

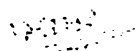
DISINTEGRATION OF STATES

AN ANALYSIS ON SECESSION,
SEPARATION AND EMERGENCE
OF NEW NATIONALITIES

RAVI K. WADHAWAN



DISINTEGRATION OF STATES



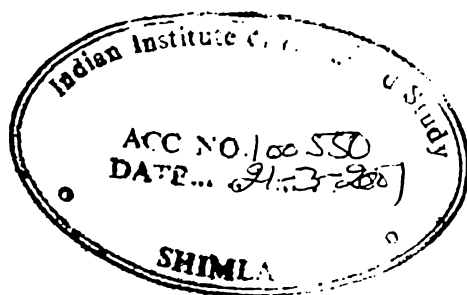
Ravi K. Wadhawan

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Preface

This book is unique, unique in the sense that the main focus of this book is on disintegration, cold war, ethnic conflict, terrorism and conflict around the world. The author has no geographical boundary for his study of the subject, instead he has chosen the whole world as his canvas. Right from Kashmir, Northeast India, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Korea, Germany, Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, West Asia to the disintegration of USSR, he studies all in brief, crisp and thought-provoking chapters.

The author in his assessment of reasons for the disintegration of USSR is right when he holds the view that the economic stagnation as the main reason for the downfall of USSR. But one line should have been added that the mad arms race, and the race for the parity in fields like space, science, technology, and other fields with USA led the eventual disintegration of USSR. While USA has the enough surplus to invest dollars in these fields, the Soviet economy was unable to pull the heavy load.

It is author's firm belief that the roots of terrorism lie in economic neglect by the ruling authority of a certain section of its population. This is not always true, the Afghan crisis, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the crisis in West Asia refute this

theory, they have some ideological factors or reasons other than economic ones for the mess they are living in their national lives.

The author expresses his view that terrorism in Kashmir is due to the economic negligence of central government of its population. One would like to put a question: Does Kashmir qualify itself for heavy industrial development? Native entrepreneurship is absent. Then who will invest money in Kashmir, Indian industrialists or MNCs? The law of land is that no one except a Kashmiri can buy or sell land. Even if the problem of terrorism is subsided, the heavy industrial development of Kashmir is impossible. For Kashmir only small scale industries, horticulture, tourism, cottage industries, and handicrafts are the available options for economic development.

The economic disparity is an all India phenomenon. The states like UP, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have become a huge consumer market for the products of companies like Hindustan Lever, Colgate Palmolive, Proctor and Gamble, Brooke Bond, Tata Tea and a score of other companies. The economic development of these states has come to a halt. Latest economic reforms have helped only a few states.

Shall we await for rise of terrorism in UP, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal, and Rajasthan too, by going through the logic of economic negligence? The subtle fact is that Kashmir is strategically and geopolitically important for India, China and Pakistan. Neither side can afford to keep its hands off from Kashmir. Terrorism in Kashmir is not an internal, ethnic, or religious secessionist problem. It is a 'Big Game' played by Pakistan. Be it Kashmir or Northeast, the insurgents are paid, trained, funded and armed by the powers hostile to India. Terrorism is a weapon in the hands of a nation against its neighbour.

Above all, the author is meticulous in presenting facts, his observations are acute, which make the book interesting. We hope this book will benefit the readers interested in international affairs, and the teachers and students of political science as a whole.

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Introduction

The journey of man from nomadism to the formation of first State must have been long and arduous one. But once the State was formed, the prime and sole purpose of whose creation was to ensure collective and greater welfare of its citizens, it put certain restrictions on its citizens and at the same time, gave them certain privileges and rights. Not only this, the people forming the State also imposed certain restrictions on the State and granted it certain powers to perform the function of smooth and effective running of the State and this mutual give and take has since then been the declared and cherished aim of all states, democratic or dictatorial.

As the time passed, this bunch of restrictions, powers, duties and rights assumed the shape of a Constitution which is a written document in most parts of the world. This was the birth of a Constitutional state. Since then, the efforts have been made not only to preserve it but also to make it more powerful and accountable so that it delivers greater good to the people constituting it.

Over a long period of journey, the State has travelled a very interesting march from being run by the religious

heads, constitutional monarchs, dictators, autocrats and finally it began to be governed by the elected representatives of the people. This transition got halted over here making it abundantly clear that a democratic state is best suited to fulfil the aspirations of its people.

The dismantling of the Soviet Union has further made this belief stronger. The totalitarian rot of decades had made its edifice so weak that it fell like a pack of cards under its own weight and mass. And now when the successful completion of first ever democratic election process in Russia, the largest segment of the Soviet Union, is complete, it has been proved beyond all doubts that democracy is the ultimate destiny of all the nations.

Though a new democratic state, the handling of the secessionist revolt in Chechenya by Boris Yeltsin is a very reassuring event in the sense that it has enhanced the faith of world community in the democratic leadership of the Russia. It is due to this hope and faith of Western world in the ability of the Soviet republics that continuous Western economic support to Russia and the other new Soviet nationalities which are formed as a result of the fragmentation of the Soviet Union is continuing.

A comprehensive account of the plight of Korean peninsula has also been discussed in this book to enliven the negative role that cold war rivalry played in shaping the destiny of the smaller nations till late 80s. Along with Korea, a small account of the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia and havoc that cold war rivalry created in Afghanistan has also been discussed. The withdrawal of power axis of cold war from both Cambodia and Afghanistan subsequently led to a state of fierce and heart shaking civil war in both these countries which has literally put everything to a grinding halt in Cambodia and Afghanistan. Irony of the fate is that Afghanistan and Cambodia have almost been forgotten by the world community and are left to their fate to live the morass of

the cold war in their national lives. Thanks to Gorbachev, the era of cold war is over and world is thus saved from witnessing many new Cambodias and Afghanistans.

The politics of division of nations shall remain an inconclusive discussion if it fails to incorporate the events leading to German division at the end of the World War II. The feeling of racial superiority and ultra-nationalism of German people espoused by Hitler's mindless zeal of ruling the world led to the division of Germany at the very heart of Europe. The killing of the Jews by Hitler to purge the German society is one of the darkest deeds of our times. The World War II left 40 million dead. The story of World War II reminds us of the utter failure of reason over the act of savage hunger for power. A chronological understanding of the World War II and its consequences thus form the very important aspect of discussion in this book. Ironically, Italy which was the centre of European renaissance which led to introduction of humanism in Europe, was represented in World War II by Mussolini who together with Hitler symbolised the most brutal savagery in Europe.

But somehow Europe has learnt to come to terms with itself. It is one of the most mysterious aspects of European way of life. It has fought the most bitter wars. But at the end of it all, the good sense prevails in Europe. Germany was divided and so was it reunited. The old enemies in Europe now have free borders. The end of the cold war united entire Europe to the extent of nearly on the verge of evolving a European confederation encompassing military and economic fields with a common currency.

But elsewhere, to be precise, in south Asia, the scenario is just in total contrast. It suffers from a syndrome of not willing to solve the problems which stare it in the face. For instance, even after division of India in 1947 which created the new state of Pakistan, the collective wisdom didn't dawn at the people of the two countries. There is no platform on the world fora where India and Pakistan don't clash. Despite

the fact that peoples of both our countries are living in the midst of abject poverty, a mindless arms race is going on. One tries to outdo the other. To be precise, both India and Pakistan have become blatantly reactionary towards each other. If India expels some of the diplomats of Pakistan's embassy in India, the same will be reciprocated by Pakistan's government and vice-versa.

Pakistan has made the things very hard for India. From Punjab, it has now penetrated in Kashmir to spawn the cult of terrorism. The success of a government in Pakistan depends upon the fact that how much India bashing it has undertaken on various international fora. It seems that politics of reconciliation is non-existent in Indo-Pak relations.

The crux of this action and reaction in Indo-Pak relationship seems to be the vengeance of 1971 which carved out a baby state of Bangladesh on the eastern-territory of Pakistan. Late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's retort, "The people of Pakistan may eat grass to wage a hundred year Jihad against the Indian state", is an ample proof that vengeance exists to the extent of madness. But the fact remains that creation of Bangladesh in East Pakistan is the direct result of discrimination against the majority Bengalis by the successive governments of Pakistan which were highly tilted to favour the Muslims of West Pakistan. A very clear cut and objective case had been made out in this book to prove this.

Terrorism has become the way of life in the modern world. But in the post World War era, the hot-bed of terrorism has largely been confined to Asia. The nature of terrorism in Asia is primarily the political one. In Palestine and Kashmir it has religious contours as well but its prime source and cause is political. It is only because the nature of terrorism in Palestine was by and large political one that negotiated peace, however fragile it may be, has dawned upon West Asia. Same is true of Kashmir. It is fast attaining normalcy. The democratic machinery has taken full round

in Kashmir. First, with successful completion of parliamentary elections in which voters' turn-out was around 70 per cent and in second round, Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference (NC) was voted back to power. With an elected state government at helm, it may well be the beginning of a new era in the strife torn state.

Mohajirs in Pakistan and LTTE in Sri Lanka are two comparatively new entrants in the troubled south Asian scenario. But the main problem in tackling the menace of terrorism in Asia is that political leadership in Asia is weak in its resolve to eradicate it due to various factors. While discussing terrorism, due emphasis has been laid on these factors in this book. Insurgency in north-east of India which is direct result of the economic neglect of the region is also given its due place in the book under the title "Dilemma of the Indian State". Right to self determination and abuse of human rights which are both cause and effect of each other, are very objectively discussed. The right to self determination is primarily a consent given by the socialist world and human rights is primarily a concern of the Western democracies. Its selective use in specific cases both by the socialist and Western countries has rendered these concepts farcical.

A very honest attempt has been made in drawing unbiased conclusion and depicting the events that led to the division of nations and subsequent complexities in their national lives. Special focus has been made on the role of the United States in the post cold war era which made the world unipolar with existence of only one super-power.

RAVI K. WADHAWAN

1

Terrorism: A Tool of Division or Liberation?

The word 'terrorism' has become one of the most fascinated, talked about and even house-hold name in the contemporary world. As a matter of fact, terrorism has become a way of social and political expression of people's grievances. In West Asia—it is the way of life; in Afghanistan—the filtrate of cold war, terrorism has become both an obsession and profession and in rest of the world also, it has been got identified with one or the other aspect of life. The discussion on human rights also emanates from the spate of terrorism unleashed by the state.

But one common trait of terrorism is that it strikes terror wherever it exists. To an average man, terrorism implies something bad. But despite the fact that this badness is associated with it, it is essentially a product of greater awareness, aspiration and a very sensitive state of idealism. As a matter of fact, terrorism if it is not state sponsored, is an effort towards democratisation of human aspirations. But while this is said, it is certainly not intended to justify it or instigate its followers to realise their ideals or ends through

the means of terror practice. I am a firm believer in Gandhian philosophy of ends and means. A good end achieved with the help of foul means is better not achieved. But because of negative anathema attached to terrorism, very few people know that 95 per cent of terrorism existing anywhere in the world is sponsored by the state and is perpetrated on the innocent civilians.

For instance, Roman Catholics have been subjugated for centuries by Protestants who enjoy direct material and moral support from the successive rulers in Britain. Creation of state of Israel in 1948 for homeless Jews and its subsequent expansionist policies is a case of blatant injustice meted out to Palestinians which transformed West Asia into a breeding ground for mushrooming of terrorists. There is no denying that the kind of torture that Jews were subjected to by Hitler in his anti-Semitic purge finds no parallel in the history of mankind but the right of existence of Israel does not mean the extermination of Palestinian race. This chapter takes a general view of contemporary terrorism in the world at large.

European imperialism in almost all the Asian and African countries was of course a savage act of blatant transgression of national sovereignty of weaker nations. But at the same time, it gave birth to the vibrant nationalism in Asia and Africa. But the same high level of consciousness which unified the people against the colonial misrule degenerated during the post-colonial era when those who were assigned the task of giving a just government to their people started their own misrule and hence became the neo-oppressors within their own national boundaries. Asia, Africa and Latin America had the misfortune of having to live with many such dictators, autocrats, religious fundamentalists and military commanders. The net result of these new changes has made these continents a troubled land undergoing a complete metamorphosis bringing them

in opposition to their own rulers to realise their democratic and economic well being.

But unlike other countries, one of the most enigmatic phase of terrorism could be seen in West Asia. It can be called enigmatic because terrorism in West Asia is essentially an instrument of defence rather than offence. It had extreme contours of nationalistic, political and religious *jihad*. After having faced the worst form of terror perpetrated on them by Nazis in which two million Jews perished, a feared collective onslaught by the Arab World was no small challenge to their existence. Thus, while even being on offensive since 1948 against Arabs, the baby state of Israel was essentially on defensive because Arabs did not recognise the right of a Jewish state to exist, of course, with sole exception of Egypt which entered into a peace treaty with Israel under the Camp David Agreement for which it was ostracised by the Arab world for a long time.

But Arabs were no rogues either. Yaseer Arafat, the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was popularly known to be a Chairman without a chair. While Western world would brand him a terrorist, the world at large would believe him to be a terrorist always being terrorised by the Jews. Though a statesman to Palestinian until recently, he was without a state of his own. This made him one of the most unique statesmen in the world and hence the darling of millions of people all around the world.

In 1969, he became the leader of Fatah, a guerrilla group fighting to remove Israelis from its occupied territory. Idealistic fervour of both Israelis and Palestinians coupled with hard reprisal policy of Israel made entire West Asia a breeding ground for terrorism. But terrorism in West Asia was essentially a patriotic terrorism imbibing the spirit of mind boggling idealism. During its hey days, more than 50 guerrilla groups existed in Palestine. While the sole aim of all of them was to fight Israel, internecine war amongst them was also a common trait. Since terrorism in Palestine

emanated primarily from idealism and its cause was fully justified, there was never a paucity of funds available to propagate the Palestinian struggle against Israel. Entire Arab world was funding Palestinian movement. This is one of the reasons that terrorism in Palestine never slowed down.

But thanks to the dawn of goodwill upon the international community, a painstaking series of negotiations and persuasive shuttle diplomacy at last led to the establishment of a peace treaty between Yaseer Arafat and late Y. Rabin. Although the post peace path in West Asia is no cake walk, yet the Palestine accord is one of the most outstanding victories of human society. Even after the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin and ascendance to power of an extreme rightist, Netanyahu, to the premiership of Israel, one hopes the politics of reconciliation will continue and a lasting peace will ultimately dawn in the West Asia. But attempts by Netanyahu regime to settle Jewish settlements in Palestine is a grave threat endangering the peace process in the region.

But while a fragile peace has dawned upon the West Asia, the post cold war withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan has engulfed Afghans into a fratricidal civil war. War addict Mujaheedins who are splintered into various hostile groups, are waging war against one another in order to wrest control of Afghanistan. Taliban militia supported by Pakistan, are desperately trying to be in command in Afghanistan but they are being strongly repulsed by Hikmatyar, Shah Masood, Dostum and other outfits in Afghanistan. Not only this, these off the job Mujaheedins are freely available to wage contract terrorism any where in the world. Also, with a huge stockpile of left over weapons which includes even Stinger and Patriot missiles and easy access to arm-bazaars in neighbouring Pakistan, the tip of the South Asia faces a very uncertain future. Adding fuel to the fire, sinister ambitions of Pakistan in power politics of any future establishment in Afghanistan

has potentials to create another West Asia in Afghanistan whose ill-effects will have to be borne out by the entire region including Pakistan. Five different armies exchange shells with one another in Afghanistan. Who is fighting whom is not clear and a civil war is in full operation. The worst of it all, the world has stopped paying attention to Afghanistan. Unfortunately, Afghanistan has become such a flux that it is not clear whom to talk for bargaining peace in Afghanistan.

But irony of the fate is that both the United States and Russia (the largest segment of the dismantled Soviet Union) are sitting unconcerned after having washed their hands off Afghanistan. Pakistan for its own greater good must not incite Peshawar based rival guerrilla groups to further its petty ambitions in Afghanistan because in the long run, it might endanger the fragile internal fabric of Pakistan because Pakistan has many serious problems at home to address to keep itself united. Moreover, its aim of installing a puppet regime in Afghanistan is also fraught with risks. The so called government of Talibans which has a nefarious backing of Pakistan, is facing very serious opposition from the cross-section of Afghanistan.

Sri Lanka, a dot in the Indian Ocean, has witnessed the assassination of two of its premiers, scores of other political dignitaries and thousands of civilians. The LTTE, the secessionist organisation led by Tamil Leader, V. Prabhakaran is waging an armed struggle for an independent Ealem. Unlike other secessionist groups, LTTE is a formidable force in this battle. Though pinned down by an Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), LTTE has time and again shown the tremendous resilience to strike back with a bang. The LTTE is one of the most professionally managed terrorist groups having ulteriorly idealistic cadres working under the monolithic personality cult of Prabhakaran. Since there is no parallel personality clash in the LTTE nor did Prabhakaran allowed any big personality to challenge his

undisputed superiority in the LTTE, it has remarkable organisational unity. But unfortunately, for a micro-nation like Sri Lanka, it is pitched up against a very efficiently managed organisation. The recent successes met by Chandrika Kumaratunge against LTTE are commendable because it is for the first time after the IPKF presence in the emerald island that the LTTE is forced to be in its defensive shell. The presence of IPKF in Sri Lanka to fight the tigers of LTTE was a disguised boon to the then Sri Lankan President late Julius Jayawardene who succumbed to Indian offensive of air dropping of food by Mirage in the Tamil areas which were facing blockade of even civil supplies.

But it was not too late after the recent Sri Lankan army's successes that the LTTE retaliated with a massive blast that ripped the Colombo's financial centre housing the Central Bank of Sri Lanka. Interestingly and alarmingly, the site of the blast was not far away from the President's Secretariat.

It is probably the impact of this blast and obvious recognition of the fact that there is no military solution to the ethnic problem that Chandrika Kumaratunge's Government is not ready to launch the second set of offensive against Tigers in Batticaloa and Jaffna Peninsula. Rather, it is trying to carry home the idea of creating a Tamil Province by amalgamating the Tamil areas in the Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka. But even the moderate Tamils are opposed to the clause of the package which gives the President a right to dissolve the proposed regional council and take over the administrative machinery without even giving any scope for a judicial review. This is the weakest link of the entire devolution package. No right to secede is understandable but absolute powers conferred on the President to reverse the autonomy of the region by an arbitrary Presidential proclamation is equally farcical. It is here where lies the bone of contention. But one positive development is that LTTE is now tilting towards floating a

political party. Maybe, what violence couldn't do, the politics may attain.

But whatever be the state of affairs in Sri Lanka, one thing is very clear, the small army establishment of Sri Lanka does not have endless men and material resources to take the Tigers head on. Thus ultimately, a political solution has to be found out to arrest the ethnic strife in Sri Lanka and it has to take Tigers into confidence to arrive at a tangible solution to the ethnic strife.

But India will do better to keep itself off the troubled waters of emerald because its own house is also made up of raw glasses. It is imperative for Indian Government to ensure that no material or moral support is shipped to emerald from Tamilnadu. Otherwise, our strong and justified opposition to Pakistan's interference in Kashmir and Punjab will lose its moral substance.

Discussion on terrorism will remain incomplete without special mention of Iran and Iraq—the two Islamic states which especially in Europe are seen as the rogue states. Branding them as rogue states is not a wholly misplaced idea. In fact, Iran and Iraq represent the epicentre of Islamic wave which once threatened the world with equally sinister support from Col. Gaddafi's Libya. Neither Iran nor Iraq face any secessionist dangers. Both represent acutely fanatic establishments using terror as means to remain in power.

Shah of Iran used his secret police, Savak, to decimate his opponents and the mad terror practised by Khomeini on the opponents of his regime left around one lakh Iranian killed most of them in the age group of 20-35. The infamous hostage drama of the US Embassy personnel is too well known to the world. It is not until Khomeini's appointed inheritor Ali Rafsanjani who took to power after the death of Khomeini that a sense of political civility dawned at Iran. Recent reversal of death sentence on Salman Rushdie is one such act which imparts a sense of civility to Iranian regime in the eyes of the world.

And just in its neighbourhood, is the land of wars. Iraq, a country close to outside vision and is living under the ruthless command of Saddam Hussein despite the drubbing it received at the hands of multi-national forces led by the United States for its misadventure in the neighbouring Kuwait. But despite the fact that Iraq is living under the rigorous UN sanctions and has more or less become a pariah in the community of nations, Saddam is well entrenched to the seat of power. For Saddam it is a victory of the sort against multinational forces in a sense that the former President of the United States, George Bush had vowed to dislodge Saddam, yet Saddam remains at helm.

As far as gulf war is concerned, had it not been the patience exercised by Israel against Saddam's Scud missile attack on Tel Aviv during the Kuwaiti War, the scenario of war would have assumed Arab-Israel contours. This would have forced even Saudi Arabia to pull out of the multi-national forces. But it was not to happen and Iraq alone had to face the consequences of its misadventure and rightly so. Iraq's nuclear and chemical warfare factories were ripped by forced landing of the International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) inspection team. Although it is a transgression of a nation's sovereignty but atomic and chemical weapons in the hand of a dictator like Saddam Hussein are very dangerous.

Saddam's credentials to run his dictatorial regime at home are no better. He never restrains from using ruthless power at his disposal to eliminate his adversaries. He even killed his son-in-law whom he assured a safe return from exile when he defected in opposition to Saddam's rule in Iraq. The plight of Kurds and deep rooted hatred for Shiaite Iran are few more issues which will keep Iraq in the focus of international terrorism for a long time to come.

