



INDIA AND SOUTH ASIA: JANUARY 2017 DOSSIER

The January 2017 Dossier highlights a range of domestic and foreign policy developments in India as well as in the wider region. These include analyses of the various scenarios ahead of the Assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Uttarakhand, Goa and Manipur, the cadre organisation Jamat-e-Islami Hind, and India's engagement with Rwanda, Kenya and the UAE.

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Part I India - Domestic developments

Dr. Klaus Voll sketches the situation in different states on the eve of important Assembly elections, refers to the important and controversial *Ram Temple* issue in Ayodhya/Uttar Pradesh and portrays, together with Dr. Joyce Lobo, the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind in the coastal town of Mangalore in Karnataka.

Scenarios ahead of the Assembly elections:

Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Uttarakhand, Punjab, Goa and Manipur

Uttar Pradesh:

There will be a battle between three major contenders in this mega-state with 220 million inhabitants, which voted at the *Lok Sabha* elections with more than 40% overwhelmingly for the BJP and especially Narendra Modi.

According to opinion polls, also this time the BJP is the frontrunner and a serious contender for political power. Its deficit are the absence of a chief ministerial face, the effects of demonetisation and the surgical strikes against Pakistan end of September 2016, which are major campaign issues of the BJP. Although included in its manifesto, it is unclear how far the issue of the Ram-Temple in Ayodhya will be raised. (See Subrahmaniam Swamy: Ram-Temple and Sanskrit as '*lingua franca*').

The outgoing government of the Samajwadi Party (SP) was shaken by a family feud at the highest level between the old and the young guard. The popular and young Chief Minister Akhilesh Yadav and his followers won clearly this battle. He is development oriented and wants to get rid of the past, then being associated with criminal politicians.

It is unclear till now, what the outcome of the SP-lead alliance with the Congress, which dipped to an all time low in 2014 in Uttar Pradesh, will bring on election days. Party patriarch Mulayam Singh Yadav is still against this alliance, even after it has been sealed. The essential question will be, if the Muslim voters will stick with the SP/Congress or even increase their support, in order to defeat the BJP.

The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), mainly supported by Dalits, which constitute its core basis, wooed intensively the Muslim community. The party has put up a maximum of nearly 100 Muslim candidates. But the BSP could become a victim of the BSP/Congress alliance and the possible consolidation of the 19.5% Muslims in U. P. behind it. Positive for the BSP is the four times Chief Minister Mayawati's image of being firm on 'law and order', less on its economic performance.

Perspectives:

Neither an overwhelming majority for one party or alliance can be ruled out, nor a so-called '*hung Parliament*'. In the latter case, a BJP/BSP coalition government is possible, like in the past, although Mayawati has categorically ruled it out this time. On the other side, a thinkable "*rainbow coalition*" between SP/Congress and the BSP is out of question, irrespective of Rahul Gandhi's recent positive remarks about Mayawati.

The answers to all this will become slowly clearer in the seven phases of the election campaign, also the question, how far Akhilesh Yadav and Rahul Gandhi, will be capable to attract young voters.

This election is of utmost importance for the *Lok Sabha* election in 2019. What will happen, if the BJP should loose this time in U. P.? A defeat would be a set-back for Prime Minister Modi, a clear victory enable him to become nearly invincible.

How far will this election be determined by local factors or will it be a referendum on 'demonetisation'? How far will the Congress, which is organizationally not in a very good shape at all, use its last trump-card Priyanka Gandhi, the sister of Congress Vice-President Rahul Gandhi? Sonia Gandhi leaves it to the next generation and is not entering the election campaign.

Punjab:

After ten years in power, the 'anti-incumbency' factor looms large over the Akali Dal/BJP coalition government. The *Aam Admi Party* (AAP), founded in 2012, could advance as a major player and the third contender in a state, which saw traditionally the Akali Dal/BJP and the Congress as the only rivals. The split votes could harm besides the AAP also the Congress and diminish the chances of Captain Amarinder Singh – who fights his last electoral battle - to return as Chief Minister, giving some breathing space to the Akalis. Although Punjab counts a high Dalit presence of more than 30%, the BSP is no real contender.

Uttarakhand:

This hill state with ten million inhabitants is facing the mighty Himalayas, but consists also of industrial areas in its plains.

