india/india-pakistan-strikes-escalation-intl/index.html.

Ellis-Petersen, H. (2019). India strips Kashmir of special status and divides it in two. *The Guardian*. Retrieved April 12, 2020, from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/31/india-strips-kashmir-of-special-status-and-divides-it-in-two

Fareed, R. (2019). Kashmir suicide attack kills dozens of Indian security forces. *Aljazeera*. Retrieved April 19, 2020, from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/02/indian-security-forces-killed-kashmir-blast-reports-190214110644498.html

Ganguly, S., & Pardesi, M. S. (2009). Explaining Sixty Years of India's Foreign Policy. *India Review*, 8(1), 4-19.

Gettleman, J., & Raj, S. (2019). Pakistan Frees Indian Pilot Who Was Beaten by a Mob and Then Served Tea. *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 10, 2020, from https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/01/world/asia/india-pakistan-plane-abhinandan-varthaman-india.html.

Ghoshal, D., & Kumar, M. (2019). Modi makes election vow to remove Kashmir's special rights. *Reuters*. Retrieved April 12, 2020, from https://www.reuters.com/article/india-election-kashmir/modi-makes-election-vow-to-remove-kashmirs-special-rights-idUSKCN1RK0JS.

Goel, V., & Kumar, H. (2019). India Elections 2019: Farmers Are Hurting and Millions Are Voting. *The New York Times*. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/20/world/asia/india-election-modi-farmers.html.

HindustanTimes. (2019). Lok Sabha elections 2019: Outrage as Yogi Adityanath says Indian Army is Modi's. *HindustanTimes*. Retrieved April 15, 2020, from https://www.hindustantimes.com/lok-sabha-elections/lok-sabha-elections-2019-outrage-as-yogi-adityanath-says-indian-army-is-modi-s/story-tlZVUUJjn5W76XttBnCGAM.html.

Human Rights Watch. (2020). "Shoot the Traitors": Discrimination against Muslims under India's New Citizenship Policy. Retrieved April 11, 2020, from https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/04/09/shoot-traitors/discrimination-against-muslims-under-indias-new-citizenship-policy.

India Population. (2019). Population of Uttar Pradesh 2019. *India Population* Retrieved April 12, 2020, from https://indiapopulation2019.com/population-of-uttar-pradesh-2019.html.

India, T. T. (2019). Dark day in constitutional history of India: Sonia Gandhi on passage of Citizenship Bill by Parliament. *The Times of India*. Retrieved April 17, 2020, from https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/dark-day-in-constitutional-history-of-india-sonia-gandhi-on-passage-of-citizenship-bill-by-parliament/articleshow/72478929.cms

Jacob, J. (2019). "Be Careful": Poll Body Warns Yogi Adityanath for "PM Modi's Army" Remark. *NDTV*. Retrieved June 30, 2020, from https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/be-careful-election-commission-warns-yogi-adityanath-for-pm-modis-army-remark-2018735

Modi N. (2019). Attack on CRPF personnel in Pulwama is despicable. I strongly condemn this dastardly attack. [Tweet]. Twitter. Retrieved April 18, 2020, from https://twitter.com/narendramodi/status/1096035566670565376

NDTV. (2019). "Detect, Delete, Deport": BJP's Ram Madhav on Assam Citizens' List. *NDTV*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/on-assam-list-people-excluded-to-be-deported-to-their-country-ram-madhav-1914485.

Pong, J., & Shrikanth, S. (2019). India 2019 election results: Modi's landslide in charts. *Financial Times*. Retrieved June 15, 2020, from https://www.ft.com/content/1a4ce784-7dce-11e9-81d2-f785092ab560

The Gazette of India. (2019). The Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019. Retrieved June 17, 2020, from http://egazette.nic.in/WriteReadData/2019/214646.pdf

Zargar, A. R. (2019). Indian government pushing new immigration law that would single out Muslims. *CBC News.* Retrieved June 25, 2020, from https://www.cbsnews.com/news/india-citizenship-bill-proposed-today-by-narendra-modi-government-would-single-out-muslims-2019-12-09

---

[1] Kashmir had been one of the princely-states of India before the independence. During the independence process, it led to a conflict between India and Pakistan. At the current situation, Kashmir is divided into three parts; first and biggest is under the Indian control and named Indian Administered Jammu Kashmir (IAJK), the second part is under Pakistan's control, named as Pakistan Administered Jammu Kashmir (PAJK and usually named as Azad Kashmir meaning Free Kashmir) and the smallest part near China's border is named as Aksai Chin.

[2] Line of Control is a kind of border which has been operating as a de facto border between Indian Kashmir and Pakistan Kashmir since both sides agreed with Simla Agreement in 1972.

[3] The National Congress Party of India is the party founded in 1885 and played the main role in the independence process of India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in 1920s and 1930s.

[4] Since the poll in Vellore constituency was cancelled, the number decreased from 543 to 542. For further details of Indian 2019 elections, please visit https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-48366944.

[5] For other important headlines from the BJP's election manifesto 2019, please visit https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/bjp-manifesto-2019-prime-minister-narendra-modi-kept-his-promise-india-a-maha-shakti-now-top-10-2019563.

[6] For further details on the Citizenship Act controversy, please visit https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/12/31/india-thousands-are-protesting-new-citizenship-law-here-are-things-know/.