The irony of the asian continent is that the scale of terror that it has witnessed in the post-colonial era is much more than what it had witnessed during the colonial rule and

worst of it all, the bulk of the post-colonial terror practised in Asia had been perpetrated by the state on its own people. Think of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea (previously known as Cambodia), the genocide committed by it on its own people can be equated only to Nazi's atrocities against Jews. Two million Kampuchians were massacred by the Pol Pot regime and even creation of Bangladesh left a million dead and ten millions taking refuge in India. Bangladesh is probably the only example in the history of mankind where a majority population of 56 per cent Bengalis in East Pakistan revolted against the genocidal intentions of a minority regime represented by 44 per cent Muslims of West Pakistan.

But while post-colonial terrorism whether practised by the state or a terrorist group had a cause and effect in Asia, in Africa, there had hardly been any well-entrenched system of Government and hence an organised terror is missing. Barring Egypt, Libya, Zimbabwe, Ghana, South Africa and few more, military rulers of the rank of Flight Lieutenants or Captains had been ruling African countries after a military coup either due to prevailing civil unrest or for the realisation of their political ambitions. The feudal tribal rivalry had been another reason for the terror practiced in Africa. Moreover, it wasn't until 1920 and that proper political groupings were formed in Africa. Thus interestingly, it is rather the lack of an organised form of governments in African countries that Africa is insulated from organised terrorism. But there is no dearth of unorganised terrorism in Africa.

This coupled with lack of proper democratic political institutions and inefficient economic management, almost entire Africa is being plagued by the worst kind of poverty, a state of civil war and rampant corruption. In such a scenario, there can not be any scope for the organised terrorism propagated either by the state or by a terrorist group. Excepting in Idi Amin's Uganda, South Africa,

Angola and few more countries, the post colonial terrorism in Africa had been haphazard and non-specific. There is large scale civic unrest in Africa due to acute poverty and misrule. It is probably due to unorganised and non-specific movements that Africa can hardly boast of towering political personalities. Dr. Nelson Mandela, Robert Mugabwe, S. Kenyata, Huseini Mubarak, Oliver Tambo and Sam Nujoma are only few African leaders who have left an indelible mark on the global political arena.

Thus, Africa can safely be called a continent almost free of organised terror but full of dysfunctional polity, utterly mismanaged economy and a social system lacking proper direction. Acute illiteracy and rampant corruption are the most vital ingredients contributing to the Africa remaining a dark continent despite the fact that it had been blessed with rich mineral wealth. Name a mineral and you will have it in Africa. But unfortunately, their march from yokes of slavery to modern world has not delivered them any meaningful good.

The journey of contemporary terrorism in Europe begins and terminates in Ireland. Ireland is the sole representative of contemporary terrorism in Europe. Starting with the rule of Henry VII in 1485, Northern Island was increasingly encroached by the Protestant settlements from Britain. Successive anti-Papal British rulers deliberately and wilfully made Catholics the second rated citizens in Ireland and in the middle of the seventeenth century, Ireland was assimilated into Britain. Suppression of Roman Catholics continued and it was only in 1919 that the Irish Republican Army (IRA) was formed which to this day is giving very hard time to the British Government.

The IRA led terrorism in Ireland reached its peak in 1969. Assassination of Lord Mountbatten and narrow escape of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher are the two thick points of scale of terror in Ireland.

The contemporary terrorism in the world primarily stems from local conditions in a given country which is very different from the ideological terrorism unleashed by the various states, particularly in twentieth century. A brief understanding of the ideological terrorism unleashed by its carrier states will complete the study of terrorism in the world.

One such example of ideological terrorism is the one practised by the communist movement on its people. The terror practised by communists on its people was purely meant to preserve its ideological structure. Although Russian Revolution against Tsarists was remarkable in its very low scale of blood shedding but in his zeal to preserve the structure of the newly created Soviet state, Stalin unleashed the terror with brute force on the opponents of Communism. He achieved this with the help of his Red Secret Police and when he used the state terror on its own people, particularly the landlords and his political opponents, the spirit of entire world was shaken. The single point agenda of Communism was based on the Marx's economic and material consciousness and entire machinery of the Soviet state was directed to attain this goal. In the process of realisation of this goal, a direct confrontation with the Western democracies came to the fore in the Soviet Union. The totalitarian rule in the now defunct Soviet Union was opposed to any form of thinking other than material and economic one that too state controlled. Any other form of thinking was considered redundant and misguided. But it is not that God creates free thinkers only in open societies. As many a free thinkers were born in the Soviet Russia as were in the Western democracies but they were made to bite the dust in Siberian exile. —

When Tsarism was uprooted after 1917 revolution, people damned it as 'Like the chewed Stump of a fag we spat their dynasty out'. People in the Soviet Union had the same feeling about the iron rule of Stalin but they couldn't

oppose his rule because of immense strength of the Soviet empire but when the Soviet Union was dismantled, the hatred of the people for communism was known to the world.

But while Western democracies encouraged free thinking, such people in the Soviet Union, China and rest of the communist world were subjected to the most dreaded kind of oppression and terror. Any opposition to state's apparatus and communist ideology, particularly, in the Soviet Union and China was considered an act of sedition and was meted out with brute force. This is how the communist world became a symbol of ideological terrorism resorted to by the State apparatus. Since the free thinking wasn't encouraged by the communist states, the social political and aesthetic development of the people in the communist regimes remained under-nourished.

Due to this, in less than a century of existence (except in China), the citadel of the vast communist empire crumbled under its own weight. The main reason behind its collapse is that an attempt was made to preserve a totalitarian state by not allowing its people to think other than what the state wanted them to think. To meet this end, the use of terror was justified by the communists. It is because of such a reign of terror being perpetrated by the diehard communists on their own people that the very people in whose name the great revolution of 1917 took place (Russians), were also instrumental in its demise as well.

The doing and un-doing of the Russian Revolution made it very clear to the world at large that no tangible statehood can be preserved with such a mindless use of force. But as was its making, even the unmaking of the Soviet empire was remarkably peaceful. But ironically, its continuation was full of unheard reign of terror.

The tales of terror unleashed by the leftist states on their people was more than matched by the rightist Mussolini

and Hitler. In the guise of extreme nationalism, both Mussolini and Hitler consolidated their precarious positions to establish them firmly to the saddles of power which later on they used with impunity on their opponents. Mussolini in Italy had won only 35 seats out of 138 but forced his way to power in 1922 with permission of the king who was soft on Mussolini but the king and elite section of the society were against socialists as they feared them to challenge their position of affluence and hold over landed property. Mussolini's zeal of national chauvinism was not an end but a mean to firmly establish his dictatorship. Both Mussolini and Hitler used democratic means only on soft options and used as much brute a force as leftist states on those who opposed them. Black shirt followers of Mussolini during two decades of his rule made Italy a one party system. The communists who had always been a very strong pillar of Italy's political system, were subjected to so much terror that almost entire band of communist cadres had to remain underground until Allied forces landed in Italy. Mussolini and his wife were done to death the same way as they were inflicting it upon those opposed to their rule of terror. They were lynched and hanged publicly.

But unlike Hitler, Mussolini was not popular at home. So he could not consolidate his position as much as Hitler could do in Germany. Hitler as a matter of fact was hero of German people. His ambition of debolshevikisation of Europe and people's faith in his ability to secure Germany its place of pride in the Europe were main reasons which helped him to amass almost undisputed absolute power in Germany.

It is from this endless reservoir of power that he drew both authority and courage to resort to brutality of killing six million Jews. His SS (*Schutz-Staffel*) force and Secret German Police, Gestapo, were the chief instruments of 'Kill the Jews mission'. Gas chambers were used to kill Jews en masse as they were considered the people responsible for

spreading Communism and defeat of Germany in the World War I. But it was not that he used brutal terror only on Jews. During the hey days of war when hospitals were getting filled with wounded soldiers and civilians, he advised medical community to give "painless sleep" to those who would be of no use to Germany after getting treatment. One can gauge from this that how much importance did Hitler give to an ordinary citizen in his relation to the state. This is how ultra-nationalism become so inhuman.

The kind of Nazi terror that Hitler resorted to can't be equalled by even Stalin. He may go down in the annals of history as the tallest military commander but he would at the same time be remembered as a terrorist without any parallel.

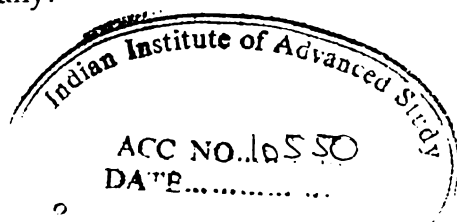
But in the midst of terrorism practised by the totalitarian (both extreme leftists and rightists) states, India stands out as a very interesting state whose name invariably gets linked to terrorism but more in being a victim of it rather than its perpetrator.

Being genuinely a vibrant and also the largest democracy of the world, neither India is expected to be a state practising terror on its own people nor does it actually practices terror on its own people. It is because of our impeccable credentials of being a state practising justice that there are hardly any takers of Pakistan's belligerence against India on various international fora. But to say that all is fine at our end, shall also be an overstatement.

Except in Punjab, where the genesis of terrorism was essentially political in nature, terrorism in Kashmir and insurgency in north-east of India is primarily due to economic disequilibrium. Somehow, down the line, the economic spread of prosperity could not be horizontal. It led to emergence of few haves and a plethora of havenots. Such spots of disparities became fertile grounds for even outsiders to penetrate Indian soil to create an atmosphere of anarchy.

This is exactly what happened in West Bengal in 1969. Pampered and ballooned by the Chinese, Charu Mazumdar, the leader of Naxalite movement in India started considering himself to be a very tall man. A strong moral and even material support from China and its pseudo revolutionary propaganda trapped many young men into the movement. They became so obsessed with Mao Zedong's revolutionary and anti-imperialist rhetorics that they resorted to anti-national activities and it was not until 1972 that illusion of West Bengal's middle class and even some intellectuals ended with revelation of Mao's secret parleys and contacts with 'imperialist America' in order to weaken India which at that time was perceived as the chief Soviet orbit in Asia. With hollowness of Mao's revolutionary spirit fully exposed and subsequent death of Charu Mazumdar, the first big upsurge in India died down its own end. But Chinese interference in northeast India continued. The insurgency in north-east India is separately discussed in this book.

The role of Indian state in containing insurgency in north-east is not that of a terror monger. This can be understood from the fact that the peace was won in Mizoram with Laldenga on a political pedestal and so was it won in Assam with Assam Gana Parishad but due to ambiguity in its accord, Assam is still reeling under uncertainty. Even Subhash Gheishing was calmed in Darjeeling with a political package. Last, but not the least, realising the economic neglect of this region, the Government of India is increasingly attending to the economic development activities in the region sensibly. Today, the political map of the entire north-east is having representative Governments. From this, one can easily understand that Indian state as a matter of its cultural and political heritage given to it by its great saints, social reformers and political leadership of the kind of Gandhi and Nehru, is morally committed to deal with its people democratically.



Indian state has never played a Pol Pot, a Yahya Khan, a Hitler, a Mussolini or a Stalin on its people. The great restraint exercised by the Indian Government in Kashmir can be gauged from the fact how it dealt with the Hazratbal crisis. Yes, Indian Government is singularly responsible for what happened in Punjab during eighties. After the operation Blue Star, it had used more force in Punjab than was expected of a democratic state. The excesses by police, paramilitary forces and even army have come to the fore. But one can't deny the fact that the return of peace to Punjab was immediately followed by the installation of a representative Government in Punjab. Not only this, setting of a Human Rights Commission (HRC) is also a very bold step towards discouraging the human rights abuses. It is known fact that lesser the human rights abuses, the easier it is to contain the terrorism. The perpetuation of human rights abuses creates a favourable world opinion in favour of those resorting to terrorism against the state even if their cause is not justified otherwise.

2

The Socio-Psychological Analysis of Terrorism

Contemporary terrorism is an applied science. It is being headed by scholars and intellectuals and has become as professionally managed as any other discipline. As a matter of fact, it has become an instrument of neo-liberalism when subjects of oppression are innocent civilians. This happens when a state itself starts resorting to terrorism and thus becomes an instrument of oppression. Since terrorism has become a scientific discipline, so has become its study. In today's world, no socio-political theme is as fascinating and romantic as terrorism. Its study is more complex because it deals with human behaviour. The complex web of human behaviour has made the study of terrorism as one of the most challenging and interesting themes of social and political sciences. A terrorist as the representative of a class can be categorised as:

- (1) Professional,
- (2) Misguided, or
- (3) An idealist

A professional terrorist is essentially a terror monger for the sake of material or monetary gain. It is essentially an isolated form of terrorism. He has no direct or indirect involvement in the cause with which he is involved. For him, striking terror is a way of livelihood. Of course, such persons are emotionally very cold and have aggressive animal like dispositions and life to them is more of an adventure full of daring actions. The best example of a local professional terrorist is that of a contract killer who is popularly known in India as Supari Killer. There is no girth of contract killers in the criminal environ of Bombay. The recent killing of the Managing Director of East-West Airlines is one such example and so is the killing of the trade-unionist, Datta Samant. A small group of gangsters associated with extortion of money from small or big businessmen, shopkeepers or industrialists also belong to this category. Some of them resort to abduction and kidnapping also to pressure their targets into paying money. Trade Union rivalry in India is now also increasingly being settled with the help of contract killers. The prime target of local professional terrorism is only the elimination of specifically targeted individuals and extortion of money but it is not a form of mass terrorism. The professional terrorism is predominantly prevalent in inter-gang rivalry in smuggling and narcotics activities.

Other bunch of professional terrorists are the ones who can be engaged for a greater purpose like dropping of arms consignment on Purulia, the armed invaders of Maldives and off the job war addict, Mujahedins. Their operations have a well organised international network. But they are invariably never very successful in attaining the purpose for which they are engaged. One very significant reason for this is, the lack of motivation. Not only this, professional terrorists don't enjoy the public support and sympathy of any section of society which is essential for the success of terrorism. They are a common enemy of people because they

create an environment of insecurity without any meaningful cause or purpose. They are not driven by any ideal nor do they have any personal grievance, imaginary or real, with the state against whom they are working. For instance, infiltration of Mujahedins in Kashmir has not given the Indian security forces as much a tough time as is being given by the Kashmiri youth because Mujahedins are not in any way associated with the struggle of Kashmiri youth. It is the younger segment of the Kashmiri populace which suffered the pain of unemployment and abject poverty. Together with this, religious contours given to it from across the borders, they became more aggressive and hard hitting. But for Mujahedins, it is just an engagement without any inspiration. For them, it is as good as a new assignment to keep themselves employed.

The defeat of Americans in Vietnam can be traced back to the same factor. Although American army can't be categorised as professional or contract army but it had one common trait in not having any motivation in Vietnam war. There was no motivation for American soldiers to fight Vietnamese army. It was just a matter of duty for them but for Vietnamese soldiers, it was a fight for their motherland, and they fought it with bravery as they had a motivating force behind their act. On the contrary, American public opinion was largely against American army's presence in Vietnam.

Professional terrorists involved in the act of narcotics and smuggling, are adventurers and money plays a very vital role behind their act. They are common enemy of global civilisation and must be dealt collectively to save our civilisation. They run drug mafias and are even involved in supply of women across the borders and in even continents.

Many young boys in India take to terrorism even without understanding the true motive behind their act. To illustrate this point, there goes a true story, "A 16 year old boy, Harjinder, was the son of a carpenter in Punjab. Like

his father, Harjinder took to carpentry as the family tradition. His social behaviour was recognised by the neighbours as outstanding, especially towards children. But suddenly after 1984 riots, Harjinder disappeared from the town and few years later, a newspaper headline reported him killed in an encounter with security forces."

Harjinder's case is one of the many misguided young boys who take to terrorism impulsively. Such people are brain-washed by their masters and are made to see a microscopic situation on a macroscopic level. The use of false propaganda is one of the most essential ingredients of manufacturing such terrorists.

Blindfolded thus, these youngsters take to mindless act of terrorism. During the hey days of terrorism in Punjab and now in Kashmir, Pakistan is conducting such training camps where infiltrated young people are first made to believe that India is their enemy and then trained in arms and ammunitions to wage a war against Indian state. In the case of Kashmiris, an added venom of Jihad is penetrated into their mind to take up arms against India. Although, the role of religion in politics is getting diminished in Europe, it is still dominantly visible in Asia.

But same can not be said of the younger elements taking to arms in north-east. Insurgency in north-east is being waged by genuinely aggrieved people and the Government of India is squarely responsible for it. Enmasse and comprehensive neglect of the people of north-east has forced the people of the region to take to armed struggle against Indian state.

But when it comes to Punjab and Kashmir, terrorism reached its peak, started subsiding and at last, in Punjab, it disappeared and in Kashmir, it is regularly on decline. In West Bengal, the same fate awaited Charu Mazumdar's comrades and by 1972, Mao Zedong's hollowness was fully exposed. This is what is the fate of misguided terrorism. It is bound to die down after having lived its phase because

there is lesser justification in its cause and those resorting to it, when understand the futility of their struggle which is without any justification, get back to the fold of civilised life. Moreover, in a welfare state like India, a self corrective comes into force automatically and with it gets defeated the pseudo spirit of terrorism being forced upon the young minds. We have proved it in India that such kind of terrorism is self defeating and terminating. In addition to Punjab and Kashmir, India can boast of bringing negotiated peace in Mizoram, Darjeeling and in many other parts of the country. Mao Zedong led terrorism in 70s died down without any negotiations with exposure of Mao Zedong's evil intentions and double standards. In a nut-shell, misguided terrorism begins with idealism but terminates in remorse and in the intervening period it brings misery to the people and becomes serious problem for the government to tackle.

But unlike other forms of terrorism, the one waged by an idealist is the most difficult one to contain. It is called hard-core terrorism and is usually well entrenched wherever it exists. This kind of terrorism is based more on law of justice denied to a given set of people. Terrorism in Palestine is one such example of terrorism because it had a very justified cause, the attainment of an independent Palestine State. Even terror practised by Israel also falls under this category. Israel is the only homeland that Jews have. Their tactics of offensive defence emanates from the psychic fear of what Hitler did to Jews during the World War II. Terrorism practiced by Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad and Sukhdev is no different from the one that prevails in Palestine.

Terrorism by Tigers in Sri Lanka is also as intense as is expected from the followers of ideal terrorism. Yet, it would be unfair to compare their cause with that of the Palestinian uprising against Jewish state because Sri Lanka also represents a welfare state and is more of a victim than an

aggressor state against the LTTE's onslaught. The cruelty of V. Prabhakaran is well-known and his using of women and adolescent children as LTTE cadre is also a well known fact. The cyanide cadre, the suicide squad, all are quite inhuman.

Seeing the cause and the people involved in idealist terrorism, it would be better to term their struggle as anti-terrorism because they take to violent movement against oppressive forces. An idealist terrorist is blindly committed to his cause. He holds nothing to greater sanctity than the cause that he is fighting for. The commitment of the cadres of idealist terrorism can be gauged from the fact that they are wilfully and wishfully ready to act as human bombs as was the case of Palestinian terrorist groups fighting a holy Jihad against the state of Israel. This art of human bombs, if it may be so called, was originated* and perfected in Palestine. Later on, it was used elsewhere also but not as frequently and as precisely as in Palestine. The tigers of LTTE being very disciplined cadres, are also using human bombs as effectively as were being in use in Palestine during the great Palestinian uprising. Even our late Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, was killed by LTTE with the help of a human bomb.

But if use of terrorism as way of realisation of its just rights by a group is given a universal sanctity, it will lead to chaos because victims of terrorism are invariably the innocent people. Moreover, wherever terrorism has existed,

* Actually it originated during 2nd World War in Japan, as Kamikaze fighters. Japanese Kamikaze fighters, laden with explosives, in planes, small boats, and even on their body, used to destroy enemy ships, airports, tanks and other tactical and strategic targets, killing themselves in the process. In Pearl Harbor attack, the Battle of Midway, battle of Okinawa, in Philippine and in Burma they used this tactics very effectively. Also Italians and Germans used this tactics. Italians used human torpedoes in attack on Alexandria. Our own INA men also used this tactics to stop the advance of Allies into Burma. Later this tactics was picked up by Palestinians, and other terrorist groups.

the development of the people of that region had always become the first casualty. In addition to this, it creates social disharmony which remains visible even after the phase of terrorism is over. Its one such example is the Hindu-Sikh harmony. Even after the terrorism is weeded out of Punjab, the psychological rift between Hindus and Sikhs remains. It might take decades for the wounds to fill. Though it has taken 12 years for court to get impressive compensation of rupees 3,50,000 to the widows of 1984 riots, yet it is a welcome move towards assuaging the hurt psyche of Sikh community. What remains is the punishment to the guilty.

Thus, even if a just cause is attainable by the use of terror, its cost in terms of loss of human lives, economy and its social ill-effects far outdo the attainment of the cause. Realising this, the UN body has accepted with one voice the resolution which states that the use of terror by any group, however justified its cause may be, against an established Government, would be considered an act of terrorism. Though, the adoption of this resolution is a very effective way to discourage terrorism everywhere, it might also be used as a handy pretext by many heads of states to unleash state terror on its own citizens to perpetuate their misrule. Under such a situation, human rights will become a casualty. For instance, the use of state terror by China on innocent students at Tiananman Square in late 80s. The students were getting restive but not hostile in their demand for democratisation of China and assimilation of younger generation in the gerantocratic Chinese Government. But how they were dealt with, is known to everyone.

Thus, from here, we can draw a conclusion that while our world must get rid of the menace of terrorism, it is possible only when there is an effective control on the human rights abuses wrecked on innocent civilians by the state. This is to say that terrorism and human rights are intertwined. A check on terrorism and a check on human rights abuses are synonymous and must be fought on a

common platform. Terrorism can become non-existent only in a state practicing justice to all its citizens. Its best example is the USA where internal terrorism has never existed since Abraham Lincoln's painstaking efforts which brought blacks back to parity with whites. Terrorism begets terrorism. Therefore, terrorism must be contained by anti-terrorism. Only a welfare state is capable of following the path of anti-terrorism. Patience and perseverance are the tools of anti-terrorism. But it must not be construed as weakness of the state.