Traditionally it is a direct battle between the Congress and the BJP, with poll survey predicting, that the BJP might return to power. The BSP is only a marginal player.

Goa:

Poll surveys predict a majority for the BJP, which is also supported by sections of the Christian community. Although a RSS-led section of the BJP formed its own outfit and a former regional partner left the BJP-led government, the chances for the weak Congress and the new entrant AAP are not bright at all.

Manipur:

Is the BJP capable to launch another coup in the sensitive North East and wrest another state from the Congress? Manipur, which had an independent kingdom for nearly 2000 years, is a crisis-ridden state with many secessionist and autonomy movements.

Perspectives:

These elections are a kind of '*semi-final*' for 2019, irrespective of state elections in Gujarat and Karnataka in 2018.

The current elections will be decisive for Narendra Modi, the BJP and in particular the Congress, with its very existence and future at stake. According to in-depth surveys, Narendra Modi is way-ahead with his popularity compared to Rahul Gandhi.

Ram-Temple and Sanskrit as '*lingua franca*'

Dr. Subrahmaniam Swamy, BJP-member of the *Rajya Sabha* and increasingly advocating parts of the RSS-ideology, but also in his own right, spoke in front of about 1 500 people at the 29th of January 2017 in the RSS-headquarters in *Sanghaniketan* in Mangalore about '*Building a Ram Temple for India's identity.*' The Citizen's Council of Mangalore had invited him.

In the morning of that day, Swamy had already participated in a so-called '*Gau Raksha*' ('Cow protection', together with '*Saddhus*') . Mangalore is part of the coastal region of '*Dakshina Kannada*' with its numerous communal tensions and occasional '*riots.*'

After a short religious chanting, accompanied by various sounds of blowing instruments. S. Swamy, who enjoyed a lot of good will and respect from the audience, spoke about the necessity of '*a national reconstruction of India*' and asked then the question, what the difference between '*citizenship*' and '*identity*' is.

„'Identity' is the identification of the Self with the country. America is a white Anglo-American country, which, according to Samuel Huntington, was founded by them.

England is a Christian nation, China represents in its own understanding the culture of the Han population, irrespective of its minorities. All countries have returned to their roots.

Sonia Gandhi is a citizen, Rahul und Priyanka qualify, because of their father Rajeev Gandhi, for a full identity.

We observe a systematic attempt to destroy India's 'identity.' Barely a mentioning of the empire of Vijayanagar, too much emphasis on the Mughals. Our identity has been maimed by the British.

India was one hundred percent 'Hindu' before all invasions. Our identity is 'Hindu' of those, who say with pride, that their ancestors have been 'Hindus'.

Genetic studies have proved, that the basic race harbours the DNA of all Indians. The DNA of Brahmins and 'Scheduled Castes' is the same in our big 'Hindustani'-family. Don't get ever divided. The British spoke falsely of Aryans in the North and Dravidians in the South. The legendary 'Ravana' (The symbol of 'evil' in Hindu mythology) was a Brahmin from a village nearby the Delhi suburb of Noida in Uttar Pradesh."

It is interesting to observe, how Subrahmaniam Swamy referred to the Hindu mythology as an alleged reality.

„The construction of a Ram Temple is an important issue. It is a great difference between a temple, which remains always a temple and a mosque. The Ram Temple must go back to the Hindus.

The Supreme Court decided, that a mosque can be shifted, since it is not more than a place, which facilitates prayers. The Archaeological Survey of India has proven with its excavations that there was a big temple below the destroyed 'Babri Mosque' in Ayodhya. This area has to be given back to the Hindus, this is also binding for the Modi-government."

Swamy declared, that the Muslims only argued, that they have been holding for about 350 years a kind of „adverse possession“ of the Babri Masjid, although throughout history there have been protests against this and prayers did not really take place there.

After the destruction of the Ayodhya-Mosque the 'High Court' of Allahabad had decided, that the area below two domes should be given to Hindus and the one below one dome to Muslims.

Swamy argued, that this would be not acceptable for Hindus, because it would be very well possible to change the location of a mosque ('make shift').

„At the place of the old mosque and the original temple Lord Ram has been born, this is our firm belief. I have won the court case with regard to Ram Situ – a kind of natural bridge to Sri Lanka. We have a fundamental right to pray in Ayodhya. The whole area belongs to Rama. God is the owner, he was born in Ayodhya.

The government of Uttar Pradesh is against it, although it has earned till now about 400 crores (One crore is about 140 000 Euro). The UP-government is now part of the central dispute. I appeal to Muslims: Leave this area and build at the other side of the river."

Swamy became more explicit and aggressive: „The Muslim invaders destroyed about 40 000 temples. We demand Ayodhya, Kashi Vishwanath in Varanasi and the temple in Mathura. I offered Muslims a so-called 'Krishna'-Packet. If they don't agree to it, then we will ask for 40 000 temples instead of three. If the Ram 'Mandir' (Temple) finally belongs to us, then we will demand both the two other

temples. The Ram Temple will be liberated by legal means. I am glad, that this issue has been included in the BJP-Manifesto for Uttar Pradesh.“

In the midst of his speech, Subrahmaniam Swamy mentioned, that from the list of old civilisations by UNESCO, the Hindu-civilisation is the only one, which continues. *„Notwithstanding 800 years of Islamic and 200 years of British rule, until today 80% of the population are Hindus. Hindus fought. We cannot give this away in the name of secularism.*

Parsis from Iran and Jews are examples, how they have been welcomed and never prosecuted in our civilisation. Who can lecture us in this regard. Our theology says, that all religions lead to god. We must keep up our identity.“

Swamy referred to the *Islamic State* (IS) and its sympathizers in Kerala and Mangalore, *„who are trained and receive money.*

We are above all Hindus. I am against 'appeasement'. Dividing Hindus against each other is done consciously. There is a fear amongst the international community that we raise against all these attempts. Trump is more extreme than us.

I do not deny some contributions of Muslims and Christians to our civilisation, but our identity marks our Hindu culture.“

Subrahmaniam Swamy opined, that building a Ram-temple would be legally justified *„After the elections in Uttar Pradesh I will return to the Supreme Court and ask for daily hearings of the court. Mosques are removed for various reason in Saudi-Arabia, Pakistan and England.*

There is only one place, where Ram was born. If we win the case till July 2017, then the pre-fabricated temple can be built in 6 to 8 months.

The temple in Tirupathi is financially controlled by the government. From this income also pilgrimages of Muslims are financed. The government has no right over these finances, they should go into the hands of Saddhus.

It is high time that we transformed the temple to what it has been once. It was a center for the community, to be confident, in order to create a consciousness to be a free Hindu, to know the correct history, to be ready to transit from Hindi to our ancient Sanskrit – 60 % of Kannada derives from Sanskrit – and to create a determination in oneself, to fight against aggressions. The next time we should really beat Pakistan and divide it into four pieces.“

In the midst of supportive slogans by the audience, Swamy said. *„England is a small country. Sanskrit, Hindi and English should altogether continue for a while, before Sanskrit – a colloquial version can be learned in 10 days – becomes the basic language. Do use English for professional purposes for some time, then get rid of it.*

Nehru was against Hindi and Sanskrit. Give us a maximum of 35 years, in order to change this.“

With regard to the Ram temple, S. Swamy concluded: *„We will definitely win this case. There is no convincing argument left to the Muslims. If the BJP will win the elections in Uttar Pradesh, then its government will become part of this court case.“*

Conclusion: The Ayodhya- and Ram temple issues are again part of the BJP-agenda in U. P., also with regard to the *Lok Sabha* elections in 2019.

This will most probably increase the existing 'communal tensions'. The former Harvard-Professor Swamy, – in spite of his intelligence - is regarded by many as a 'dangerous politician', who plays the game of the RSS and risks with his proposals an increase of intra-society tensions, which could lead to the uncontrolled use of force, with the alleged aim, to gain power and demonstrate the supremacy of Hinduism.

The cadre organisation Jamat-e-Islami Hind

Klaus Voll and Joyce Lobo

The foundation of the *Jamat-e-Islami Hind* (JeIH) in 1950 in Mangalore was opposed by the clerics and not accepted initially by the Muslim community itself. The religious heads mostly held sway over how people lived and conducted themselves in the society and in particularly the role of women. They focussed the energies of people only towards worship and devotion. The religious leaders' authority over the people was almost complete even in Mangalore.