But the welfare states are vulnerable when it comes to blackmailing by the terrorist organisations. Their vulnerability comes to fore particularly when innocent people are taken hostage by the terrorists. One very effective way of discouraging such acts is to evolve a uniform process of not yielding to terrorist's blackmailing when they resort to taking hostage the innocent people whether by hijacking a civilian plane or by kidnapping the innocent people.

Israel is a model example to follow in this matter. It refuses to negotiate with the terrorists over this issue. It deals, with them with a firm hand and even tries to rescue the hostages by commando operations. No bargaining with such people should be made universal law because soft options on hostage taking encourages terrorists to use such methods for meeting their demands which are invariably associated with freeing of their fellow terrorists from jails or for extortion of huge amounts of money. In addition to this, such acts give them much sought after media attention which is one of their most cherished goals. As a matter of fact, terrorism thrives on air and fuel of media attention.

This is to say, that while the menace of terrorism should be dealt sympathetically as it is a human problem, it must not be dealt from a position of weakness.

3

Right to Self Determination

The right to self determination is the most talked about phrase of the post World War era. As a matter of fact, right to self determination was the gift of socialist Russia after Bolshevik revolution when it withdrew from the World War I by paying compensation to Germany.

As more and more nations kept their names added to the list of independent nationalities in the post colonial era, the new social realities also kept emerging in their respective social lives. While pursuing the cause of nation building, the social equations in their respective societies became very complex and tense leading to emergence of various interest groups. It led to the dichotomy of status quoists and those seeking change in accordance with their own aspirations. Thus, the political and social scenario in these neo-liberated countries got increasingly polarised between status quoists and the change seekers.

The status quoists were invariably the ruling class represented by the democratic forces, military rulers or autocrats. At some places, particularly in Arab World, the status quoists were represented by the fanatic religious groups or ethnic majorities. On the other hand, those seeking

change to realise their collective aspirations were invariably the non-ruling class or the religious or ethnic minorities. Pakistan is probably the only sole exception to this rule where majority Bengali Muslims in East Pakistan took arms against the status quoist ruling minority of West Pakistan which led to the birth of Bangladesh which is separately discussed in this book.

The emergence of these mutually antagonistic interest groups in the political and social life of these newly created nations has made their national lives intricately tense and complex. Whenever and wherever these status quoists and change seekers have shown the sense of maturity and statesmanship, an era of hope and peace has ushered in. Mizoram is an appropriate example to quote with in Indian context. Same holds true of West Asia where collective efforts by the world community which was sensibly supplemented by the Palestinian and Israeli People, led to evolution of an era of peace in West Asia, a land of protracted war since 1948.

But when solutions fail to be realised by mutual give and take between status quoists and change seekers, a state of turmoil builds up. This leads to a series of tension between aggrieved and aggrievors. Invariably, it leads to secessionism and violence becomes its handy tool. Without going into the detail of who uses violence against whom, the life of such a nation becomes miserable. Economic and social welfare of its people becomes the first casualty.

Since development in one part of the World effects others and human right policing is becoming the order of modern day life, the eyes of entire world get glued to such a nation. The mind boggling improvement in the communication channels, particularly in the mass media which has become a very potent instrument of change, the human rights abuses get prominently reported. Thus, any aspect of a nation's life can no more be insulated from the global view point. Various human rights groups are very

active in reporting the abuses of human rights. Amnesty International is one to quote with.

In such a changed scenario, it is not difficult for an aggrieved community to public its grievances, whether real or imaginary, and take recourse to the right to self determination. But the right to self determination during the colonial era was an assertion of independence. The same in the post colonial era is a fight against its own government by a group on certain grounds, real or otherwise. Therefore, the right to self determination in the light of post colonial era has become very complex issue. This instrument of right to self determination has been incorporated in the UN Charter as well thus giving a sort of both moral and legal justification to it at the highest international forum.

But in the very first place, the right to self determination is as intractable as to win dismemberment from all powerful might of the state by violent means. Moreover, the concept of right to self determination suffers from an inherent Western bias. It is always perceived by the neo-independent nations as an instrument of embarrassing and black-mailing them by the Western world.

The impracticality of the realisation of the right to self determination can be understood from the fact that any outside interference from any quarters in the national life of a sovereign state is an act of transgression of international laws because national sovereignty is an internationally recognised norm. Thus, the right to self determination is in direct antagonism to the sovereignty of a nation. For instance, the incorporation of the federating units making the United States of America a super federation requires its units to merge into the federation completely and irreversibly without any right to separate from it under any condition. In addition to this, all the federal laws of the United States of America apply equally and automatically to all its federating units. This clause of irreversible merger leaves no room for any of its federating units to leave the

federation of the United States of America even if any of its units takes recourse to the right to self determination. Moreover, supposing the people of Florida (a federating unit of the United States) for some reason start feeling insecured in the United States, and feel that they should secede from the federation. The federal American Laws will obviously forbid it, shall then, can the American say that right to self determination will not apply to Florida? They won't and they shouldn't.

But going by the same parameter of immutable norms of national sovereignty, questioning the status of Jammu and Kashmir by resorting to the technicality of instrument of accession is nothing but an act of double standards. If the right to self determination holds true for Jammu and Kashmir by plebiscite or otherwise, the same also holds true for Ireland, Tibet and Mohajirs in Karachi. How many Western countries including the US will support the right to self determination in Ireland? How many countries in the world will dare China to transgress its own sovereignty to uphold the right to self determination and allow Tibetans to exercise this right?

Thus, because of its contradictory nature and selective use in invoking it, it has created more problems than it has actually solved in post colonial era because it works as an inspiration and morale booster to secessionist outfits leading to more violence. Not only this, denial of right to self determination by one state to its people is taken by the other state as an excuse. For instance, what if India pre-conditions that let the Mohajirs in Pakistan and Tibetans in China also be given the right to self determination and then India shall also agree to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. Is it tangible in practice? Certainly not because it aims at division of self in accordance to the wishes of people invoking it, its implementation is very unrealistic because no nation, however democratic or undemocratic it may be, would ever grant its people the right to self determination even if it is

justified. Moreover, the UN while dealing with terrorism has come out with a very clear document which states that whatever its source, all governments are legal governments and any act of armed opposition to it will be construed as an act of terrorism.

In a way, it justifies the use of brute force by the state against any internal armed rebellion to it from a group. Thus, giving a death knell to the right to self determination and inviting abuse of human rights. The UN has dubious distinction of accepting the credentials of representatives of genocidal Pol Pot regime. It is because of this intricate nature of right to self determination that it must always be seen in the light of human rights. No tangible national sovereignty can be preserved by using brutal state power upon its citizens. State as one can conceive, is essentially an organ of welfare of its people. All its actions must channel only in this direction. If an ideology fails to deliver, it must be changed or renounced. If a state becomes slave to its ideology, the human rights abuses are bound to be rampant. In such a situation, the act of secession becomes the only available means to the people and this calls for the right to self determination. But the casualty of this right to self determination shall be the human rights. To be precise, there exists no clear cut mechanism to strike a balance between right to self determination and human rights.

The fragmentation of the mighty Soviet empire is live and model example of how the abuse of human rights leads to secession and fragmentation of a nation. Ideologically slave Soviet empire in order to preserve its Marxist ideology, used all forms of terror on those who opposed it. Even otherwise, Marxism failed to prove itself as an effective instrument of welfare. The material and aesthetic progress of the Soviet people was no match for the one achieved by the capitalist democracies. Even during Stalin and Brezhnev's time the resentment to the communist rule could be seen but only in its latent form because of awful

fear of state's machinery which in order to preserve its ideological citadel, will travel all lengths of brutalities. Both overt and covert means of terror were used against those who opposed Marxism and they were exiled to icy desert of Siberia.

Such a tyrannic rule when for the first time provided its citizens few valves to live in the pressure space of its national life, its people threw the citadel of Marxist ideology to the wind and the entire Soviet system was deflated which resulted into the birth of a large number of nationalities. Before Soviet Union, the right to self determination is won in Bangladesh and Korean peninsula. In Bangladesh, the abuse of human rights on a majority by a minority became so awful that the only way it could be reversed was, by the way of dismemberment of the majority from the minority. But the way it had been won in the Soviet Union is a remarkably outstanding phenomenon. The dismantling of the Soviet Union is probably the only example where the preservation of the state required the use of awesome terror while its dismantling was almost a non-violent movement and so was its creation. The reason for such a smooth transition is that all the republics constituting the Soviet empire wanted to secede from the Soviet empire and in that circumstance, the Soviet state was no more than a redundant vacuum. But if few republics had wanted to secede and few had wanted to remain with the Soviet empire, the dismantling of the Soviet Union in that circumstance would have been more violent than the one seen even in creation of Bangladesh and the Korean divide along the 38th parallel.

But while the right to self determination could be exercised by the Soviets, can it be attained by Dalai Lama or Roman Catholics in Ireland? A very plain reply is no. It is here that the spirit of right to self determination gets defeated and it becomes more of an instrument of political convenience even when discussed in the UN. But at the same time, the global community must evolve a system to check

the abuse of human rights because unless this abuse is checked, the terrorism will persist and with this shall remain the option of the right to self determination large and wide open.

But with increasing democratisation of world and emphasis on evolution of a welfare state, the balance between human rights abuses and the right to self determination can be established to a reasonable extent because the abuse of human rights precedes the self determination. But abuse of human rights includes even economic and social neglect of a section of people. A free and responsible media, strict adherence to democratic norms and awareness amongst masses are essentials of a society which wants to remain free of human rights abuses. The Western democracies are its model examples.

4

Division of India and After: An Anatomy

The Richter Scale was swinging within normal range, there was not any draught or flood oriented calamity and nor were the people plagued by an epidemic. Yet, the nation was shred to torments. An unprecedented chaos prevailed across both sides of the newly created frontiers of a nation born *de-novo*, the Pakistan, and the mother India cut to size. The beast in the man was perceptibly visible. The killings and counter killings had become order of the day.

The men, the women and the children were slaughtered by thousands and the chances of survival belied the Darwinian's 'Survival of the Fittest' because to be alive was just a matter of sheer good fortune and falling dead to the sanguiferous thirst of the death mongers was a misfortune of mathematical permutations and combinations. Nobody was so unsure of life before.

Even the Law of Jungle would look more civilised than the one that was prevalent amongst the religious co-brothers of millennia, the Hindus and the Muslims, adds my ageing grandmother who retains in fathoms of her heart the live

testimonies of the soul shaking trauma of mindless killings in the name of religion. Trains full of dead bodies were reaching and leaving our two countries. My mother's uncle escaped death by pretending to be dead in the midst of corpses lying scattered in the train leaving for India from Pakistan. All through the journey, he was accompanied by the dead and silent. To be precise, the subcontinent got retrogressively transformed into a land of religiomania spreading an empire of the most awful terror. The fear and terror of such day-light barbarism is still live in my granny's memory. Everytime she sits down to narrate the tale-telling of division, its auditory effects automatically get printed into visual effects in our minds. And at the end of it, with her eyes wet, she invariably says, "Only vultures prospered during those days".

True, those must have been the days of vultures because almost everybody who had the misfortune of having to travel to other side of the newly demarcated borders of our two nations, ferments the same kinds of terror-tales out of his or her wet cocoonic memories of those days when India was bled to division. Even revolutions in many parts of the world were not as bloody as the division of India. It is a matter of shame to a nation which had gained freedom from the colonial rulers by practicing the art of non-violence and satyagrah.

This internecine slaughtering amongst the Indo-Islamic cultural brothers was purely a gift of the retrogressive politics of the so called political and religious representatives of the Hindus and the Muslims because they preferred politicking to the statesmanship. It is this petty politics which became the most important factor behind the division of India on the religious axis. The events leading to this inter-community hatred unfolded very fast and within only few years.

Till early 40s there was hardly any sign of Inter-community hatred in the Punjab and Bengal which

were incidentally the two states through which ultimately the slit-line was to be drawn for the creation of Pakistan. Barring few isolated reports of appeals coming from the mosques asking Muslims to join the Muslim League and raise the demand for the creation of Pakistan, there was hardly any sign of acute Hindu-Muslim polarisation which could endanger the fabric of undivided India. But Sohrawardy, the Chief Minister of undivided Bengal spread the venom of communal hatred by resorting to killing Hindus and its repercussions were seen in Bihar where large number of Muslims were killed by Hindus. But in Punjab, which was the torch bearer of Indian secularism during those days, largely due to its great son, Fazli Hussain of the Unionist Party, the impact of appeals from mosques went completely unheeded. He barred the members of the Unionist Party from seeking the dual membership of the Muslim League. There was hardly any taker of these appeals emanating from mosques. Fazli Hussain openly branded the Muslim League as communal and secessionist outfit. With such leaders of character and substance at the helm in Punjab, nobody could ever believe that the inter-community situation would become cyclonic by the time India attains freedom. The moral faith of the leaders like Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad was also reassuring. He had complete faith in the ability of Indian People and only on the strength of this faith, he said, "If a country consisting of 40 crore people can attain freedom by non-violent means of negotiation and settlement, can also give birth to a new state without any bloodshed, least of its own cultural brothers". But this proved to be an utopian belief and when it came to reality, our own people shook our faith in our ability to be the only state in the world practicing the theory of non-violence in true spirit as it had done in its opposition to the British rule. Thus, we treaded the path of non-violence to oust British but failed to keep it up when it came to our own bretherns.

To find an easy excuse for this Himalayan failure of the people of Indian state, the historians with an oriental bias lead us to believe that Morley-Minto Pact of 1909, giving separate representation to Muslims, was the genesis of separatism on the basis of religion. The fact however is, that British were not in favour of creating a new sovereign state of Pakistan because for them division or no division, they had to quit India. However, they had an expressed aim of safeguarding the interests of minorities, particularly, the Muslims under the federal Government of India by providing greater autonomy to minority (Muslim) dominated Provinces in federation of India which many on the subcontinent thought was actually the part of their policy to appease Jinnah who had always been their mouthpiece in tackling the harsh and bold stalwarts in the Congress Party.

But since British rulers had decided that they had to quit India, they didn't attach much sincerity to ensure that the division remains peaceful one. They wanted to transfer the power to Indian leaders not later than June 1948 but in fact, they should have taken some more time to make efficient security arrangements so that the savage bloodshed of lakhs of peoples could have been averted. This was their solemn duty in which they failed miserably and stand answerable to our peoples on the subcontinent. The World War II had already ended and there wasn't any pressing compulsion for them to divert their attention elsewhere.

But it won't be fair to shift the entire blame on the British empire for the mess that got created. Indian National Congress, though a truly secular and a nationalist party, it too failed to discharge its historic duty when it refused to invite the elected members of the Muslim League in forming the Provincial Government in 1937 after securing an impressive mandate of the people. The Congress at that time had the historic opportunity to work together with the Muslim League whose members even demanded their

inclusion in the formation of the Provincial Government. But it wasn't to happen. The Congressmen became enveloped in a myopia and put a condition that if the members of the Muslim League wanted to join the Provincial Government, they should first quit the membership of Muslim League and join the Congress Party. It hardened the stance of Muslims vis-a-vis Congress. The League's antagonism towards Congress increased and Muslims began to look at Congress with more and more suspicion. Had the Congress not put this condition and, instead, would have allowed the League members to join the government without first having to renounce their membership of Muslim League, a political assimilation of the two warring political entities would have resulted and this could have toned down the Jinnah's political blasphemy in favour of creating a sovereign state of Pakistan.

Thus, at a time when the Congress leadership was expected to show the statesmanship of the highest order, it behaved like the political baby, too obsessive about its newly found political power which made it blind to the political sagacity. Such a myopic attitude of the Congress further catalysed the sprouting of seeds of the two nation theory in the minds of the Muslim leaders which percolated down to the populace. The true fact about the division in the continent is that neither Congress sincerely tried to avoid it nor did Jinnah try not to create a Muslim state of Pakistan. Thus, both leaderships reconciled themselves to the division of India.

But while Congress failed to fulfill its historic duty, this gave Jinnah, the founder of the Muslim League, a new breeding ground to propel and justify the creation of Pakistan and by the time of Shimla Conference of 1945, the sentiments of Jinnah for the creation of Pakistan peaked almost to the point of no return. He projected the Muslim League as the sole arbiter to vouch for the interests of the Muslims and Congress he opined was the party to vouch

for the interests of Hindus. This is how Jinnah made the Indian political scenario completely dichotomous and also tried to give vent to the idea that minority Muslims in undivided India would not get a better treatment from the Hindu majority.

It was certainly not true. He was trying to play Goebellism to realise his own secessionist mission. The Congress was a secular party by spirit and substance. Moreover, it had a national character unlike the Muslim League which had its influence only in few Muslim dominated pockets. Jinnah had hardly any influence amongst the Muslim population of Punjab. But after having realised that he was a political pigmy to the towering personalities in the Congress like that of Gandhi; Nehru, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad, Jinnah cunningly played the politics of religion to counter the moral charisma of the Congress leaders.

Thus, by taking refuge in the politics of religion, he manipulated and successfully transformed the two nation theory into a reality which ultimately played havoc with the peoples of the two nations. This is how, the Indo-Islamic homogeneity brought about by the great Mughal emperors was undone primarily by one man but to say that he was solely responsible for this, would also be an act of complacency.

While this sequence of chronology of our history led to the division of our nation, it failed to extinguish the inferno of hatred between our two countries even in the post-division era. But luckily, this syndrome remained localised and didn't automatically spiralled to the Muslims of other parts of the world like the one which exists between the Jews and the global Muslims (Muslims all over the world). Fortunately, for both the countries, in the absence of this global haunt for the blood, South Asia escaped facing a Lebanon like situation which could have been catastrophic for this region on the whole because to survive a Lebanon,

a nation needs to have monolithic identity of its people like that of the Israelis. But neither of our two countries can boast of having a homogenous sense of nationalism amongst its people. We are living in the midst of multiple ethnicity, racial heterogeneity and inter and intra-religious conflicts. Above it all, culturally too, our people have sub-national consciousness which manifests itself quite often in our respective national lives.

These traits viewed together, give our respective countries, a loose and mosaic nationalities glued bits by bits in the form of a single entity. Since the single entity of India and Pakistan is quite fragile in its make up, even a smaller degree of hostilities inflicted by one country on the other and vice-versa, becomes thickly visible on our national lives. But on the other hand, if the scale of hostilities is undertaken at a macro-level, a real danger to the sovereign integrity of our two nations exists. Who dumps these hostilities on whom is a secondary issue. What is of greater importance is that the two neighbours in perpetual conflicts can sustain these hostilities only at the cost of development and welfare of their own respective people.

This loose cohesive fabric of our respective nationhood can be very clearly illustrated by the fact that in early 80s when Pakistan took to proxy-terrorism in Punjab, it was not until 90s that the peace returned to Punjab and that too at a price which can't be counted in currency alone. The alienation of Sikhs will take another decade or probably more to restore and what about the loss of thousands of lives. In 1983 and 1984 alone, 10,000 lives were lost in Punjab and Delhi. And when it comes to Kashmir, the hostilities from across the border have sent the valley into a comprehensive chaos. To weed out such a strongly anchored sense of secessionism from the valley, the Indian state will have to stretch itself to its capacity. Social, political and economic scenario in Kashmir is separately discussed in this book.

Likewise, when India dumped its hostilities on still fragile fabric of Pakistan in 1971, a new state of Bangladesh was born which to this date has not been able to present itself to the world as a viable community of nation. Though Bangladesh is our baby to the world, we created it at a cost of invoking vengeful counter hostilities from Pakistan in Punjab and Kashmir whose magnitude is becoming increasingly difficult for India to withstand in terms of men, material and economic considerations. Not only this, our mutual rivalry on almost all international fora has made both our countries a laughing stock at various international fora. Mrs. Benazir Bhutto dragged this rivalry even at a non-political forum like Beijing's International Conference on Women. Thanks, it is not happening in an obituary meeting!!

But unfortunately, the diplomatic onslaught by our two countries against each other on the fate of Jammu and Kashmir at various global fora has given an opportunity to the outside powers to penetrate into the troubled waters of South Asia which is not a good omen for the entire region. How badly Afghanistan paid for the cold war rivalry must be very fresh in our memories. The war addict Mujahideens and the huge stockpiles of left over weapons are playing havoc with the social fabric of both Pakistan and Afghanistan. The arms bazars in Pakistan formed as a result of left over weapons of Afghan crisis are playing havoc with social fabric of Pakistan and civil war in Afghanistan is endangering its very existence. For India, the Jammu and Kashmir is becoming the new workfield for the now jobless Mujahideens.

This apart, the arms race, both conventional and non-conventional forced by our two countries on ourselves has crippled our respective economies. Despite the fact, our two countries are one of the poorest countries of the region, we take pride in increasing our defence budget. The resources which should have been utilised for alleviating abject poverty, improving health facilities and removing the

blot of illiteracy, are being drained to pile up the weapons of killings and there exists a seemingly endless race for acquiring the new weapons. This arms race has made South-Asia one of the most dangerous places in the world in so far as possibilities of a nuclear war are concerned.

In such a charged scenario of two sided open hostilities, the remarkable vision of Jinnah becomes very significant as how India and Pakistan should govern their relations. In outlining his vision of Indo-Pak relations after the division, he said, "personally, I have no doubts in my mind that the Dominion of Pakistan and the Dominion of India should coordinate for the purpose of playing their role in international affairs and the developments that may take place here after. But this depends entirely on whether Pakistan and India can resolve their own differences and grave domestic issues in the first instance. In other words, if we can put our house in order internally, then only we may be able to play a very great part externally in all international affairs".