The 47 years old JeIH-President Muhammad Kunhi, a father of five children, emphasized, *"that Islam is a natural and practical religion, so much so that it has answers to all aspects of one's life, which was suppressed by the clerics, who wanted to push the believers primarily into prayers. Muslim education in the 1970's was weak. We concentrate on creating awareness."*

Cadre organisation JeIH

The JeIH is clearly a cadre organization with firm criteria for access and membership. Mangalore City has 34 members and cadres, Dakshina Kannada another 80. About one thousand workers are active for the JeIH and Kunhi assumes, that there are about one hundred thousand sympathizers.

Media and social activities

The JeIH is active in the media, with an own weekly *Sanmarga*, since 15 years and a circulation of 10,000 copies as well as *Anupama*, a women's monthly with a circulation of 15,000 copies and other Islamic literary works.

Its full-time media secretary Shabeer Ahmed is also a social activist. The JeIH-President Kunhi, who is a publisher, uses since 25 years machines from Heidelberg. The JeIH utilizes its media like the TV channel *MediaOne*, the *Madhyama* daily, and other language weeklies etc. It runs a daily in Malayalam – the main language of Kerala – and the *Dawat* daily in Hindi.

The JeIH provides also social services and possesses an 'Interest Welfare Society', yet interest free banking is not allowed by the RBI. These activities allude, as if the JIH entertains straits of a kind of 'parallel government'.

Position towards 'communal tensions'

„We have learnt to live with the communal tensions, we cope with them over time. The animosities are more economically based. The Muslim community today in Mangalore is more affluent due to the remittances from the Gulf, business build-ups etc.“

Kunhi said, *“that the lower castes have risen in society and also in the Sangh Parivar. The influence of Brahmins is on the decline. The Brahmin suppression has been camouflaged by fanning anti-Muslim sentiments. They consider the Muslims as the enemy. We create awareness about communal tensions.*

The Hindutva forces brought about the alignment of interests between the JeIH and the Muslim clerics, though differences of opinions do exist. Also, today there is greater awareness and education amongst the clerics.”

According to Kunhi, *“Jamat-e-Islami Hind works for the unity of religions, supports dialogues, mixing and mingling with other religions, etc.”*

Outreach programmes

The JeIH's approach is positive. It has joined with the secular forces and utilizes methods such as dialogues, through social outreach, reaching out to the youth, training the cadres etc. It trains its cadres to focus on local issues - like environment, the Mangalore *Special Economic Zone* (SEZ) - and national issues rather than solely focusing on Muslims alone. It conducts seminars, symposiums, discussions, celebrates different festivals, conducts peace and harmony campaigns in educational institutions, performs street plays etc. *“We give a lot of importance to women. In 2016-17, we conduct also a Peace and Humanity Camp for two months and street plays.”*

Positions towards a Uniform Civil Code and the Ayodhya Temple issue

The JeIH is not in favour of bringing in the *Uniform Civil Code* (UCC), as there is no clarity and uniformity of thought as to what it should comprise of amongst Indians. The several personal laws are already at variance with each other. Mr. Kunhi cited, that a lawyer like Ram Jethmalani – who has been Law minister under Vajpayee - had argued that the UCC is not possible in a country like India which has diverse cultures and systems. Mr. Kunhi was of the opinion that let all the faiths come together on a common platform on the UCC to decide as to what is good for all.

M. Khuni scoffed at S. Swamy's address on the Ram Temple as a *“recycled speech”*. He reiterated the JeIH's stand saying, that the Supreme Court judgment on the Temple will be abided, but when presented with credible evidence.

Rejection of 'Sufism', Polygamy and the 'Burqa'

The JEIH basically rejects the concept of *'Sufism'*, which is a kind of relation between the believer through a saint to God. It prevailed particularly in the past. Kunhi said: *“Sufism is a mix with Hinduism. Islam does not support a personality cult or worship of saints, nor believes it in cures etc. The change of a person should come from within. We have this conviction like Wahabism, yet JeIH criticizes the Wahabis for being split into groups, that have given rise to different thoughts, some being extremist in nature, which the JeIH does not endorse.”*

Kunhi: *“Polygamy is reduced to a maximum of four wives. Widows, the sex ratio, no relations outside marriage, the needs of a man which cannot be fulfilled by his wife due to health reasons, are the reasons for having more than one wife. Usually 90% of the men have only one wife. But other*

religions have more than one wife through divorce.”

Kuhni observed, *“The dress code for women is the neatest, aesthetic appeal and actually liked by women themselves. Women accept the dress code, but it has not to be necessarily all the time in black colour; completely covered with a head scarf is acceptable.”*

PFI, the Social Democratic Party of India (SDPI) and the Islamic State (IS)

According to Kuhni, the Muslim communal forces in Mangalore have created likewise structures as in the Hindu communal groups. The *Popular Front of India* (PFI) is like the RSS of Mangalore, having created a political party like SDPI in civic bodies, youth and women wings etc.

The *Popular Front of India* (PFI) has bases in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Mangalore, where it was earlier known as the *'Karnataka Forum of Dignity'*. The political wing of the PFI is called *Social Democratic Party of India* (SDPI), which participates in elections and has currently a Corporator in Mangalore and is represented in some of the village councils (*'Panchayats'*) in rural areas.

As there is besides the SDPI no Islamic party in Karnataka, a large number of Muslims vote for the Congress. The JcH cites that communal tensions, like many members of the civil society in Mangalore believe, are a big problem. This is blamed on the rise of the *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS), whose cadres are stronger in South Canara - that includes the present Dakshina Kannada and Udupi districts. Most of its think tanks are based in these areas.

Kuhni also pointed out, that the ISIS state has 99% of its victims, who follow the Islamic faith and therefore raised doubts over its creation vis-à-vis the West. He said, *“that the media and vested political groups have created a hype on Islam, its dress code for women etc.”*

Part II India - Foreign Policy Developments

Dr. Joyce Lobo writes on India pursuing its relations with African nations and those from the Gulf particularly focusing on the close tie up with the UAE.

India's engagement with Africa: Rwanda and Kenya

India's engagement with the continent of Africa has gained consistency of sorts but not sufficient to call it strategic be it with any of its nations. Visibility in terms of media, cultural exchanges, influence from the Indian diaspora is low when compared to other countries of the West. However, Prime Minister Narendra Modi may be commended for consistently making the continent very much a part of his foreign policy. However the countries that the Modi government has engaged with are connected to New Delhi's interest in the *Indian Ocean Region* (IOR).

Modi visited the Seychelles and Mauritius in March 2015; Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania and Kenya in July, 2016; and this year he has hosted the leaders of Rwanda and Kenya. President Pranab Mukherjee visited Ghana, Ivory Coast and Namibia in June 2016. Vice President Hamid Ansari visited Morocco and Tunisia in May-June 2016; and Nigeria and Mali in Sept-Oct 2016. Except for Rwanda and Mali, the rest of these countries are coastal in nature. This gives credence to the policy of India as the net security provider to the littoral states in the IOR. Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa, Seychelles, Mauritius and Tanzania alongwith India are members of the members of the *Indian Ocean Rim Association* (IORA).

India has engaged with Africa for gaining access to its markets, to support its investments while being positively involved in the latter's human resource development. In terms of cultural cooperation there is much to be desired. This cooperation fused with youth cooperation will added factors to being India closer to Africa.

In October 2015, the 3rd *India Africa Forum Summit* (IAFS) was held at New Delhi which saw the wide participation of almost all the African countries numbering 50. This outreach of India towards Africa is to gain the latter's support in the *Nuclear suppliers Group* (NSG), for the *International Solar Alliance* (ISA) initiative, for the permanent membership in the yet to be reformed and expanded UN Security Council, reform of the UNO, at the *World Trade Organization* (WTO), for climate change, fight against terrorism, etc.

President of Rwanda in India: In the second week of January (9-11, 2017), the President of Rwanda Paul Kagame visited India. Kagame brought alongwith him a business delegation who participated in the 8th *Vibrant Gujarat Summit*. Both Rwanda and India have decided to enhance relations to a *Strategic Partnership* and hence a declaration was issued.

Rwanda since the genocide in 1999, has successfully attempted a sustained economic growth. Rwanda is the 25th country to sign Modi's initiative of ISA. India assists Rwanda in terms of skill development, training of defence forces, educational scholarships, agriculture, power generation, etc.