But unfortunately, the man of such a great vision of how Indo-Pak relations should be governed, didn't live enough after partition to enforce such a remarkable inter-state philosophy of constructive interaction between the two South Asian neighbours. But his inheritors in Pakistan, mostly the dictatorial army chiefs, failed to come to terms with this philosophy of inter-state democracy because they were never a student of applied democracy. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was the only marginal democrat in the political hierarchy of Pakistan, also failed to act in the right earnest. On the contrary, he further fuelled the syndrome of hatred by blatantly claiming, "The people of Pakistan would prefer to eat grass to wage a Jihad of 1000 years against the Indian State". His daughter, Benazir Bhutto, leaves no stones unturned to carry her father's wicked wish.

In such an abysmally low state of relation between our two countries, even the most misplaced optimists will tend

to get despondent as to how to contain the scale of hatred created by our political breed amongst the people of our two countries. Ironically, this is happening at a time when the ideological barriers are crumbling, the foes are becoming partners in development and peace and the continent of Europe is surging ahead to become a federation of the "United States of Europe". The world where the fall of Berlin wall is witnessed recently, the India and Pakistan are still behaving as civilisations of primeval nomads out to destroy each other. Ours is a typical Asian syndrome. In Europe, those who fought the worst wars in the history of mankind from 1914 to 1945, have shed their hatred, differences and prejudices to become partners in peace and development. Such an attitude of primeval nomads in India-Pakistan relations becomes increasingly visible during an Indo-Pak cricket match which becomes a sort of a battle-ground for an Indo-Pak war. But as long as willow and cricket ball remain arms and amunitions, the better. Our respective leadership must learn to see that our artillery divisions are not forced to play cricket at Rann of Katch or elsewhere along our borders because that will prove to be a mutually catastrophic cricketing for the sub-continent.

With coming of I.K. Gujral at the helm in India, a silver line has appeared on the horzon. He along with Nawaz Sharief, the premier of Pakistan, are the best bets for improving Indo-Pak relations. But what remains to be seen is whether these two Punjabis get enough internal support in their respective countries or not which is very vital for improvement of relations between the two countries.

5

The Dilemma of Indian State

India's experiment with secular democracy is one of its sorts in the contemporary global society. Equally unique is its style of winning freedom from the clutches of colonial yoke. Nowhere in the history of world, a country as diverse and vast as India, has ever won freedom with the help of canons and guns filled with ammunition of non-violence.

A freedom attained in such a manner had to be a secular democracy and our political leadership of free India having the tallest of the statesmen, gave our people the same. This experiment resulted into the establishment of the largest practicing democracy in the world. Today, after about five decades, except for being shaken during the dark and dinghy period of emergency, it has become a vibrantly established democracy of the world reflecting a collective urge of its people. True, the democracy has become synonymous with Indian style of citizenry.

At the time when India attained freedom, many more neo-liberated nations of the post colonial era also experimented their national lives with democracies but they ended up in sheer anarchy of dictatorial, fundamentalist or military regimes which brought many nations to the brink

of civil wars. But we in India identified ourselves with democratic values.

But unfortunately, once the generation of those committed stalwarts of the freedom struggle like Sardar Patel, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Qalam Azad and Lal Bahadur Shastri started getting perished to death, the moral vacuum created by their absence was so conspicuous that the leadership of new generation failed to maintain the same edifice of the high moral standards that they had practiced in the public life. While they were true political Sanyasis, the politicians of new generation became corrupt, degenerated and even criminal.

But as we moved ahead in the process of rebuilding our nation, the schism between material and moral realisation became so wide that by 80s, our political machinery became fully fractured and defected. All moral principles of governance were thrown to winds. Criminalisation, shelter in religion and the casteist politics scandalised our polity and people's faith in it started eroding. But even in the midst of this, the fabric of democracy remained intact, of course, with severe aberrations.

Unlike Nehru and Shastri for whom the seat of power was a mission to serve the people at large, the new breed of generation took to sycophancy, opportunism, religion, casteism and regional chauvinism to consolidate their position on or near to the seat of power. One of its most glaring examples is the wagging tail of all the Congressmen to the Gandhi family.

This new environment of politicking gave birth to various interest groups in the political bandwagon of India. With sole exception of communists, the aim of all other interest groups converges at occupying the seat of power. This lust for power politics made it free for all affairs in the Indian political scenario. The morass that Indian political system had thus become, the men of character either opt to keep out of politics or are kept out of it. The resultant filtrate

produced no better than Sushil Sharmas, sugar daddies, Sukh Rams, Satish Sharmas, Jayalalithas, Raos, Boforsaites, Hawalas and scamsters. Not only this, if reports like that of Verma Panel see the light of the day, half our politicians will top the list of criminals. Laloo Prasad Yadav needs a special placement in this hierarchy.

By the time this mad race reached 90s, the rot was complete and comprehensive whose cumulative ill-effects are today visible in all walks of our lives. In the changed scenario, adhocism and political gamesmanship has become the order of the day. Any act of omission and commission, if it garners votes is condoned. The only aim of the ruling parties, especially Congress under the leadership of late Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was to remain glued to the saddles of political power. In Punjab, the decimation of the Akalis who were the political rivals of the Congress in the state became the priority of the government at the Centre. Utter neglect and economic misgovernance of politically insignificant North-East of India and Kashmir bled them to a never healing ulcer.

Punjab for instance, is a very interesting case of how political devisiveness and economic mismanagement spelled doom for the prosperity galore that the Punjab was once known. The creation of Bhindranwala in the political jungle of Punjab transformed a peaceful and prosperous state into a turbulent and violent place which would go to sleep, the moment the sun would set during eighties, particularly before Operation Bluestar.

Thus, a single stroke of a dirty political adventurism by the Congress Party played havoc with the lives of every man and woman in the state. The patriotic people of the state had to accept the epithet of being terrorists and secessionists. The most paradoxical part of Punjab's journey into turbulence of 80s was, the same Government which was responsible for it, at last, had to control the situation in Punjab with such a firm hand that it hurt the psyche of its

people to an extent that it still ghosts live in the hearts and minds of its people.

Notwithstanding the political short-sightedness of the Government at the centre, the self sustained economy of the Punjab continued to flourish. After reaping the vibrant dividends of Green Revolution, the economic life of the Punjab became intricately complex. While economy flourished, due to large scale mechanisation, only a small population of the state was involved in work force leaving many out of job, though not out of prosperity. A good number of them in the changed scenario propelled themselves in the self sustained Small Scale Industry and many took to greener pastures abroad. But still, a sizeable chunk of people had nothing much to do. Many of them were those belonging to younger generation. It is this segment of the young generation which later on led the secessionist movement and threw the state in an unprecedented chaos.

If a parallel industrial infrastructural had been built at the time when Green Revolution was taking shape, not only the shape of economy would have taken a further boon but it would also have given a proper direction to the young segment of the society. One singular error of implementation of Green revolution in India was that while it helped increasing the agricultural output to a very great extent, it failed to keep pace with generation of new opportunities for those created surplus as a result of mechanisation of agriculture in India. If such an exercise had been undertaken by the Government, not only Punjab would have become another Gujrat of India but the degeneration of the younger segment of Punjab falling into cult of terrorism would also have been checked. But this wasn't to happen. The 80s and early part of 90s left the state in the worst turmoil.

But even while everyday terrorism was taking a heavy toll out of the life of the people of the state, its economy was flourishing as it was flourishing ever before. Kudos to

the people of the state. This enigma of a vibrant economy in the midst of the worst kind of terrorism can delight the intellects of any economist and probably this was one very strong reason why the peace, however fragile it could be, returned to this green and fertile Gangetic plain. Punjab is probably the only place in the world where economic development continued even when the terrorism was at its peak. Punjab has shown to the world that if political institutions, citizens and law and order machinery become complimentary to one another, no problem is big enough to be solved. This is what exactly has happened to Punjab. Even after the assassination of Beant Singh, the process of normalisation continues. Return of peace in Punjab is one of the most outstanding achievements of the Indian democracy.

But the state of Kashmir lives terrorism in very different set of socio-economic and geographical conditions. Punjab and Kashmir may be co-brothers in being the bordering states to a hostile nation but everything else is different in the two states. While Punjab is an economic paradise, the valley in Kashmir is an economic nightmare. Unlike Punjab, the geographical terrain of Kashmir is neither easily accessible nor fertile like the Gangetic plains of Punjab. The tourism being the only mainstay of Kashmiris, has been waiting for the tourists, particularly since 1987. But what is present in abundance in valley is the cult of terrorism. If a handful of tourists dare visit the valley, they are abducted for ransom or political bargaining. In the absence of tourist crowd, the Kashmiri traders are migrating to plains to do business. Thus, in the absence of tourism, horticulture and fruit production remains the only available source of livelihood to the people of the valley.

There are hardly any industrial establishments in the state. The hilly terrain is not an ideal land for farming activities. The state of affairs in the handicraft industry is also not very rosy. The infrastructural scenario is equally

depressive. Even the most cursory and basic infrastructural facility like water supply is far from being adequate. The power supply is available half the demand of the state. In the midst of such an economic mess, terrorism, secessionism and separatism is bound to flourish.

But this is not the end of the road of adversities. A Jihad of the sort is perceptibly visible in Kashmir. Unlike Punjab, almost entire cross-section of the citizens identify themselves with this Jihad. The root of this affinity can be traced back to the utter neglect of the people of the state by the successive Governments. Kashmir is one of the poorest state in India as far as per capita income is concerned.

Since 1948, when Kashmir's accession to India was signed, the inter-community relationship was excellent. In 1947, when communal frenzy was at its peak, the Hindus and Muslims in the state lived in total harmony. The elections in the subsequent years were fought on the secular front. The most remarkable of them all, Sheikh Abdullah changed the name of his Muslim Conference into National Conference to unite Hindus and Sikhs to its fold. It was a very big jolt for the Muslim League. Seeing the kind of relationship between Hindus and Muslimism in Kashmir during division and post division period, Gandhiji rightly described Kashmir as a 'Ray of Hope' for the Indian secularism and harmonious inter-community relationship.

What an irony that such a remarkable brand of people after having lived together for five decades in free India, took to terrorism in the name of religion and that too in a country boasting itself to be a secular democracy. Kashmir as a matter of fact, is singularly the most awful failure of Indian democracy. Ever since 1948, the story of the Kashmir is that of the opportunities missed or surrendered for the petty political gains.

In 1948, when the Indian armed forces repelled the sinister plan of the Pakistani raiders, India moved the Security Council and agreed to holding a plebiscite to

determine the future of Kashmir. But plebiscite never took place and that too at a time when the situation was certainly very favourable for India.

Once again, while by 1949, other states were persuaded to total merger largely due to painstaking efforts, of Sardar Patel, Kashmir remained only acceded to India in a loose mosaic and sovereign Constitution of India didn't apply to it uniformly. Rather Article 370 was promulgated to give special rights to the state of Kashmir over others. In 1954, the Article was ratified. The ratification of the Article 370 put Indian state in a fix. The right to amendment of the Article 370 was taken away from the Parliament. The Indian Parliament now can't amend or remove the Article 370 without the concurrence of the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir. Even if some mechanism is evolved to scrap the Article, the people of the state under the Instrument of Accession have the right to demand a plebiscite. This is how the Indian state stands trapped in a vicious circle. As a matter of fact, Jammu and Kashmir is the only state in India which has its own Constitution.

As if it was not enough, the 1952 accord between Sheikh Abdullah and Nehru gave few more concessions to the state. The resettlement of the POK refugees and a separate flag were also allowed to Kashmiris. Thus, follies after follies were committed by the Indian leadership.

In 1953, the mass agitation for the plebiscite began and Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and sent to jail. Almost all the laws from which Kashmir had impunity were applied to the state in a disguised manner. By this time, the turbulence in the state had begun.

In 1975, when Sheikh Abdullah signed an accord with late Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the status quo of 1953 was agreed with Article 370 continuing unaltered. When after signing the accord with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Sheikh Abdullah reached Kashmir, he was accused by Kashmiris for having surrendered their fate to India.

After this, in 1977 elections, for the first time ever Sheikh took a distinctly anti-centre stand, of course, with much less of a pro-Pakistan stand¹.

Things began to move towards worst when Farooq Abdullah led the state after death of his father. The backlash meted to him by the centre through its puppet G.M. Shah and scandalous handshake with him later on in 1987 completed the rot for the state but even in 1987 election, it was not the accession of the state that was the poll issue. Other trivial issues still remained the focus of the election scenario.

But since then, the battle of the barrels of gun between the terrorists, war addict Afghan mercenaries and the Indian Army has become the focal point of the Kashmir scenario. Unlike Punjab, the secessionists in Kashmir have the local support. It is for this reason that while Punjab could be restored back to normalcy, the restoration of the same can't be taken for granted in the Kashmir. Even the scale of assistance to Kashmiri terrorist outfits by the Pakistan is much higher than what it was to terrorists operating in Punjab. The reasons are obvious. Kashmir is a handy tool for the success or failure of a Government in Pakistan. Even if the ruling class is a failure in the domestic policies of not less than that of tackling Muhajirs unrest in Karachi, a success on Kashmir front is enough for a government of Pakistan to spend five years in the office.

In so far as Kashmir is concerned, Indian state is in its worst dilemma. The success story of Indian Government in Punjab doesn't apply to Kashmir. Only negotiation with Kashmiri leaders is the available option. Even if it means, talking to terrorists outfits, there is nothing to lose in it because a 'yes' or a 'no' is always our option. But the extent of give and take must be consensual one, of course, sans seceding of any territory or plebiscite.

But what remains as the most vital factor and the most contradictory also, is the Article 370 of the Indian

Constitution. In the present political scenario, while BJP openly demands the abrogation of Article 370, Congress party stands for 1975 accord which was signed between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah. But heterogenous mass of United Front stands not only for continuation of Article 370 but also for strengthening the autonomy of the state to a greater extent. What is the limit of this 'greater extent', is not specified.

In a situation where views of various national political parties are so divergent in opposite direction, there is hardly any chance for a consensus to evolve. The only way out of this mess is to maintain the status-quo unless a consensual political opinion is arrived at. Otherwise, the polarity of political thought over Jammu and Kashmir will get so acute that Kashmir will become a hot and burning election issue, as it is in Pakistani politics. This will be bad for our democracy.

It is time that Indian state addresses itself sensibly towards solving the malaise that afflicts our crown since its accession and now it must be decided once and for all. But meaningful negotiations must proceed the widest and the remotest. The voice of reason never goes unheard endlessly. But one must bear in mind that the horizontal economic democracy is the only permanent solution to the problem of separatism. Economic justice is a prelude to patriotism.

And if the new Government headed by Farookh Abdullah really wants to deliver good to the people of valley, who have reposed their faith in the leadership of Farookh Abdullah's National Conference (NC), and the economic well-being of Kashmiris must be the foremost priority of the new State Government and if it fails to sustain horizontal economic well being of the people this time also, a historic chance for bringing peace to Kashmir will be lost and the nation shall have to pay dearly for it.

Both Parliamentary and Assembly elections have proved beyond reasonable doubts that the people of Valley want to

live in peace. A 60 per cent voters turn out even under the culture of gun and terror shows the disgust of people against the terror regime which is prevalent in Kashmir. Thousand of innocent lives have already been lost and it must end now.

Apart from this, one more very favourable factor for Farookh Abdullah's Government is that Karan Singh's family is a part and parcel of the State Government led by him. This will help restore the confidence of Kashmiri Hindus who had left the valley when terrorism was at its peak.

Last but not the least, since there is a wide-spread agreement amongst the leading political parties at centre to help the state Government to restore the normalcy in the state, irrespective of the fact which Government occupies the saddles of power at the Centre, it is going to be very friendly towards the Farookh Abdullah's Government.

With everything in its favour it has to perform the task of uprooting terrorism from the valley and effecting vibrant economic growth of the state so that the people of the state are freed from the horror of everyday terrorism and are also able to earn a decent living for themselves and their families. In their pursuit of attainment of this goal, the people of India are solidly behind them.

The success of the Farookh Abdullah's Government is very vital for the people of India because this is probably the best chance to weed out the cult of terrorism in the state. A failure at this juncture will be disastrous because entire world is observing that how the things are going to shape in Kashmir in future. If we fail this time, the world opinion will not remain in favour of India which will give a boost to terrorism and if it happens, we may very well end up losing the crown of India.

From the north of India, the journey eastward is no pleasant. The Indian North-east, whether Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya or Nagaland, offers the same scenario of

turbulence, of course, with much less a gravity than what is being witnessed in Kashmir or was being witnessed in Punjab. But a very typical feature of entire north-east of India is the complete alienation of its populace from the mainstream. Most of the Indians know almost nothing about the entire north-east. Even Gandhiji in 1940 confessed that his knowledge of north-east India is very poor. For many of us, the north-east states appear only in the states and their capitals column of a general knowledge refresher. Hardly five per cent of Indians would have made it to north-east of India even once during their life.

If we carefully look at the over all scenario in entire north-east of India, we find that barring Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh, no tangible peace exists anywhere in north-east. The peace returned to Mizoram only after Mizoram accord of 1986 between Laldenga and late Mrs. Indira Gandhi and it led to the establishment of peace process in Mizoram because Mizo people had only one leader fighting for their cause and he was the most undisputed leader of Mizo people. He was none other than Laldenga and once he signed an accord, all his followers laid down arms and followed the accord in totality. This is why, peace stayed in Mizoram after 1986.

As a matter of fact, if any movement, secessionist or otherwise, has only one established leader, the chances of finding an amicable solution to the problem being faced by the people carrying that movement are very high. A situation where many leaders espouse the same cause, it becomes difficult to determine as to whom to talk to solve the problem.

But elsewhere in the region accords after accords have failed and most farcical amongst them all is the Assam Accord of 1985. It deals with detection and deportation of foreign nationals. But let alone deportation of foreign nationals, even the process of detection of foreign nationals has not commenced thus making the accord self defeating,

leaving Assam in a morass. Moreover, one big problem with north-east states is that they are xenophobic. It is one of the contributory reasons for the failure of almost all accords in north-east.

Actually, it is only after the 1962 thrashing by China that Indian Government realised the strategic relevance of the north-east. From 1963 to 1984 the development in infrastructural facilities like roads, communication and electrification improved by almost 200 per cent. But neglect of the region was so complete and comprehensive that even such an impressive scale of development could not bring much solace to the life of people. For them, life remained as hard as ever before. Even to this day, the per capita income of the entire region is one-fourth of the national average. Many tribals in the region don't even know how to switch on a transistor set.

Our poor knowledge of north-east stems primarily from the lack of communication with them. For instance, no major national daily brings out its edition from north-east. Even in terms of percentage of coverage, the news gathering from north-east is negligibly small. Until 80s, there was hardly any rail link between north-east and the mainstream. Despite the fact that new channels of communications have made the world a very small place, north-east is still very far away from our mainstream.

Under these circumstances, let alone expecting the people in the north-east to be patriotic, people living in such an isolated environ from the mainstream won't even feel any emotional bondage with the country which claims itself to be theirs. Adding insult to the injury, the Government of India invariably chooses the easy path of containing insurgency by handing over the insurgency infested areas to military and paramilitary troopers. While it pays immediate dividends, it further alienates the masses. The problem in north-east is not that of a law and order problem. It is a problem of utter neglect of the people. It will be very

interesting to know that people of north-east and even insurgents are very tolerant and even friendly to the paramilitary forces and attack them only when their backs are pushed to the walls.

Another major reason of alienation of masses in the north-east is the large scale influx of Bengalees. Intellectually superior Bengalees have dominated the economic, social and political life in north-east to such an extent that the natives feel enslaved to them in their own homeland and they see the large number of Bengalees as threat to even their cultural heritage.

One reason why the people of north-east are not able to withstand the intellectual onslaught of Bengalees is the educational backwardness of whole of the north-east. The number of universities in the entire region can be counted on the fingers and the kind of education they impart is no better than one imparted by the government schools in a city. Only Mizoram is an exception which is on the threshold of hundred per cent literacy. The low level of awareness amongst the people of the region of the outside world is yet another reason of their being so backward and alienated. They are not given the opportunity to understand that in the entire Asian region which surrounds them, India is the best bet for their moral and material development. They are not even made to understand what is the relevance of being the citizens of a secular democracy. It is the responsibility of the Government to familiarise the people of the salient features of its national life and generate their greater faith in their own country.

However small and politically insignificant this region may be, a loosening of Indian hold on the region will be moral, aesthetic and emotional defeat of the Indian state. Even otherwise, after all, how long can a nation keep its people militarily glued to it. A nation is essentially a collective and desired will of all its people. We are all alive to the example of the Soviet Union that once, of course, not

long before existed as the mightiest and the most iron ruled state of the world. What happened to it at last—it fragmented into a myriad nationalities. We are no Soviet Union. The advantage that they didn't have, we have that. To be the largest democracy of the world by itself is an added advantage for the Indian state to win the people of this region and assimilate them into its mainstream. We are a capable state. Given the will of its people, there is nothing that we can't accomplish. As bringing peace to Jammu and Kashmir shall be the most outstanding achievement of our democracy, assimilation of people of north-east into Indian state stands out as the most tedious task as it requires patience and perseverance of very high order because they are innocent, culturally much different from mainstream India and above them all, since independence and even before it, they are the most neglected people in India and certainly, they are the most innocent set of people living anywhere in the world.

6

Bangladesh: The Creation of a Baby State

The well laid principle for the peaceful co-existence of a society having multiplicity of religious and ethnic affiliations hinges around the fact that in such a plural set-up, the majority should try to allay both the real and imaginary fears of its minorities and minorities in their turn, must not incite the majority so that the aggressive majoritarianism doesn't start pushing the minorities to a point of insecurity. Any nation which doesn't adhere to this principle of governance, falls a handy victim to insurgency, secessionist terrorism and communalism. It assumes the worst shape when such an onslaught is perpetrated by the politically dominant dictatorship.