The current bilateral trade between Rwanda and India stands at US\$ 526 million only, though trade has doubled since the last five years. There is a sense of hope, as highlighted during Kagame's visit

that Rwanda depends on Indian manufactured goods. Hence opportunities are rife for India. Indian imports become expensive due to the involvement of third party traders. This visit has been instrumental in finding a solution as to how the Indian imports become cheaper by circumventing third parties through establishment of distribution centers and warehouses within Rwanda.

President of Kenya in India: After his visit to Kenya six months ago, Modi held talks with President Uhuru Kenyatta on Jan., 11. Both sides have keen interest in areas of healthcare, tourism, information technology, agriculture, blue economy and energy. India having a shortage in supply of pulses today is dependent on countries like Rwanda, Kenya etc for imports. Agreements included a line of credit towards agriculture mechanization. In order to operationalise the *MoU on Defence Cooperation* both sides have directed the *Joint Working Group on Defence and Maritime Cooperation* to an early meeting. Similarly both sides have decided to establish a *Joint Working Group on Security* to look into areas such as cyber security, counter terrorism, combating drugs, narcotics, human trafficking and money laundering.

Bilateral trade between India and Kenya stood at US\$ 4.235 billion of which Indian exports amounted to US\$ 4.118 billion (2014-15). Due to lack of clear cut policy amongst the nations like Kenya, Africa has relied on export of raw materials while importing manufactured goods from countries like India. This is one of the reasons as to why India has not been able to invest in the manufacturing sector given the short sightedness of African leaders. India needs to push the African leadership by convincing them to revamp their economic policies to attract more investments and improve their manufacturing base. Sub Sahara Africa relies for about 80% of imports in the form of raw materials. India exports more than 60% of the consumer goods to the same.

India-UAE: A partnership in the making

India and the *United Arab Emirates* (UAE) have established better cooperation at the highest level since August 2015. During this time, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, after a span of 34 years, visited the UAE. This gave way to the establishing of the comprehensive strategic partnership between both the countries. Today both sides have cooperation in several areas. However trade and commerce, energy security, welfare of the Indian migrant workers, and lastly defence and security cooperation have emerged as the four important pillars of the cooperation between both the countries.

The Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi General Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan was the Chief Guest of the Republic Day Parade in India. As a first, the contingent from the UAE Air Force marched in the parade. He was accompanied by government officials and businessmen. This becomes the second visit of Al Nahyan since February 2016.

Bilateral trade between both countries has reached US\$ 50 billion (2016). India which is in need of investors for its development projects has an understanding with the UAE who has the largest *Sovereign Wealth Fund*. The present discussions have focused on the utilization of the US\$ 75 billion that had been promised for the coming years. About 4 billion has been invested by various companies of the UAE in real estate, housing etc. UAE is today the fifth largest source of energy. About 2.6 million Indians reside in the UAE.

Both sides have signed an *Agreement on Comprehensive Strategic Partnership* on January 25. This gives a general framework to what the comprehensive partnership should look like. About fourteen agreements were signed. As part of this alleviation of cooperation between both the countries, the

first *India-UAE Strategic Dialogue* was held at New Delhi on January 20. Areas that came under the discussions were trade and investments, energy security, defence, electronics, IT and space. Most importantly security cooperation in the background of terrorist attacks have been extensively discussed. The assassination of the five UAE diplomats in Afghanistan by Taliban has been a sufficient cause for the UAE to make a turn-around. It had supported the Taliban in 1996-2001. This change has been another factor for bringing India and the UAE together to back each other in combating terrorism. The UAE lent its support during the Uri or Pathankot attack by Pakistan terrorists in India. The tensions that have arisen between Pakistan and the UAE due to these assassinations can be better channelized by India to gain the support of Gulf nations in its counter terrorism strategies.

The MoU on defence cooperation is on manufacturing and technology. Both sides would explore at armaments, armored person carriers, joint production of air crafts etc. Other agreements signed were in the areas of cyber space, maritime transport, maritime economic activities, Highways and Road transport, human trafficking, Small and Medium Enterprises, agriculture etc. The agreement on *Oil Storage And Management* aims to establish a framework for the storage of crude oil by *Abu Dhabi National Oil Company* in India in the underground crude oil storage facility at Mangaluru, Karnataka. This is part of India's strategic reserve system wherein about six million barrels of oil will be stored meeting half the capacity of reserves. India overall is building emergency storage in underground caverns. This is targeted to hold 36.87 million barrels of crude to meet the average oil demand of 10 days.