But in the post-colonial era, this way of fragmented and divisive existence became a typical Afro-Asian syndrome where various ethnic, religious and casteist groups seem to have got drawn into perpetually internecine conflicts thus undermining their own national identities. This Afro-Asian malaise reflects the typical slavish colonial past of the two vastly under-developed continents on the face of our earth.

This is in total contrast to the European politics which is moving towards reconciliation and even unification to the extent of the 'United States of Europe' after the cold-war era. But the evolutionary clock seems to be moving backward for Afro-Asian political renaissance. One of its most glaring examples had been the creation of Bangladesh. The events of whose creation would depict the same Afro-Asian syndrome that afflicts the very cross-section of its peoples.

Having peacefully settled the territorial dispute in the Rann of Katch, which had become a source of confrontation between India and Pakistan in 1965, with the help of an International Tribunal, it was hoped that an era of peaceful negotiations of all pending Indo-Pak conflicts had begun. The statement made by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in Parliament, "it would be a sad day if we fail to meet our international commitments" and by Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan in an address to his people, "in accordance with our undertaking, irrespective of whether it is good or bad, the award of the tribunal must be accepted", gave an added reason to the peoples of the subcontinent to believe that finally, the era of peaceful settlement had begun.

But elsewhere, the events were taking a different shape. On reaching home after signing the Tashkent declaration with our late Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Ayub Khan, the premier of Pakistan, faced hostile public and political reaction of having surrendered to India. In an atmosphere of despair, only Mujibur Rehman, the leader of Awami League in East Pakistan was behaving like a statesman. He candidly said, "while the people in Pakistan resent the refusal by Ayub Khan to the restoration of democracy, people of East Pakistan are solidly behind the Tashkent declaration signed by him with India".

His words truly reflected the collective urge of the people in East Pakistan. There was greater demand in East Pakistan to have increasingly more cultural, economic and

commercial ties with India so that the syndrome of inter-state relations between India and Pakistan could be progressively transformed into a mutually meaningful relation. But the very idea of having any 'ties' with India other than that of the 'mad hostilities', was considered anti-national in West Pakistan. The man responsible for such a blatantly negative attitude was none other than Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the chief architect of 1971 war with India.

Bhutto was the most widely known and popular leader in West Pakistan. As a matter of fact, he was more popular than even Ayub Khan, particularly in West Pakistan. It is for this reason that what he said was readily accepted in West Pakistan. His opposition to Tashkent declaration sent a wave through the cross-section of West Pakistan which catalysed the widespread anti-India demonstration in West Pakistan. Such an awesome intensity of sentiments against Tashkent declaration forced Ayub Khan to go back on his commitment and the Tashkent declaration met its burial soon after its birth. Unfortunately, the peoples of two countries lost a historic opportunity to begin the diplomacy of peaceful negotiations. It was largely due to anti-India hysteria in West Pakistan generated by Indiaphobic Bhutto. It was a sad day for the South Asia.

The post-Tashkent scenario in the domestic politics of Pakistan led to another development and that was, the increasing political polarity between the people of East and West Pakistan. As if it were not enough, Mujib's six points autonomy plan which aimed at making Pakistan a loose federation, added fuel to the fire. Mujib's concept of a loose federation was no doubt a bit too thin a relationship between the federating units and its federal authority and that too in a country like Pakistan which had not seen the light of democracy since its birth as a nation. In addition to demanding separate para-military forces and setting up of its own foreign trade mission, Mujib even demanded a separate currency for the East Pakistan, leaving only defence

and foreign affairs with the federal Government. Such kind of federalism doesn't exist even in the United States of America. Envisioning such an extreme form of autonomy in a country like Pakistan where democratic norms had never seen the light of the day, was quite an enigmatic vision. A student of political science can draw two inferences from it—either Mujib suddenly got transformed into a mutated democrat at core or he knowingly presented a demand for mountainous autonomy in the hope of getting at least few pebbles of autonomy for the people of East Pakistan who were getting step-motherly treatment from successive governments of Pakistan. But the views taking round in West Pakistan were that Mujib was an Indian agent. But how far it was true, is a matter of conjecture.

Whatever might have impelled Mujib to present his autonomy plan, in the given circumstances of Pakistan's political hierarchy at that time, his plan was bound to be construed as an act of secessionism and probably with a thin veil of justification as well. In no federal democratic country of the world a separate currency for its federating units exists. But even if Mujib actually meant to secede from Pakistan to create a new State of Bangladesh, he can't alone be held responsible for it. The successive federal governments of Pakistan which were predominantly dominated by the Punjabis from West Pakistan had treated the East Pakistan as if it were their colony.

Since 1947, almost all the major industrial ventures were undertaken in West Pakistan which led to very fast and vibrant economic development in this part of Pakistan. This resulted in a very sharp rise in the standards of living in West Pakistan while the Bangalees in the East had to live by the subsistence. For instance, according to a Pakistani Planning Commission's report, 77 per cent of the federal funds were allocated to West Pakistan and only 23 per cent share of the federal fund was earmarked for the East Pakistan. This was despite the fact that the East Pakistan

accounted for 56 per cent population of Pakistan. Not only this, West Pakistan accounted for 80 per cent of all the foreign exchange coming in the form of economic aid for the development activities as against a paltry 20 per cent being spent in East Pakistan.

These blatant inequalities between East and the West Pakistan were visible in all walks of life in Pakistan. Say for instance, 60 per cent of Pakistan's armed forces consisted of Punjabees and 35 per cent of Pathans. The remaining five per cent constituted Bengalees and others. Ironically, there was hardly any Bengalee in the army rising above the rank of a major. Thus, the discrimination was not limited to the level of recruitment alone but was all pervasive even in promotional avenues.

In bureaucracy also, the same sordid scenario existed. This naturally created a lot of resentment in the minds of the Bengalees which gave them a feeling as if they were slave to their masters in the West Pakistan. While this went on for decades, the political culture of Pakistan failed to undo this bias because it didn't have the maturity to judge its consequences on the future of Pakistan.

The resentment in the minds of the Bengalees was rooting deep because of their economic, political and cultural neglect by the successive governments of Pakistan. This feeling was further accentuated to the point of no recovery when nearly one million people died in the cyclone that ravaged the coastal areas of the East Pakistan in 1969. The response of the federal government led by Yahya Khan, who snatched power from Ayub Khan with the help of a military coup, to the natural calamity in East was not sincere. Nor was there much public sympathy in the West Pakistan to the plight of their fellow citizens in the East who were awe-struck by the tragedy in which about a million people perished.

This indifferent attitude of the federal government shattered the Bengalees' pride and they felt humiliated. This

further widened the rift between the people of East and West Pakistan. Such an alien behaviour by a government towards its own people was bound to shake the faith of Bengalees in the West Pakistani dominated federal government of Pakistan. Due to this inhuman and criminal indifference shown by the federal government towards the victim of nature's havoc, a situation so arose that the people in East and West Pakistan started behaving as two distinctly heterogeneous entities living under the umbrella of one nation.

But while the political tug of war was going on between the people of East and West Pakistan, the politics of election was also getting warmed up. The elections were due to held in December, 1970. It looked almost certain that unlike other military dictators, Yahya Khan was serious about holding free and fair elections and true to his words, he hold free and fair elections in Pakistan whose result was a landslide victory for Awami League of Mujib. It won 167 seats out of a total of 169 seats in East Pakistan. But it drew a blank in the West Pakistan where Bhutto's Pakistan's People Party (PPP) won 81 seats and was just able to garner a majority for itself in the West Pakistan. Thus, going by the number politics, the Awami League of Mujibur Rehman which had romped home with absolute majaority (167 seats out of a total of 313 seats), should have been called upon by Yahya Khan to form the government. But unfortunately, it didn't happen. Despite the fact that Yahya Khan declared Feb. 13, 1971 as the day for holding the first meeting of the National Assembly, Bhutto, a man cut to size and thus sulking, threatened to boycott the meeting of the National Assembly. His apprehension was that Mujib would like to throttle the people of West Pakistan with his new constitution which was to be adopted by the National Assembly.

Under this circumstance, Mujib would have shown the greater political maturity to have agreed to visit Punjab and give an assurance to the people of West Pakistan that they

didn't have anything to fear and during the reign of his government, the law of justice will govern the people of Pakistan. But instead of behaving like a statesman, he preferred to behave like an ordinary Bengalee. If Mujib had visited West Pakistan, he would have become a national hero. Bhutto wasn't far behind in the race. He also became equally obsessive about not joining the inaugural meeting of the National Assembly. As a matter of fact, Bhutto could not come to terms with the reality that the saddles of political power were slipping into the hands of the people of East Pakistan. Such an environment of mistrust made one thing very clear that people of East and West Pakistan were mutually hostile towards each other. The differences were not political in nature. There was something much more to it which became clear afterwards.

Both Mujib and Bhutto hardened their respective postures. Mujib made the same mistake which Congress had made in 1937 by not agreeing to share power with the Muslim League. He behaved exactly on the same wavelength and refused to share power with the leaders of West Pakistan and wanted to exercise his democratic right undiluted. He of course, had the mandate to go alone in the formation of government but by that time, the politics of Pakistan had become very delicate and under those circumstances, sharing of power would have been an act of greater political propriety and it would have enhanced his image as well. Even on the invitation of Yahya Khan, Mujib refused to visit West Pakistan to discuss the political imbroglio with Bhutto to evolve some kind of consensus.

At last, Bhutto and Yahya Khan went to see Mujib in East Pakistan but without any tangible solution. By that time the polarisation between East and West Pakistan had become comprehensively complete and almost decisive. There wasn't any room for rapprochement after this and the course of the events towards which the political leadership of Pakistan was heading, started becoming imminent.

The State of Pakistan was in a political inferno. There was a wide spread resentment in the minds of the Bengalees against the leadership of West Pakistan which refused to honour the mandate of the people. They viewed it as an act of gross contempt committed on the people of East Pakistan whose direct consequences were, the hartals, strikes and non-payment of the tax to the federal government. Schools and colleges remain closed. There was an instantaneous spirit of non-cooperation against the federal government led by Yahya Khan which was proxy dictated by Bhutto and the worst came to worst when at Bhutto's insistence Mujib was arrested and jailed. It was the arrest of Mujib that decisively determined the direction in which the Pakistan was travelling.

With Mujib behind the bars, the alienation of Bengalees became complete. A parallel government started functioning in the East Pakistan. This erosion of authority of the federal government was bound to invite stern action from the federal government in West Pakistan. After all, a military dictator was always a military dictator. Over a small period of time, the large contingents of armed forces were positioned in the East Pakistan to lead the final crackdown on the civilian population whose only mistake as Robert Kennedy put in the US Senate was, "Mujib and his people won the elections". This folly of having won the elections had to be paid by the people in East Pakistan with their blood.

Thousands of Bengalees were done to death during the first three days of army crackdown. With such an awesome fear gripping the people, tens of thousands of refugees started pouring in India every day. The atrocities perpetrated by the armed forces on the unarmed Bengalee civilians enlivened the gory memories of Nazi crime against the Jews. The impartial reporting by the international press confirmed beyond doubts the sinister intentions of the Pakistani regime.

But unfortunately, even such a mammoth scale of atrocities didn't shake the spirit of the so called champion of human rights, the United States of America. The Nixon administration continued its moral and military support to the genocidal military regime of Pakistan. The weapons were channelled to it secretly through Iran. On the other side, the Chinese red was fuming with warnings to India of a 'direct action' by the Chinese army to any Indian interference in the 'internal matters' of Pakistan.

Lakhs of refugees were pouring in India, thousands were hacked to death everyday by the genocidal army. Notwithstanding this, for China, all that was happening in Pakistan was no more than an internal matter of Pakistan. Only an open threat by the USSR, silenced the aggressive armed threats of China and the diplomatic offensive launched against India by the United States. In order to avert the war, Mrs. Indira Gandhi decided to visit Western Europe and the United States to save the situation from deteriorating to the point of no return. She urged the Western nations to put pressure on Yahya Khan to seek peaceful solution in East Pakistan. But it proved to be a futile exercise.

On December 3, 1971, the full scale war broke out between India and Pakistan simultaneously on the Eastern and Western front. The United States moved a resolution in the Security Council for effecting a cease-fire which was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The Indian army, well supported by 1,00,000 brave soldiers of the Mukti Bahini organised and led by Colonel Osmany liberated the people of East Bengal from the nightmarish atrocities which were vividly phrased in the *Washington Post* as, "a holocaust unmatched since Hitler". It was the result of this savagery perpetrated by the politico-military regime of Pakistan which remained criminally indifferent to a just demand where civilians urged their government to implement the election verdict that the creation of Bangladesh became inevitable.

Thus, a new State of Bangladesh was born by the democratic resurgence of its people against a fascist regime. With 90,000 POWs and impressive forays into West Pakistan, India could have put very harsh bargaining conditions. But we didn't for the reason of our national character. The creation of Bangladesh was a rare phenomenon in the history of the world where majority resorted to secessionism from minority due to atrocities committed on it by the minority regime and later on at Simla, in July 1972, an instrument of peaceful co-existence was signed between India and Pakistan. Incidentally, East Pakistan was the birth place of the Muslim League which during its Lahore session of 1940 demanded a separate State of Pakistan for Muslims.

The creation of Bangladesh disproved the myth that just because of religious affiliations, a homogenous State can be created and preserved. If it were, the Bengalee Muslims in East Pakistan wouldn't have sought the help of India to free themselves from the Muslims in West Pakistan. On the contrary, it has become an established fact that only a just, secular and democratic State can keep the nation from disintegrating into myriad fragments. If the contemporary global scenario is any indicator, this view has gathered more mettle at least during the last decade of global politics. Its finest example is the newly generated Soviet nationalities which are trying to tread the path of democrating rather than going back to Communism or dictatorship.

7

Soviet Union—The Fall of An Empire

Bolshevik revolution of 1917 established the first ever Marxist state in the world, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). But ironically, the resistance against Czarism in Russia began with the hope of establishing a constitutional democracy in Russia and this hope of establishment of a constitutional democracy increased further with abolition of serfdom. But last, it climaxed into the formation of a communist state having no room for democratic aspirations of people.

One very remarkable fact about Bolshevik revolution is that it was almost a no blood-shed revolution. This event of creation of a Marxist state assumed a historical uniqueness by being becoming the only state in the world created out of academic curricula based on the Marxist theory. Lenin whose real name was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov and Plekhanov were the main architect of this revolution. Thus, the first theorist state was born which incidentally was the largest nation of the world spread both over Europe and Asia whose avowed aim was to attain the Marxist idealism

of a bloody revolution of working class against the capitalists.

The creation of this theorist state was ideologically in direct conflict with the capitalist democracies of the West and the United States because it envisaged the extermination of the capitalism by the toiling working class in a bloody revolution. This ideological Marxist antagonism led to complete polarisation of forces between the Western Europe led by the United States and the USSR which over the period had assimilated Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Poland and East Germany into its sphere of influence either by using force or by drawing their attention to the NATO forces aiming their barrels at them. This act of coercion or persuasion led to the formation of Warsaw alliance in East Europe.

This ideological polarisation catalysed a mind boggling arms race, both conventional and non-conventional, in Europe and it looked as if the world was slowly drifting towards another show of military prowess. The closest that this polarisation brought the world towards the brink of Third War, was during Cuban Missile crisis in 1962. But somehow the catastrophic assured mutual destruction was averted.

But as the ideological polarisation was further drifting ideological rivals apart with every passing day, few sudden and amazingly surprising events started unfolding in the Soviet polity. The man behind these revolutionary changes was a hard-core Marxist-Leninist, Mikhail N. Gorbachev, who ascended to power in 1985 after the death of ageing Andropov. It was for the first time in the history of the Soviet Union that gerantocracy yielded place to a comparatively young comrade to shoulder the weight and mass of the giant Soviet empire.

Gorby, as he is popularly known, assumed the power at a time when the Soviet economy was almost at its break point. The decades of artificial economic management

rendered the Soviet economy so primitive that only a complete overhauling could restore it to normalcy and there wasn't any chance whatsoever to compete with the Western world as Gorby had wished all through his reign. Ruling a country with such an institution was like sitting on the throne of needles. It was sheer bad luck for Gorby that by the time he became the driver of the almost intractable Soviet empire, the economic health of the Soviet Union had deteriorated so much that something drastic had to be done to just carry the Soviet state on. The onus of responsibility fell on Gorby's shoulder. He had to carry on an economically fractured state having an awesome military establishment. To run a state with such a huge military empire and a crippled economy was a gigantic task, by any means. Moreover, the economic health of the Soviet Union was in such a shamble that even maintaining basic civic amenities was becoming difficult. Although not an economic intellectual, Gorby was at least an economic realist. He soon came to terms with the fact that which kind of agenda he had to set for himself. As a matter of fact, the only option left for him was to overhaul the entire Soviet economic machinery. This necessitated the introduction of the Perestroika (the economic reforms) in the Soviet society. Perestroika if seen in the light of a Marxist state, was an anti-thesis to Marxism. But even when introduction of Perestroika was in direct opposition to the established goals of a Marxist state, it had to be introduced to prevent the ailing Soviet state from collapsing. In a way, the introduction of Perestroika in the Soviet Union wasn't a natural and sustainable from a government. Even if we look at China, it too had to open its economy to the capitalist democracies of Europe and the United States. But Perestroika in China was undertaken at a right time. The artificiality of a Communist state refusing to undertake Perestroika becomes clear if we see the differences in the levels of development in East and West Germany before German reunification.

Realising this folly of 'refusal', Gorby found it appropriate to introduce Perestroika even if it was ill-timed.

Thus, in so far as the economic reforms were concerned, Gorby had a Hobson's choice. But he simultaneously introduced yet another element into the Soviet life and that was the Glasnost which meant democratisation of the Soviet society. The introduction of the Glasnost was not a compulsion as it was in introducing Perestroika. Yet, he chose to Glasnost the Soviets. The Glasnost, therefore, was exclusively Gorby's gift to the inwardly oriented and the closed Soviet society. But ironically, it was the Glasnost and not the Perestroika which decisively proved itself as his nemesis and the main force behind the splintering of the gigantic Soviet empire into myriad pieces.

As a matter of fact, when such an inwardly closed and latently heterogeneous society is suddenly made to taste the freedom of democratic aspirations, the chaos results if the newly got freedom is not exercised prudently and this is what exactly happened to the Soviet system and that too with an electrifying speed. But it seems that Gorby could not analyse that his agenda could lead to such a situation and that too so fast. As a matter of fact, nobody expected the things to change so fast in the Soviet Union. Thus, with the best of the intentions of making the Soviet Union in addition to a military power, an economic giant also which could compete on even footing with the West, Gorby became an instrument of crumbling of a seemingly infallible Soviet empire. This is the first and the most unique instance in the history of the nations where a man by an error of his judgement brought about the collapse of a mega nation which he actually adored and wanted to preserve with all sincerity.

But while he was the instrument behind the collapse of the Soviet Union, he never actually wanted to bring about such a retrogressive change. He was a patriot at core. But he was let down both by his own vision and by his own

people and also by the NATO nations who at the time when he needed them most, pulled the rug from under his feet. They did this to a man who was instrumental in taming the nuclear guns in Europe. He single-handedly set the agenda for denuclearisation of Europe. It wasn't until defeated by the strength of his character and sincerity that the western democracies responded to his call of denuclearisation. He was the man who pulled the Soviets and hence the United States out of Afghanistan which could have led to creation of another Korea in Asia and he wasn't less than a Messiah for Germans who just few years before couldn't dream that Berlin Wall would go crumbling.

The union of the two Germanies was resented by many western democracies but Gorby's singular commitment to the amalgamation of Germanies sent the Berlin Wall crushing. No one man has ever contributed so much to the world in so small a time. Irony of the fact however is, while he united the two Germanies, he disintegrated his own country. While he made the world a better place to live in, he made the remnants of the Soviet Union a very difficult terrain to live in and to live with.

Thus, at the instance of Gorby alone, the cold war rivalry met its burial. The role of Western world and the United States was literally left to following the suit to Gorby's direct and concrete actions. This paved the way for billions of dollars, which were hitherto being pumped into building arsenals of war for mutually assured destruction, to get channelled into developmental activities. Thus, under his leadership the world became a better and more secure place to live in.

But when such a man needed the Western economic and moral support to strengthen his position at home, only a lukewarm response followed which gave his detractors at home an added reason to pull him apart by demanding more and more autonomy and launching a tirade against his economic policies. If whole-hearted Western material

support, particularly to overcome the food shortage had come, Gorby. would have been at ease to tackle his detractors. But trouble at home for Gorby suited their interests and he was left lurching alone in the morass.

For what he had done to make the world a better place to live, he became a hero abroad but back home, he ended up with liquidation of Communism being brought about by the Perestroika and the Glasnost and became the most unwanted person in the Soviet Union. Whatever be, the rupturing of the Soviet Union will go in the annals of history as 'et vous Brutus' tragedy of the twentieth century.

The same people who were now demanding more and more freedom and economic change in the Soviet Union, were earlier made to behave like disciplined comrades for decade under the iron fisted rule of Stalin and Brezhnev. Any opposition to Communism and even a mention of democracy would invite exile to icy jungles of Siberia. Gorby gave them the minimum self respect that a civilised society must have and that too from a position of strength. But since he himself was a novice to the forces of democracy, he couldn't fully comprehend that giving freedom to those who had been subjected to slavish Marxism for decades, should have been a slow process. He just acted like a physician who in a haste administered an overdose of medicines into his patients who were not strong enough to withstand it and became hyper active.

Due to this folly, instead of becoming a dominant and heroic force in the Soviet politics, he became an unwanted man having no land to rule over in a country whose dimensions once enveloped the two continents. This is a typical case of a man misled by his own vision and betrayed by those whom he liberated from the yoke of slavery and restored their basic human dignity.

The only solace he had at the end of the day was a Nobel Peace Prize which by any reckoning was much less than this man of the 20th century, of course, only second

to Gandhiji, deserved. But unlike Gandhiji, the songs of his greatness would never be sung because the global political culture weighs even the statesmanship of a man according to its own political convenience and not how constructive and positive impacts he had made on the international politics. In the recent first ever democratic elections in Russia when Gorby landed up in Russia to address an election conference in a club, his address invited a fierce opposition when he began to deliver his speech but by the middle of his speech, the opposition died down and by the time he finished his speech, the audience got glued to its seats in awe with rapt attention. This is what makes a Gorby.

The chronology of his ascendance to power till he was forced to resign, retire and go into oblivion is a very interesting saga of our contemporary politics. The way the things happened during his reign create more of an imprint of fiction than that of a reality.

The moments after his ascending to the throne of the Soviet Union, the world started believing that Communism would reform and Gorby for many reasons was probably the best man to go about it. In the very first instance, he inherited a hollow economic system which at this point of time couldn't even be sustained by the artificial economic management which had been the Soviet Union's way of life for decades. Secondly, unlike most of the communist leaders, Gorby had a soul and he wanted to introduce a human face in the Soviet politics. Many in Europe and the United States realised this element of 'soul' in Gorby much later when he appointed Yakovlev as his deputy. Yakovlev was a man with as liberal ideas as any Westerner and the task at hand for Yakovlev was to establish the Perestroika in the Soviet system gradually but forcefully because without Perestroika, the Soviet state was bound to collapse.

It was a very difficult task to be carried on in the Soviet society because of its inherent contradictions with Marxism. Therefore, though its initial response was quite euphemistic

but as its penetration went deeper into the Soviet system, the opposition to the Perestroika started getting built up by the diehard communists who even branded Gorby as a Western agent and by 1988, there was a complete polarisation between the forces of Perestroika and the comrade communists. So here he met his first degree opponents.

The phased implementation of Perestroika exposed the plight of the Soviet system to the world at large and its super power image was nose-dived during the process of its implementation. This was a handy explosive for conservatives to pull Gorby by his legs. Also, since the economic intellects of the Soviet system was in a primitive stage due to non-exposure to the open economic system, the path of the Perestroika also got derailed somewhere on the way to its implementation.

While Gorby was finding it hard to put the Perestroika back to its right course of movement, the neo-liberals, his second degree opponents who were none other than the mutated first degree opponents of Gorby, swelled in size under the fresh and enlivening air of the Glasnost. These swollen neo-liberals later on turned opportunists and pulled the rug from under to decimate Gorby. One such swollen neo-liberal was Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin as a matter of fact was a political pigmy propelled to the political platform by none other than Gorby himself. Gorby picked him up to give right direction to the reform programmes and his initial image was that of a hand-picked Gorby's man.

But as he progressed the politics of Perestroika whose initial phase left a positive mark on the Soviet citizens, his popularity increased and his Russian credentials gave him an added advantage. With his popularity increasing every passing day, Yeltsin took this development into his stride and launched himself to outsmart his political mentor who lacked the shrewdness typical of a seasoned politician. His political clout started increasing. To further realise his

political ambition, Yeltsin played his Russian trump card so masterly that Gorby was left with no counter-mechanism to check his rise and by the end of 1989, particularly during March 1989 elections to the People's Deputies to Supreme Soviet elections, Yeltsin was voted more than five million votes and thus the shape of the events to come became very clear. The Yeltsin was on the rise and Gorby was sliding the hills down. The large size of the Russian republic and the traditional Russian neglect if not anti-Russianism exercised by almost all the inheritants of the Soviet throne became one of the major catalytic agents to espouse the pro-Yeltsin sentiments across the Russian cross-section. These sentiments coupled with the new realisation amongst the Russians that they had become a power unto themselves in the era of Glasnost, propelled Yeltsin far above Gorby in the struggle for supremacy. This is how a leader of character and charisma succumbed to a man from nowhere.

Yeltsin further consolidated his position on Gorby's frustrated follies to checkmate the rise of Yeltsin. The Himalayan of them all being the Gorby's plan to cut short Russia into five smaller republics of Central Russia, the Urals, the Western Siberia and the Far East. This was clearly a divisive politics primarily aimed at checking Russian intransigence and thereby aiming to cut Yeltsin to size. This was in keeping with popular dictum, 'the best way to get rid of the headache is to cut the head'. This is probably the only time when Gorby behaved like a cheap politician resorting to dirty politics. While this was the best course available to Gorby to keep the Soviet Union somehow a unitary state, he forgot the relevance of the Gandhian Philosophy that to achieve a better end, the means must also be equally pure. Although it was amply clear that if the Soviet Union was to be preserved as a single entity, a Russian patriotic nod was a pre-requisite and Gorby was very serious to bring about this. But one wonders as to what impelled Gorby to adopt a plan which in its very primordia

contained the seeds whose fruits were sure to embitter Russian faith in the collective Soviet system. Even if he had paid proper attention in the right perspective to the role played by Russia in the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, it would have stopped him from resorting to cut Russia to size. He didn't have a Stalin in him nor did he have the qualities of a smart political manager in him. This is what trapped him into doing this folly.

Thus, instead of adopting the policy of reconciliation with Russia, Gorby chose to cut Russia to size so that he survives politically. He would have earned himself a place in the Russian history as an all time great reformer had he not made the error of tearing a republic of 146 million Russians (a republic larger both in area and population than many countries) apart.

His this act instead of endearing himself to Russians, reaped the Russian hatred for him which later on culminated into throwing the Soviet Union into myriad splinters. While his plan to cut the Russian republic into five smaller republics nose-dived his popularity, Yeltsin's bitter opposition to Russian division coupled with his sweeping victory in March 1989 elections made him the Russian hero and that helped Yeltsin to establish his supremacy in the affairs of the Soviet Union. From here on, Boris Yeltsin started undermining his authority.

After having surrendered such a vast power to Yeltsin, the centrist rule of Gorby began to weaken every passing day. A weakened Gorby stood helplessly when the Article Six of the Soviet Constitution was promulgated in February 1990. It made the creation of the Russian Communist Party (RCP), which was for long been denied to Russia as its due right, not only desirable but inevitable also. When in June 1990 the Russian Communist Party actually came into being, a historical wrong was reversed, but with it, also came into being the most potent weapon to dismantle the Soviet Union. Ivan Polozkov was elected the head of the just formed RCP.

After the formation of the RCP, the now omnipotent Yeltsin proclaimed the secession from the USSR by claiming, "Russian laws will now be higher than that of the Union". Taking strength from this Russian intransigence, all smaller and bigger republics of the Soviet Union took to rebellion and stood in revolt against the central rule.

From here, it can easily be concluded that the fall of the Soviet empire was not as much the result of Perestroika as it was of the Glasnost. But while the Perestroika was the compulsive result of an artificially manipulated economy, the Glasnost was the gift of Gorby to the people of the Soviet Union. Here lies the greatness of his character. While many democratically elected leaders are shifting to dictatorship all around the world, Gorby who inherited the institutionalised dictatorship of the communist ideology, became a self desired democrat. He lighted the hearts and souls of those who on being brain-washed by coercive Marxism, considered the democracy as much as the 'opium of people' as Marx opined about the religion.

Even on being a Marxist-Leninist at heart, Gorby transgressed Marx by being liberal to the orthodox Church in the Soviet Union. He eased the religious laws of the communist Soviet and liberated the Soviets of all hues to higher levels of non-material consciousness which Marxism denies. The monotony of only material consciousness that the Soviets had been living for decades, gave in to the fresh air of democracy. They learnt to oppose, protest and antagonise. Their fear of an exile to Siberia disappeared. In such a free environment they began to assert themselves but since they were inexperienced to the democratic pluralism and its ways of self restraints for a greater collective good, they became obsessive about it and ended up in retrogressively metamorphosing the newly got democracy into sheer anarchy and ultimately dismantled the mega-state to which they belonged.

The epicentre of this anarchy was Russian resurgence. Inspired by the rise of Russia, all the micro and macro Soviet republics rose in rebellion to the central rule and seceded themselves from the Soviet Union. Their zeal to declare themselves a sovereign nation was further fuelled by the moral nod from the West. Byelorussia and Ukraine declared their sovereignties. The Baltic blood-letting of January 1991 led to further undermining of the central authority and the rebellion against the authority of the centre was complete. The declaration of independence by the big republics like Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia and Kazakhstan percolated down to smaller republics and swarmed them to independence.

Adding to the miseries of Gorby, Yeltsin was elected as the President of Russia in July 1991. With this, the fate of the Soviet Union was written on the wall. Even in the midst of this, Gorby reservedly used the armed forces to stop the inevitable. He used the Soviet army in Azerbaizan in 1990 which left 131 killed and 744 wounded. In 1991, fourteen people were killed in Vilnius. Over 500 people were wounded in Lithuania. The counting in Georgia was, 21 killed and 200 wounded.

But such a small scale use of force and that too in an isolated manner was of no consequence to arrest the wide-spread drift. The only military way to suppress such a mammoth upsurge required the use of ruthless and brute force which anyway required the mental make up of not less than that of a Stalin or a Hitler. Gorby was neither because unlike Stalin or Hitler, Gorby possessed a soul as well. It was this personal character in Gorby which averted a Pol Pot in the Soviet Union. Such a thing happening in a democracy is understandable but if it happens in the citadel of a totalitarian state, it becomes almost unbelievable.

At this point of time, almost everything that Gorby was trying, was drawing a blank. Even in the aborted coup of August 1991, it was not Gorby but Yeltsin who came out

as hero. This hammered the last nail in the political coffin of Gorby. Gorby was even morally decimated by Yeltsin because it was Yeltsin's courage and conviction which uncouped the August coup. No doubt, to uncoup a coup on the strength of a democratic upsurge requires very high order of personal convictions in a leader and Yeltsin rose to occasion splendidly.

On December 8, 1991 the formation of a new Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) became a reality. Gorby set a unique example of catalysing the greatest revolution in the history of mankind without any blood-letting. An ardent follower of Communism who wanted to give a human face to it, ended up by decimating it. In the words of Leonid Gozman, a journalist, "he wanted to turn the country, if not towards civilisation, then at least in the direction of less barbarism." For anything, he will be remembered as probably the only man in the history of mankind who preferred to lose power in accordance to the will of the people than to dictate their will.

But dismantling of the Soviet Union doesn't mean that a chapter got closed. On the contrary, many new chapters got opened. The myriad splinter nationalities which Gorby's error of judgement has created as remnants of the Soviet Union are groping in search for their national identities. The new leaders in their respective societies have the daunting task to establish the credentials of their nationalities without any social, political and economic institutions worth the name and without any experience of running the affairs of a nation. The group of men and women in their society are first of all to be metamorphosed into citizens. The citizens thus created are to be delivered economic and political substance by the new leaderships to cement them to their newly attained nationalities and then only, these small states will become a nation-state. It is a long and arduous process.

This state of flux in the newly created splinter nationalities makes them a very unique peoples in the

community of nations. The next one or two decades will determine whether they are capable of carrying themselves on as viable nations or not. This will depend much upon the kind of leadership that they will give themselves. There will be three pronged choice for their leadership—establishment of democracy, deviation to autocracy or return to Communism.

Of the three, the first choice is the best one because it has been seen across the world that only democratic institutions survive in the long run. Moreover, as long as the democratic institutions remain at the helm of their respective societies, the moral and material support from the affluent democracies of the West will continue and they will intervene if there is any threat to their security from any autocratic or communist regime should they prop up in their vicinity. Any reversal to Communism or establishment of an autocracy in any of these newly created republics will lead to very intricate complexities in the region because of their common ancestry. The events in one nation are most likely to effect the other. Not only this, how they are going to align themselves in international politics is also equally important. What if the Muslim dominated republics like Kazakhstan start ideologically identifying themselves with Arab world or evolve an axis with Pakistan? The problem will come only if they align themselves with mutually antagonistic alliances or groups.

But the establishment of an autocratic or a communist regime is bound to destabilise the entire region. The possible impact of an autocratic regime would be the civil strife within the society but the re-establishment of a communist regime would lead to more serious consequences. Its gravity will be still more acute if the bigger nations like Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia or Kazakhstan go communist. Their large size with nuclear capabilities might coerce their smaller neighbours into Communism. But the possibility of re-establishment of Communism is not very high because

Marxism-Leninism has been thoroughly discredited and has been proved to be an ideological screen for a multitude of political crimes and abuses perpetrated in the name of the Soviet Union. Yet, the next two decades will decide the economic, political and social fate of these newly created nationalities for which they will remain on the watch map of the world.

But one positive development that has taken place in Russia is the victory of democracy in the first ever Presidential elections which have taken place in Russia after it became free from the cluster of the Soviet-Union. The impressive victory of Boris Yeltsin over Communist leader, Gennady Zyuganov, has removed the fear of dawn of pre-Gorbachev period in Russia. There is no doubt that Boris Yeltsin is quite susceptible to the pressure of Western countries, yet he is the best choice in the present scenario because a democratic Russia is very vital to the world peace. But what Yeltsin now has to think is to contain and control the former General of Soviet army, Mr. Lebed who had supported Yeltsin in the second round of one to one election between him and Gennady Zyuganov.

But the fragmentation of the Soviet Union cannot be seen in the framework of an isolated phenomenon effecting the lives of only its own people. Its ramifications go still deeper when it is seen in context to the webbed global relations. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the world is left with a power vacuum leaving the United States of America as the only super power on the face of the world. This may lead to an act of disbalancing in international relations in future.

A situation where only one super-power is left to call the shots, the security of the smaller nations might become vulnerable and therefore needs safeguards. The United States has increasingly begun to exercise the privilege of its being the only super power. One of the most striking examples of this increasingly assertive Americanism is the

incessant pressure built on by it on North Korea to subject its nuclear reactors to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Not only this, it even forced Boris Yeltsin to annul agreement with India dealing with the transfer of technology of cryogenic engines to India in lieu of lures for greener pastures in the commercial space ventures in America. This is a grim scenario where the extent of relationship between the two countries is determined by a third country. Even the continuation of trade and economic embargo against Iraq is primarily the result of American proxy influence over the UN. The Iraqi intransigence in Kuwait must be punished but not at the cost of cutting the supply of even essential civilian goods.

One more significant development that has taken place after the dismantling of the Soviet Union is that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) which primarily came into being as a counter-detrant to Warsaw Alliance of now defunct Soviet Union and its East European allies should have gone into lesser significance once the Warsaw alliance became a defunct body. But on the contrary, what is being seen is that the NATO security umbrella cover is still being attempted to be expanded to include the East European countries and even Russia.

The grim question which remains to be addressed in this changed scenario is what does this attempted expansion of the NATO implies? If its proposed concern is the collective European security, this exercise becomes mysterious. Afterall, security against whom? Against itself? Certainly no because there is no other challenger to the collective European armed might anywhere in the world. When there is no challenger to the collective European might, can't it be inferred that the proposed collective European might may become a new front to imperialise the smaller nations in the 21st century? Probably, it won't. But still the doubts remain.

The smaller nations will do better to address themselves to this new development. The NATO led decimation of Iraqi

intransigence was a right step to safeguard the rights of the smaller nations like Kuwait. But can it be guaranteed that in future only internationally misbehaving babies will be made to face collective European might?

This may be construed as a hypothesis but going by the European history of colonialising the smaller nations and their hunger for power, this hypothesis may well become a living reality and if this happens, the global clock might strike the recurrence of the 19th century of European hegemony. This is certainly a projected scenario but it is, at the same time sans any logistics to support it.

Thus, while the Soviet Union has got dismantled, its remnants are posing many questions and probably giving an inkling as to in which direction the course of events of global politics should be moving in an era where balance of power is highly tilted towards the United States.

But having discussed the fall of a mighty empire and its orbits in Europe, it would be equally worthwhile to look at another fascinating event in Europe which is taking shape at a very fast pace. While an empire fallen was witnessed in Eastern Europe not long ago, just the contrary is urging to take shape in Western Europe after the unification of Germany and that is, as Winston S. Churchill said, "We must build a kind of the United States of Europe". The Masstricht Treaty which was ratified in 1993, envisages the same, the economic and political union of Europe. The very basis of this union encompasses common and collective economic interests, common law and a common future. Already 15 core West European countries are its members and many more, especially from Eastern Europe are keen on joining the European Union (EU). Some of the key aspirants are, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

Though this proposed confederation is a very tedious process to realise, the fact however is that the Western countries are very serious about it. A common parliament,

a common foreign policy, a common currency and almost anything one asks, is the part of a proposed common heritage with nothing uncommon.

But at face value, it seems to be very idealistic as there are visible differences amongst the member partners. French farmers have threatened over withdrawal of subsidies, the UK is crying mad of European Union over the mad cow affair, Austrian Chancellor intends to send a hand picked delegation to European Parliament whose main task would be to ensure that Austrian interests are preserved and lot more opposition and mutual suspicions remain.

But whatever be, the improbabilities are not impossibilities. Nobody had ever thought that the Soviet Union would collapse. Nobody had ever thought that Germany would divide and reunite. Nothing is too far for the politics or politicians.

8

The Great German Divide

The rise of Hitler in Germany imparted extra pride to the already proud people of Germany who always boasted of their being the descendants of pure Aryan race. This made the already nationalist Germans as ulterior nationalists and so was the main ideological plank of Nazism. This ulterior nationalism in Germany and wave of proud nationalism in Europe at large, gave birth to civil religion in Europe which was in total contrast to theist religion that was prevalent in Europe during Roman Catholic period when the authority of Church was absolute and binding. While nationalism in Europe was a positive development, the ulterior nationalism in Europe destroyed its democratic fabric and gave birth to brutal dictatorships. The intervening period of 20 years between World War I and World War II consolidated the brutal dictatorships particularly in Italy and Germany. With just 35 seats out of 138, Mussolini in Italy snatched power from its king in 1922. In Germany, Hitler was preaching hatred against the Jews whom he thought were responsible for the defeat of Germany in World War I. Hitler's Nazi party won only 196 seats out of a total 650 seats. Yet, he was able to hold on to the reign of power in Germany.

Coming to power of Mussolini and Hitler in their respective countries and mindless nationalism pursued by them was very important factor responsible for the catastrophic World War II. Japan also passed in the hands of military leaders and all these changes together ensured the inevitability of World War II which is discussed in this chapter.

It will be worthwhile to mention here that though Britain and the United States represented the forces of democracy during that time but democracy in these two countries was only an internal democracy. In their foreign policy their behaviour was as autocratic as that of Germany and Italy. Their overtones on the international fora weren't of reconciliation but of precipitating the move towards War. In France, even the internal democracy wasn't very stable nor could it become stronger after the great depression of 1929-1933. The fact remains that Fascism tried to raise its head both in Britain and France but couldn't succeed because of popular front formed by Comintern and other democratic parties.

Europe the ruler had been instrumental in establishing many de novo nationalities in Asia and elsewhere. Not long before, even the Soviet Union chopped itself to seemingly endless splinters. Last but not the least, Yugoslavia of Martial Tito too recently enlarged the global map with new nationalities. But the division of Hitler's Germany stands out as the most unique case of a nation dividing at the very heart of the Europe. A hugely powerful Nazi Germany in its mindless zeal of expansionism found itself cut into two halves before the World War II ended.

More than 40 million innocent civilians and army men perished in the War. About 20 per cent population of Poland was lost, 10 per cent of the Soviet and German population was also lost. The material loss incurred as a result of this war runs into astronomical figures. The division of Germany may be a battle victory for Allied forces but effectively, the German story is a collective European failure and

insensitiveness to the civilised norms. The mammoth catastrophe to the Europe and Japan could have been averted had the war leadership shown a reasonable sense of maturity and global citizenry.

Since Stalin and Hitler in the company of Mussolini were totalitarian and ulterior nationalists respectively, one can somehow live with the insensitivity shown by them through the course of the war but President Roosevelt and Churchill who represented the forces of democracy, too failed to put their acts together in averting the catastrophe. From here, one can understand that the World War II was the one historic event in the history of mankind which can be described as an event of savage personal ambitions and egoism. The principle characters in this War were same as were in the World War I with only exception of the United States and Russia which withdrew from the World War I during Russian revolution. As a matter of fact, non participation in War made the United States a mighty power while it weakened the economy of entire Europe. While the Europe was fighting the World War I, the Americans were revolutionising their industrial development. Russia also came stronger after the War I because of Russian revolution and its withdrawal from the War also had good impact on its economy.

The secret parleys between Hitler and Churchill in 1939 could have paved the way for peace if Churchill would have agreed to pay the "right price" which in his person, he was willing to pay but took a sudden volte-face while making a statement before the British Parliament and that led to a situation of no compromise with Nazis and that proved to be one of the stronger missing links in averting the War.

Even if Stalin had agreed to be an Axis Pact member as was being offered by Hitler in 1940 or if Hitler had agreed to the peace proposal of Stalin during the hey days of 1944, a vast degree of terror to civilian and military personnel could have been avoided. Not only this, even the present

day history of the world would have been better than what it was during the cold war after 1945.

But this down trend of irresponsible politics didn't remain confined only to Europe. Even Roosevelt down played the role that was expected from him. As a matter of fact, Roosevelt and Hitler were closest to finding an amicable solution to stop the impending war. Roosevelt's proposed understanding with Hitler against British belligerence at Germany in which he assured Hitler that he would mediate a British-Franco peace with Germany. He also assured that injustice done to Germany in the Treaty of Versailles will also be reversed by restoring German colonies of World War I. The defeat of Germany in the World War I put a tremendous burden on the German economy. For the loss suffered by Allies during the War, Germany had to pay the Allies an astronomical sum of \$ 6,500,000,000. All its colonies slipped into the hands of France, Britain and Japan. Even its coal mines were ceded to France for a period of 15 years. The War ended in November 1918. The cost of War and the War reparation that Germany had to pay, shattered its economy badly. Roosevelt went on to assure Hitler that in the event British armies didn't stop, he would stand by Germany. The building of German economy and recovery of its African colonies were also the part of apple-cart that he propped to Hitler.

Hitler responded positively to it. But somewhere down the line the proposal died down mysteriously when Hitler's special ambassador visited the United States where he received a very cold response. What made Roosevelt to back out of his own proposal is still as enigmatic as it was ever before. Thus, with this, the most comprehensive chance for averting War in Europe ended and the world had to witness the worst ever war fought on the earth.

One of the main reasons for the failure of various peace plans in Europe was the environment of mistrust amongst the War leadership. Although Britain and the United States

were partners in War, the later had serious doubts about the ulterior British intentions to monopolise the world economy after the War. In early twentieth century when British and German forces were encircling Nicaragua and Venezuela, Roosevelt had to issue a stern warning to Britain and Germany to remain off from its sphere of influence. To thwart this colonial ambitions of Britain and Germany, Roosevelt was even prepared to ally with Germany in the beginning so that Germany could be friended and Britain deterred not to undermine its interests.

Hitler was equally sceptical about Stalin. While offering a peace proposal to Stalin in 1940, Hitler gave order to his War ministry to remain fully prepared for the war against Russia in 'full offensive'. Poland was the worst hit. Neither Stalin nor British forces honoured their commitment to protect Poland against the Hitler's blitzkrieg of 1939 leaving Poland to doubt their reliability. No doubts, the annexation of Poland was a remarkable victory of military genius in Hitler but the fact however is, that annexation of Poland was an instrument of stabbing in the back by Stalin in so far as the faith of Polish people is concerned. Polish rightly doubted a secret understanding between Hitler and Stalin for quiet annexation of Poland and truth is not far from it. But at the same time, Hitler's hatred and mistrust for Stalin who had occupied the eastern Poland was very clear when he said, "Through no treaty and no agreement, the lasting friendship with Russians can be guaranteed". It was this hatred in Hitler against Communism that Britain, France and the United States never denounced Fascism and Nazism openly. In Hitler they saw a man who would wipe off Communism from the face of world. It was their this convenience which ensured that World War II took place.

Last but not the least, when Stalin's Red Army was marching towards Berlin, the British and American forces wanted to teach a lesson to Stalin so that his dream of 'Bolshevinism of Europe' was crushed. With such element

of distrust in one another, these allies had fought the World War II.

Hitler's journey into War began with his blitzkriegs (small but lightening attacks) against the smaller European nations. First to fall was Poland in 1939. Given the economy and material resources available to Germans, the best way that Hitler could afford to quench his territorial thirst was to wage isolated, surprise, short and swift wars with Europeans. This is because, Hitler was never in favour of putting the pressure of War economy on civilians. So to cut short the war budget blitzkriegs were the best options. To realise his aim to rule Europe and return the lost pride of Germany as a result of Treaty of Versailles, Hitler didn't envisage any long war with any of the Western powers and perfected the art of blitzkriegs.

Hitler's war analysis worked well in Poland. He anticipated that Britain, France and Stalin wouldn't intervene. Nor did he give them time to intervene. After this victory, Hitler and his army were in upbeat moods. The substance of his military genius thrilled and brewed Germans with endless confidence in his war leadership.

Fresh and confident from the victory over Poland, Hitler's next priority was the invasion of France on the other side of its border. But since the neutrality of Holland and Belgium was in doubt and their strategic importance was immense for waging a war on Britain and France, Hitler's tanks first tamed Holland and Belgium which made the things hard for British and French forces whose offensive penetration channels into Germany, particularly, Ruhr (by aerial and artillery attacks) got blocked. It was due to the strategic importance of Ruhr (which was the centre of Hitler's war factories) to German security that control of Holland and Belgium was necessary before waging a war against Franco-British forces.

And when Hitler declared war on France and Britain, the results were startling, France fell to Germany within a

month and the British were down and out through Dunkirk. The invasion of France was one of the most outstanding and surprising victories of World War II and for Hitler, victory over France was still more pleasing for France had annexed both its territories and coal mines at the end of the World War I as war compensation. But on the hind side of this victory was also hidden the most awful folly of the World War II. Hitler decided against the invasion of Britain. The morale of the British forces at this juncture was the lowest and temporarily, Stalin was committed to Hitler in not involving German army to war on two fronts. Under these circumstances, if an outright invasion of Britain was not possible, at least, German forces could have crippled Britain to the extent that it wouldn't have dared taking German forces to war with it.

A weakened Britain could have most probably allied with Germany to keep the Bolshevik Stalin away from Western Europe. Moreover, an alliance with Britain always remained one of the uppermost priorities for Hitler. He lost it when he was certainly nearest to it. By his own error of judgment, he drifted away from it and instead, preferred to launch Operation Barbarossa against Russia. So obsessed was he with Operation Barbarossa that he even vetoed Goering's, the Chief of German Air Force, Luftwaffe, alternative suggestion to attack British forces in Mediterranean to wrest the control of Arabian oil fields and Suez canal. It was this folly which had undone Hitler before the War ended.

But probably, Hitler had made up his mind to attack Russia. While not going all out against British forces was a folly, going for a war against Russia was a double folly. In retrospect, it made all the difference between a German defeat and victory at the end of the War. Hitler's decision to attack Soviet Union was a good news for democratic forces. As a matter of fact, many powerful lobbies in Britain and France were strengthening Fascists to destroy the Soviet

Union. A victory of Hitler over Bolsheviks was a cherished desire of western democracies. It is for this reason that fascism was appeased by democratic forces and this policy of appeasement of Fascist forces led to the World War II.

Hitler had grossly underestimated the strength of Russian army. He thought a blitzkrieg was enough to defeat Russian Red Army. In his own considered view, the Russian forces were a loose bunch of non-cohesive and indisciplined soldiers equipped with out-dated armoury. His views on the Russian army's ability emanated from two factors. One, the difficulty encountered by Stalin in defeating Finland. Two, even official Nazi intelligence findings projected such a shabby scenario of the Russian armed forces. But he didn't know that tractor factories in Russia were actually manufacturing tanks. It must be appreciated that Russians had very few loopholes from where its secrets could be leaked out.

While this misguided and miscalculated understanding of Russia further slowed down his preparation for war against Russia, the political and strategic considerations that led Hitler to change battle field from British to Russian side are equally interesting. Hitler had a deep rooted hatred for Communism. He terribly feared Stalin's advance into Europe and considered himself to be the only man capable of thwarting Bolshevism of Europe. It is for this reason that even aggressive Fascism was appeased in Europe. One more factor which he weighed in shifting his war priorities from Britain to Russian side was that somehow he was very convinced with himself that he would be able to convince British to ally him in the war. As a matter of fact, Hitler had always believed that only a British-German axis could ensure the security of Europe. Even just before he committed suicide, he mentioned to his faithfuls that future of Europe depended largely on how Britain and Germany interact.

In April 1941, Operation Barbarossa began. At the same time aerial bombing of Britain was continuing but at a very

soft level. Once the war with Russia began, the myth of a weak Russian army vanished. The blitzkrieg hypothesis also failed. Russian invasion in four weeks as was planned by Hitler too failed. But even at this stage when it became clear that no blitzkrieg was enough for invasion of Russia, the war preparation in Germany remained almost equal to that of the peace time. But even then German forces had penetrated 450 miles into Russia and were barely 200 miles away from Moscow. The Kiev oil fields were almost in the grab of German forces. Imagine, if the war preparation were done on a larger scale during the War, the invasion of Russia could have been achieved during October when German forces were just 100 miles from Moscow.

But however gifted an army General he might have been, he didn't have more than ordinary intellects in so far as his economic brilliance was concerned. One very intriguing aspect about Hitler is that the level of war preparations undertaken by him were very moderate and that wasn't in keeping with what circumstances demanded at that time. Probably, Poland factor might have inspired him to go slow with it. He paid dearly for his battle non-preparedness when Russians began their counter-offensive in December 1941. From moderate to very high casualties were inflicted on German army and the German forces had to retreat in fallen pride. An all out attack when Russian forces were standing right in front of Moscow could have seen Stalin crumbling. But instead, Hitler erred again by opting to go for the conquest of Russia from many fronts.

But irrespective of his ifs and buts of Russian misadventure, Hitler tasted his first defeat of the War. A defeated Hitler became the source of morale raiser to Allied forces. But at home in Germany, even this defeat didn't inspire Germans to feel crisis ridden and thus reorient their War preparations. It was a very enigmatic complacency which was further accentuated by the propaganda ministry of Goebbels which transformed the German defeat into a

temporary set back. Not only this, Gestapo, the German military police ruthlessly kept the internal opposition to Hitler's rule under control. The anti-Hitler 'swing kids' in Germany were brutally done to death by the Gestapo.

Just while Germany was recovering from the scathing defeat, the aerial bombing on German cities by Britain in 1942, left German awe-struck. The effect of direct attack on the heart land of Germany could not be minimised by the Propaganda ministry and by now the Germans had realised that they were not invincible. Aerial bombing and defeat at Stalingrad for the first time forced the Germans to increase their War efforts. Had this wisdom dawned at the beginning of war with Russia, the end result of the War would have been different.

Subsequent increase in the strategic aerial bombing attack on important German cities had an adverse effect on Germany's war preparations. Even Mussolini was getting no better. Fall of Tunis, Sicily and Corsica to Allied forces left him crestfallen. At this point, Hitler was forced to get involved in a long battle. It was exactly this that Hitler didn't want because he knew that German economy didn't permit a long war.

By 1943, the bombing of German cities by Allied forces became so intense that the course of War almost became a direct confrontation between Hitler's Germany and Allied forces. Mussolini was crestfallen in Italy and Japan further added to the problems of Hitler when Japanese aircraft carriers sailed to within 200 miles of Pearl Harbor and launched a surprise attack on American forces in which 18 American ships were sunk. More than 170 American aircrafts were destroyed and as many as 3580 Americans were killed. This enraged the United States and it got directly involved in the War. A treaty between the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States to fight a common Fascist enemy took shape and they began to be identified as Allied forces.

Stalin was roaring to conquer eastern Europe and now the War production in Germany began on a hysteric level but it was too late. Allied bombing had crippled it to the extent of no recovery and outcome of the War became imminent. Germany had to face Allied forces from three sides.

By 1944, Hitler had lost France to the Allied forces. Stalin began his march towards Berlin and now both on its eastern and western border Germany had to face formidable rivals who were by now dominating the War. Few months later, all territories annexed by Germany in Europe were won by Allied forces. Finland and Romania were occupied. Polish underground army took up arms against Germany. Turkey broke diplomatic relation with Germany and declared war against it in its African colonies. France was freed and Italy too fell to Allied forces.

But while the morale of German forces was saggingly low, Hitler alone had the nerves of iron. In addition to attending every day War strategy, he had to keep the morale of his commanders high. Even while the ship of Axis partners was sinking and defeat was inevitable, Hitler was still optimistic. Germans had made great forays into fission process and Hitler would be invariably found telling his generals, the people of Germany would have the last laugh because by providence bomb would be ready before Allied powers dare step on the German soil. But it wasn't to happen and luckily, it didn't happen because atomic bomb in the hands of a dictator was far more dangerous than in the hands of democrats. Although, Americans too didn't show statesmanship by using it on innocent civilian population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki later in the War but a nuclear bomb in the hands of a dictatorial Commander facing defeat, could have been more dangerous.

With no hope of a nuclear bomb ready and Germany being surrounded by aggressively advancing Allied forces from all the sides, defeat for Hitler became imminent.

Smelling this, rats started jumping out of the sinking ship. Egypt, Finland and a host of south American countries also declared war on Germany. But this man, Hitler, was a born optimist, full of courage and an endless fighter. While the morale of his Generals was getting saggingly low, a fierce attack on advancing Red Army by German forces in a single day offensive left about 250 Russian tanks destroyed and thousands killed. The impact of such a brave offensive in the midst of defeat was so strong that Stalin's army was temporarily frozen to its ground. This happened when the German war production had been brought to a grinding halt by the strategic aerial bombing. These were the nerves that Hitler was made up of.

While it was a brilliant display of the element that he was made up of, the enemies were zeroing on Germany. Berlin was wearing, recovery of France by Allied forces was complete, Italy and Japan caved in. But in the meanwhile, strong differences built up between Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin about their respective spheres of influence during the post War scenario. The differences between the partners in alliance were so high that Hitler propagated a notional offensive as a last ditch effort to rupture the alliance. His analysis was not a bundle of His. It proved true as later on, the world had to undergo another ordeal of half a century under cold war which ended with dismantling of the Soviet Union. He opined that Stalin had a sinister plan to Bolshevinise entire Europe. British would become his next target. He therefore averred, "It would be better if British, American and German forces together check the advance of Stalin's Red Army". Though it looked like a last ditch effort by a defeated Commander but fact however is, that he had wished all his life to ally with British to check the spread of Communism in Europe.

The victors don't ally with vanquished. But his fear of Stalin's intention was quite real. The British created new divisions in fighting the Red Army in event of any

misadventure. But it didn't happen as the sphere of influence was amicably sorted out. The Germany of Hitler was sliced into two. A nation of proud people was humbled. It was not a Victory on Europe (VOE) but a victory on Germany by Europe and the United States. The World War II thus effectively turned out to be Hitler's war against a loose emulsion of Communists and Capitalist conglomerate which just few years later had their armies facing each other in a proxy war in Korea. It wasn't until 1990 that thick clouds of a World War III were ultimately cleared but not until having witnessed a Vietnam, Kampuchea and an Afghanistan. Luckily, Gulf crisis didn't surface few years before, to be precise, during pre-Gorbachev era.

This is how, Grobter Feldherr Aller Zeiten Grofaz, the greatest strategist of all times, ended up with division of his own country of what he called as country of pure Aryan Blood. But only four decade later, this great political drama got reversed and the two Germanies reunited and the World War II was reversed in so far as the division of Germany was concerned.

9

Korea

Soon after the end of the catastrophic World War II, it was being increasingly realised on the various global fora that this was probably the last savage war that man had waged against the man. With millions of life having been perished in the War along with colossal material loss, the spirit of both victors and the vanquished was shaken to the roots. That was probably the only time in the history of mankind that a positive realisation had dawned upon the man that, the war is no humane solution to solving the inter-state disputes. But this realisation proved to be ephemeral and man once again set himself to prove that he is more savage than beasts in his lust for power. This time he proved it in Korean peninsula.

The Allies of just concluded World War II were no ideological friends. In fact, ideologically, they were the most bitter rivals. The United States and Western countries representing the capitalist democracies and the Soviet Union represented the first Marxist state in the world. Soon after the War, in order to spread their sphere of influence in Asia, they got involved in a proxy-war in Korean peninsula. From this onwards, the dirty proxy-war of cold war spread its

tentacles almost everywhere in the world. The story of Korean war begins with colonisation of Korea by the Japanese forces.

But unlike the European colonialism which was vast and wide, the Japanese colonialism had a limited sphere of influence. Korea and Taiwan (Formosa) were its only colonies at the dawn of twentieth century and both these colonies had geographical proximity to it and were thus easy to manage and manipulate.

Japan asserted its authority over Korea in Russia-Japanese war of 1904 in which the Soviet Union accepted the Japanese sovereignty over Korea. But it wasn't until 1910 that Japanese took direct command of Korea. Before that the Japanese ruled over Korea by their proxy, the Korean monarchy.

The Japanese had twin interests to be realised in Korea. The economic motivation and the strategic security cover which later on could also be used for expanding the Japanese empire in East and South-East Asia also.

The Japanese were efficient colonialists. They ruled very efficiently mixing brute force and tactical reconciliation in keeping with the gravity of the situation. One very good characteristic of Japanese colonialism is that even as colonial power, they were good educators. It is because of this that even after being a Japanese colony, the Korean peninsula could boast of high standards of literacy even in rural areas. Unlike European colonialism in other parts of the world, the Japanese rule made the Korea reasonably prosperous in infrastructure and industrialisation. Had it not been, the South and North Korea wouldn't have been what they are today. This made the Japanese colonialism as one of its own kind during the colonial era.

But after the use of atomic-bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki which also resulted into the end of the World War II in 1945, the Soviet Union and the United States were deeply embroiled up in establishing their respective spheres

of influence in the Korean peninsula to strike the balance of power in the Far East. Japan obviously had no say in the entire exercise.

After long and hectic discussion between the two super powers, the 38th parallel was decided as the line of division of their respective spheres of influence. The United States was to take command of the southern part of the peninsula which also included Seoul while the northern side of the 38th parallel was left to be in the Soviet influence and this polarisation of forces along 38th parallel, later on played havoc with Korean people.

The American strategic interests in the Far East were to prevent Japan from going communist which could set a chain reaction of countries after countries going communist and it also wanted to safeguard Taiwan from the Chinese occupation. For the Soviet Union, the control of northern part of peninsula was considered to be a spontaneous stimulus to export Communism in the American controlled Korea at a later stage and subsequent pulling of Japan into the Soviet orbit.

The nationalistic Koreans expected themselves to be a free nation after the defeat of Japan in the just concluded war but the over-riding super-power interests left the Koreans where they were during the Japanese rule. In the absence of the American troops which were to arrive in September 1945, Stalin sent the Soviet troops in Korea to complete the Japanese surrender and on arrival of the American troops, Stalin pulled the Soviet troops out of southern part of the 38th parallel. The Japanese surrender was a very satisfying event for the Korean people because of their blatant feeling of hatred towards Japanese who had enslaved them for such a long time. But from the Japanese, Korea slipped into the hands of super powers which did more harm to them than the Japanese occupation.

The nationalist Koreans were in a vibrant mood to attain independence after the Japanese defeat but their new

masters would feel otherwise. They started the tactics of buying time and to begin with, first of all, a trusteeship plan was mooted for Korea by the United States and the Soviet Union which envisaged that Korea would require a period of trusteeship in which the United States and the Soviet Union would play the principal role as the controlling bodies within their respective sphere of influence before Korea became independent as unitary state.

Back home in Korea, the Korea to the North of 38th parallel was more vociferous in its demand for an independent united Korea and its leadership also moved in this direction. By September 1945, the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (CPKI) was formed by Yo Un-hyong which later on declared the establishment of the Korean People's Republic (KPR) in an anticipation that such a declaration would put pressure on the United States and would subsequently help shorten the American occupation of Korea and hence hasten the independence of a united Korea.

But in contrast to this, Korea south to the 38th parallel was weak because of its rural base. Of its two prominent leaders, Syngman Rhee was more assertive and positive while Kim Ku was of comparatively lesser significance. Rhee commanded respect amongst the Koreans because of his strong opposition to Japanese rule in Korea. During the Japanese occupation of Korea, he was very vociferous in his demand for the independence of Korea. He was even sent to jail during the Japanese rule. In his post World War career, Rhee formed the Korean Democratic Party (KDP) with the help of the rightist elements in the American occupied Korea. This gave an upbeat to his political popularity. A shrewd manipulator as he was, with the help of his American masters, he was able to politically decimate Kim Ku and sent him into political insignificance. This made Rhee the unchallengeable leader on the political platform of Korea south to the 38th parallel.

In Rhee, the United States found a man with whose help the advance of Communism could be effectively checked in the Southern Korea. Rhee was a very ambitious man. His aim was first to ascend to power in south Korea and then bring about the unification of Korea but under his leadership.

With this, the political polarity was completed in the Korean peninsula. The Korean People's Republic (KPR) in the northern Korea became an organ of the leftist Soviet Russia and the Korean Democratic Party (KDP) in southern Korea secured the blessings of the United States and thus the stage was set for the chain of events to unfold in the Korean peninsula.

After complete polarisation having been got set and the United States was able to foster better relations with the KDP, it walked out of its commitment being made in Moscow (attended by the US, the Soviet Union and a British nominee) to work towards the creation of a provisional Government for the whole of Korea after whose formation the trusteeship was to be considered for the Korea north and south. With emergence of the KDP, with Rhee as its leader, the American had already had a man at the helm who because of his own personal ambitions would be an effective check to the spread of Communism in Asia. Moreover, the United States knew that the provisional Government would certainly be communist in character because of considerable communist influence even in south Korea and with communists at helm, the trusteeship will become meaningless and the very purpose for which the American forces have landed up in Korea, will be defeated. Therefore, the United States wanted to consolidate its position to south of the 38th parallel by installing a Government led by Rhee.

The Soviets were no suave either. Their latent aim behind the creation of a provisional Government was to spread Communism in the whole of Korea and then using

it as an epicentre to spread Communism to Japan, Philippines and Taiwan in the immediate future. This left no option for the United States except to prop up Rhee and check the communisation of Asia. The other view taking air at that time was the simultaneous withdrawal of both the Soviet Union and the United States from Korea and subsequent establishment of a unified Korean Government. But since this would also tantamount to the communisation of Korea later on, the United States outrightly rejected this idea. This fear of the United States stemmed from the fact that while north Korea was decisively communist, southern part of Korea wasn't too sure of being anti-communist.

But in the meanwhile, anti-American sentiments were becoming visible in south Korea probably being instigated by the Soviet Union at the behest of the communist outfits in south Korea. Even the Chinese hand was also suspected. An element of anti-trusteeship also began to take roots in south Korea. The situation began to assume serious proportion in the peninsula which if in the given circumstances was allowed to go unnoticed, could have involved both the Soviet Union and the United States face to face. But fortunately, neither for the Unites States nor for the Soviet Union, the Korean Peninsula was strategically that important so as to get involved themselves in a direct conflict with each other. Nevertheless, both wanted to have their presence felt in the peninsula to check the growth of each other's influence.

The ideal way in which the United States wanted to leave Korea was to establish Rhee at the helm of the south Korean affairs if the whole of Korea was an improbable reality. A Communist dominance of the Korean peninsula would have shaken the faith of its allies in the ability of the United States to check the expansion of Communism. The danger of Communism in Korea and for that reason in the whole region was very high because it wasn't only the dominance of the Soviet Union in north Korea but also the

proximity of the entire region to another Communist state, China, was equally a matter of concern both to the United State and the Western democracies. To realise this end, Rhee was the best choice for the United States to check the growth of Communism in the Korean peninsula. Rhee had an obsession of coming to power if not in the whole of Korea, at least in its southern part. He was prepared to achieve this even if it were to come at the cost of a unified Korea which was the collective will of the people of Korea.

The United States began hectic efforts in this direction. The involvement of the United Nation was the only way to achieve this end. The United States started lobbying in the UN with the help of its allies for a UN supervised elections in south Korea to form a national legislature in which the seats for Korea north to the 38th parallel were to be left vacant till an amicable formula was evolved for the participation of north Korea in the functioning of the proposed national legislature as the idea of a UN sponsored election wasn't acceptable to the people of north Korea.

The United Nation's Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) was established in October 1947 for this purpose. Elections were later on postponed to May 1948. The UNTCOK was to supervise elections in south Korea but it was not allowed to enter north Korea nor did the elections took place there.

Although the UNTCOK was established after the hectic lobbies by the United States and its allies, it had a fair composition but the numerical strength of its non-south Korean supervisory staff was farcical. It can be gauged from the fact that only 30 non-south Koreans were involved in the supervision of the May 1948 elections spread over an area of 100,000 square kilometres. The results of this farcical elections were on the same lines as were desired by the United States.

Rhee was crowned with victory but the UNTCOK refused to recognise the newly formed assembly as the

National Assembly. So it couldn't lead to the formation of a National Government, as was desired by the United States. Rhee assumed the leadership of the newly formed government and unilaterally declared it to be the government of the whole of Korea with the north Korean seats left vacant in the Assembly. It was named the Republic of Korea (ROK). The whole process of elections, installation of Rhee to the power in South Korea and his claim that the government led by him was the government of whole of the Korea, was one of the most farcical events which took place in Korea during the period of crisis in Korea.

In the meanwhile, Truman was getting anxious to call the United States forces back after crowning Rhee to power. An economic aid of 600 million US dollars was announced for south Korea for its well being so that it could take the might of north Korea on its own in the event of an aggression from the other side of the 38th parallel because American public opinion was getting evolved in the direction of withdrawal of American forces from Korea.

The UNTCOK agreed that the ROK was capable of performing the functions of a government and could bring about the unification with north Korea. But the Soviet Union came in the way of the ROK getting recognition, it vetoed the United States led motion for the recognition of the Republic of Korea.

In response to the ROK, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was formed in north Korea with the strong backing of the Soviet Union. It also claimed itself to be the government of the whole of Korea. Thus, from having no government of their own at the end of the World War II, the Korean people now had the two governments. Its leader was Kim Il Sung. But as the new events kept unfolding, the situation across the 38th parallel was worsening with every passing day. There were sporadic exchanges between the north and the south Korean police. In south Korea, Rhee, with the help of American army was

using brute force on the communist led rebellion against him and was by and large successful also. Exasperated by it, the leadership in north Korea demanded a conference in Pyongyang of all those politicians (whether in north or south Korea) who wanted the unification of Korea. Their obvious reference was to catalyse the south Korean communists and its moderate sympathisers in south Korea to continue their struggle as it was being called in north Korea.

Stalin's foreign policy judgement was immaculate. After having created a well equipped army in north Korea, he withdrew the Soviet troops from Korea by December 1948 but not before a strong army of about 80000-100000 men was created which was supported by 300 expert Soviet troops with its vastly superior air strength. It was ready to make forays into south of the 38th parallel. The situation looked like that of the World War III. The guerrilla rebellion in April 1948 and January 1949 which left 30,000 dead by the 65,000 armed strength of south Korea made the situation looking still more grim across the 38th parallel.

By the first half of the 1949, it became distinctly clear that the war was imminent. Thus the hectic and complex preparations were on. Taiwan extended its support to south Korea on the pretext that in the event of a Chinese occupation of Taiwan, south Korea would give asylum to Chiang Kaishek for Taiwanese army and rifles. But Rhee didn't give a positive response to Chiang's offer because Rhee knew that it wasn't in favour of south Korea to antagonise China because any help from Taiwan meant that China would be on the other side of the War. For Rhee, China was a far more formidable rival to face for few Taiwanese rifles and men.

Chiang Kai-Shek as a matter of fact wanted a war to break out in Korea for his own personal interests because a war breaking out in Korea would certainly lessen the chances of the Chinese occupation of Taiwan. Moreover, if the United States and south Korea were to reluctantly accept

Taiwanese help, this by itself would have sent a warning signal to China against the Taiwanese occupation.

But greater than Taiwanese factor, it was Chinese enigma that was haunting Americans and Rhee as to which side of the border would it stand in the event of a war or would it maintain neutrality. An equally deeper enigma which haunted the United States was whether China represents a monolithic communist block identifying itself with the Soviet Union or the Chinese Communism led by Mao Tse Tung was an independent movement taking its direction independently of the Soviet Union.

But in the meanwhile, in the midst of this confusion, Truman ordered its Seventh Fleet to prevent any Chinese attack on Taiwan which in the event of a war could have given a psychological advantage to the communists against the United States.

On June 25, 1950 the war broke out. Who attacked first was not clear. But according to the UNCOK (United Nation's Commission on Korea) observers, who were stationed in south Korea under the command of the United States, they were of the view that south Korea was never in a position to launch an all out war. They were of course, engaged in repelling the guerillas who were operating from north Korea. The UNCOK firmly believed that the attack was started by the Korea north of the 38th parallel. It was a surprised and meticulously planned aggression by north Korea. Since north Korea was well equipped to launch an offensive and also, since Kim too was not capable enough to launch the offensive on his own without the effective backing of the Soviet Union, it became amply clear to the world that Kim was a Soviet puppet. But the role of China in the initial phase of the war remains an enigma as ever before.

The battle field across the 38th parallel was heavily tilted in favour of north Korea due to its vastly superior armed forces. Within three days of the outbreak of war, the north Korean forces reached Seoul. They inflicted heavy

casualties on the south Korean side. Their armed strength decreased from 65,000 to 30,000. Such a swift north Korean attack shook the spirit of Rhee and his American masters. Truman immediately ordered the dispatch of American troops to south Korea for neutralisation of the north Korean tanks by a winter air attack and the man who was assigned this task was a brave and gallant General, MacArthur. He lifted the sagging morale of American forces by launching a counter-attack deep in the north Korean territory. It met with a resounding success. It left the north Korea on defensive. By this time, British, Newzealand, Netherlands and French forces were also standing by the side of the United States in Korea. The situation by then had become very complex and real fear of the World War III existed.

With situation suddenly changing in favour of the United States, the possibility of disappearance of a Communist state in the Chinese neighbourhood could become a reality. Thus, China had too much at stake at this point. Even its security was endangered to what it called as the dangers of imperialist expansionism. Safeguarding its security thus became the central theme of its Korean policy. The United States' policy of a visible dominance in Japan also increased the Chinese fear of an American hegemony and subsequent threat to its frontiers. Moreover, the occasional bombarding by the American pilots in the Chinese territory enraged China almost to the point of retaliation

MacArthur, though a very mature and brilliant general, blatantly miscalculated that the Chinese neither had the troops nor the equipments and power to take on the might of the United States. It was a Himalayan mistake which probably cost him the Presidential ticket and even led to his subsequent dismissal. MacArthur's underestimation of China can be compared to Hitler's underestimation of Russia in 1941 and both had to pay dearly for their follies. Hitler

lost the World War II and MacArthur lost his job and presidency. •

An euphoric sense of confidence led him to carry the UN forces under his command deep in the north of the 38th parallel. A strong army of 180,000 troops was ordered to keep marching until the north Korean border opposite the 38th parallel was reached. Even Yalu and Tuman rivers were reached by the United States led UN forces which were directly threatening the China's North-Eastern border.

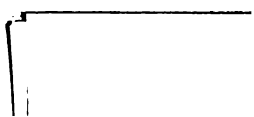
This led to the massive Chinese onslaught in November 1950 to defend themselves for which Chinese had been warning MacArthur day in and day out. Blind-folded by his own vision, MacArthur was still confident of winning the war and unify Korea under the recently formed UNCURK (United Nation's Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea). As if it were not enough, MacArthur blundered a second time when he underestimated the strength of the Chinese troops to around 70,000. The fact however was, that the Chinese numbered more than 3,00,000. Such a large scale Chinese intervention changed the entire scenario of the war. But for the miscalculation of MacArthur, an American victory was very highly probable. Thus, MacArthur turned out to be the Hitler of Korean War.

With this, the war ended up in so far as the US-Chinese axis was concerned. The occasional bickerings between north and south Korea continued and also continued the political parleys both within and outside the UN. But no tangible solution could be found out.

In the meanwhile, Truman's term as the President of the United States ended in 1952. Eisenhower took the charge and threatened the use of atomic bomb if north Korea and China didn't come to terms. Shortly after this, Stalin also died. These two events softened the north Korean and Chinese intransigence. In July 1953, the Korean war came to an end.

The 38th parallel almost remained the line of demarcation between north and south Korea. A dialogue for unification of Korea was also urged. Nothing tangible happened in so far as the reunification of the Korean was concerned. Thus, the history moved from the 38th parallel and after eight years of turmoil returned back almost to the 38th parallel without bringing about the unification of the Korean peninsula. Nothing more can illustrate the ill-effects of the super-power rivalry in the post World War era than the sordid tale of the Korean War. The only victims in the entire process were the people of Korea. Their motherland was divided into two just to keep the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union alive in the region. It is a case of blatant transgression of the sovereignty of a nation and utter contempt of its people.

But neither the catastrophe of World War II nor the war in Korean peninsula led the good sense to prevail and after about two decades, it was the turn of Cambodia (now called Kampuchea) to suffer the excesses of genocidal Pol Pot regime. But Kampuchea doesn't fall within the scope of this book as this book primarily deals with terrorism and division of nations.



10

Yugoslavia: Bleeding to Disintegration

Unlike the Soviet Union whose disintegration was a result of mutual agreement amongst its constituent republics, the disintegration of Yugoslavia was a case of Serbian intransigence against the non-dominant ethnicity of Croats, Slovenians and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Not only this, the disintegration of Yugoslavia also brought to fore the hypocrisy of the European Community (EC). Its fear of a ruptured peace in the heart of Europe made it almost a mute observer in the midst of a mindless regime of repression unleashed by the Serbian leadership on various ethnic groups constituting Yugoslavia.

Even the United States was making confusing hue and cry about a tangible solution to Yugoslavian crisis. The ineffectiveness of the UN was equally sordid. Had the international opinion been sincere to find an amicable solution to Yugoslavian imbroglio, even its disintegration would have been averted because the constituent republics of Yugoslavia didn't aim at secession in the beginning. They wanted to redraw the federational set up of Yugoslavia.

Their demand was to create a loose federation of sovereign or semi-sovereign states within Yugoslavia. This was necessitated due to acute Serbian dominance in Yugoslavia. Slovenes and Croats wanted to limit Serbian influence in the federal structure of Yugoslavia. But Serbs wished just the contrary. They wanted to maintain a dominant role in Yugoslavia through a centralised federation.

In March 1991, majority of the constituent republics of Yugoslavia reached an agreement on the proposed structure of new federation for Yugoslavia. But this proposal was outrightly rejected by the Serbian leadership. The reason behind this Serbian obduracy was its innate faith that should the republics resort to secession, in all probability, they were not likely to be recognized by the international community. To check-mate a probable opposition by Croats and Slovenes to this Serbian intransigence, the Serbian leadership began to consolidate its power by assuming the role of a Commander-in-Chief.

Any more hope of a reconciliation was further undermined when in May 1991 the Croatian representative, Stipe Mesic, who was supposed to assume the rotating chairmanship of the collective presidency, couldn't be elected due to deliberate obstruction by Serbian leadership. Croatia had earlier threatened to secede if Mesic was not elected to assume the rotating presidency.

This created an unprecedented opposition and unrest in Croatia. A referendum was held in Croatia in which 93 per cent of Croats voted for independence. Before this, a similar referendum was held in Slovenia in which 88.5 per cent Slovenes voted in favour of independence.

Even such an awful will of the people didn't deter Serbian leadership. Nor did it change the convenient stance taken by the European Commission (EC) which believed in the sanctity of 'territorial integrity' of Yugoslavia. As a matter of fact, the European Commission was bothered more about the spill-over effect of the tension in the very heart

of Europe. It turned a blind eye towards the plight of weaker ethnic groups in Yugoslavia. Almost at a time when situation in Yugoslavia started moving out of hand that the EC mediators managed to broker a fragile cease-fire in search for an accepted agreement.

But it was too late for a meaningful negotiation. Croats in their republic resorted to violence against the Serb population. It was a very dangerous development. Innocent Serbs had to be saved. But the way, the Serbian leadership dealt with this situation, was also not justiciable. It dealt with Croats with brute repression which was far more than the need of the hour. In addition to saving the lives of Serbians, the Serbian forces started encroaching Croatian territory for the realisation of a 'Greater Serbia' because by now it had become clear that fragmentation of Yugoslavia was unavoidable, rather, inevitable. It set a race for occupying as much Croatian territory as possible. Yugoslav People's army with the help of local Serbs worked over-time to achieve this goal. Due to this, situation in Croatia degenerated to worst.

Smelling the inevitable, the world community, in this case, led by the EC, resorted to a volte-face. Its earlier stance of maintenance of the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia changed and in total contrast to it, the EC agreed to recognise the Slovenian independence. This further weakened the fabric of federal authority of Yugoslavia. Its position was further weakened by the UN sponsored arms embargo. But despite this, the Serbian forces were far more formidable for Croats and Slovenians. In August 1991, for the first time, the EC openly spoke against the use of violence by the Serbian forces. This in a way implied that the EC had recognised Croatia.

Only resurgent and unified Germany made its voice clear from the beginning by strongly condemning the Serbian forces for their offensive in Croatia. But German voice was seen by other European nations in the light of its

hegemonistic ambitions in Balkans which throughout the German history had been very vital to its strategic interest in Europe. It might be true as well.

Though at the UN Security Council also the voices were raised in opposition to Serbian expansionist aims, but in view of vast polarisation, no tangible solution could be found out. Taking advantage of a diffused world opinion, Serbian forces declared the formation of a Serbian republic whose frontiers even extended deep into the encroached Croatian and Bosnia-Herzegovina territory.

On January 15, 1992, on the advice of Arbitration Commission, the Presidency of European Community declared its intention to proceed with the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia, the other two republics which had also expressed their wish to become independent, were not immediately recognised. The fear of Greece that if Macedonia is also granted recognition, it will claim a part of its northern territory because of its racial and nomenclature also. This fear had to be allayed before it was granted recognition.

In March 1992, a referendum was held in Bosnia and Herzegovina also. It was boycotted by the local Serbians in these two republics. An undertaking was also taken from the Macedonia that it would never stake any claim over any territory in northern Greece.

Soon after referendum in Bosnia and Herzegovina, violence erupted in these republics. Serbs genuinely feared their relegation to minority status in a Muslim dominated state. They started feeling insecure. This was enough for Serbian forces to intervene to save the lives of Serbians. Serbian forces were superior in arms and weaponry and launched a massive onslaught on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbian superiority rendered Bosnia-Herzegovina helpless. An appeal was made to the EC and the UN against Serbian aggression. Not only this, even Croatians started attacking

the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A sandwiched Bosnia-Herzegovina had to face a two-sided onslaught.

A real danger to the Muslims in the heart of Europe existed and so existed the real danger of Islamic fundamentalism raising its hood in the very heart of Europe. An unusually late arrival of the UN and the EC forces failed to serve any meaningful purpose. The credibility of the EC and the UN took a severe drubbing.

The end result of this human mockery still writs large on the Marshall Tito's Yugoslavia which was once the torch bearer of the Non Aligned Movement (NAM). This internecine war and the subsequent fragmentation of Yugoslavia should be a lesson for the entire world as to how to deal with a comparatively new kind of situation—the ethno-nationalism which is a unique phenomenon by itself.

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11

Nationalism: Commensalism with Economy

Nationalism emerged in Europe in eighteenth and nineteenth century. It was also the time when industrialisation had become one of the most central themes in European life. It might apparently look like a coincidence in Europe. But a deeper analysis would reveal that industrialisation and nationalism are inter-related commensal phenomenon.

Only industrial societies can deliver economic prosperity to their citizens. It is largely because of economic factors that national identities of nations are going through a process of sophisticated transition towards globalisation. No nation can afford to neglect industrial and economic development if it wants to preserve its political map.

Even when Europe had been ravaged by internecine wars, its war machinery never put any serious burden on its civic industry. Germans enjoyed almost as much material comforts during the war time as they had enjoyed when they were at peace with the world.

Even if we look at today's world, we find that political isolationism is almost impossible due to economic compulsions. The developed and developing world is forced to live in economic commensalism irrespective of national antagonism in their internal lives. For instance, under the new world economic order, World Trade Organisation (WTO), even Pakistan had to grant India the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status as part of its international commitment.

As a sovereign nation, Pakistan was well within its right to refuse to grant its staunchest enemy the status of MFN. But the complex web of inter-dependent global economy has forced Pakistan to do exactly that it wouldn't have wished otherwise. Realising the vitals of economic inter-dependence, both India and Pakistan are partners in South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). For further details, refer Appendix.

The economic factor has become one of the most vital ingredients in determining the course of a nation's life. Today, there is no stateless society. Shedding their nationalistic prejudices, all the states are externally tending to converge into a mega-economic entity to evolve a strong internal nationality. This is how the nation, the collective wish of a set of a people to remain together, has become largely dependent upon the economic well being of the people constituting it.

A state tends to squeeze into smaller segments if its economic machinery fails to deliver the good. Many states in the world are in spate of terrorism largely because of economic disparities. Ours is one such typical example. The dismantling of the Soviet empire and its fraternity in Eastern Europe and East Pakistan are few examples that one can quote in this context.

The economic neglect erodes the authority of the state over its citizens and the fabric of state starts becoming fragile. If this goes unchecked, the nationalist citizens transform into secessionist citizens and this results into

anarchy. But in contrast to this, in industrialised societies, the economic well being of the people is so comprehensive that the high and low segments of the society merge into each other and a comprehensive homogenous state results from it which is more tenable than a heterogenous mass encompassing various mutually antagonistic economic strata.

Realising the vitals of global economic assimilation, the Europe has taken lead to integrate its economy. If this economic integration becomes a complete reality, the Europe will become first continent on the face of world giving birth to an 'Economic Nation'. This 'Economic Nation' if and when fully formed, shall represent the newest and thus, the highest form of state in its evolutionary hierarchy. So far man has travelled the journey of organisation and integration till the formation of 'Nation-State' in which the great majority of the citizens identify themselves with the state as belonging to them.

This is a clear indication that political life of nations is tending to break the barriers of national boundaries. But in which direction the global nationalism will move from here in future is not clear. It is also not clear what new complexities will crop up as we move towards new horizons of global nationalism. Shall we have to encounter new regimes of economic blackmailing by developed economies or a just and participatory global order will emerge? Please refer Appendix for further discussion on this topic.

But while this economic integration of globe might dilute the spirit of nationalism, it certainly will reduce the chances of armed wars which our planet has encountered through its history. Only after the end of cold war, the world could heave a sigh of relief.

Appendix

Kashmir—A Case for Economic Democracy

(Published in *Kashmir: Tourism to Terrorism*)
1995

Democracy becomes a very dangerous form of Government if it is not supported by sustained horizontal economic well being of its subjects. Many neo-liberated nations of the post World War era experimented their national lives with democracies but ended up in sheer anarchy of dictatorial, fundamentalist or military regimes bringing many nations to the brink of civil wars. But while these failures deterred many nations from treading the path of democracy, India trusted its destiny to democracy and became the largest democratic nation of the world community.

But the turbulence of a post colonial democratic State keeps pricking us intermittently. After Punjab, it has now peaked itself into the Kashmir valley. While the Raphael affair added fuel to the fire, the moral victory over Pakistan at Geneva, left India euphemistic. But the fact however is, that alienation is complete. The administrative machinery remains crippled, political process, a non-starter and last but not the least, Indian Army is in the worst dilemma due to

the pressure of human right groups. In the midst of this, the moral and material support from Pakistan continues unabated. The remnants of Afghan war, the huge stockpiles of deadly weapons and out of the job, war addict Mujahideen are crookedly exported to valley by infamous intelligence agency of Pakistan, the ISI, which can logically be read as Intelligence Services against India. This is how India is paying premium for the cold-war rivalry. Yet the hope remains, we will be able to win the heart of our people in the valley because for centuries we have survived the onslaught of many civilizations and armies of men. This is the enigma of Indian State. Of the recent examples, we have attained peace in Mizoram, Assam and most spectacular of them all, in Punjab. But the way we achieved this in Punjab or elsewhere doesn't apply to Jammu & Kashmir. Though both have commonality of being the border states contiguous to instigating Pakistan, yet the contrasts are still marked in the field of economy of the two states. Punjab being the leader of Green Revolution with self sustained vibrant Small Scale Industry, the valley in Kashmir has neither. Moreover, Punjab tops the list of per capita income in India, J&K has one of the lowest in India. It is this difference in the economy of the two states that it was comparatively easy to uproot the cult of terrorism in Punjab while this is not the case with valley in Kashmir. The economic neglect of Kashmiris has embittered their attitude towards the centre. For them, a Kashmir even sans terrorism will not change their economic realities. It is for this reason that there is a mass support to terrorism in valley which wasn't the case in Punjab.

As a matter of fact, in entire north and north-east India, the syndrome of economic backwardness prevails and step-motherly treatment meted out to them over the decades has led to insurgency in entire hill-belt of Assam, Mizoram, Tripura, Darjeeling and Manipur. But while in these states insurgency remained insurgency, the same in the valley

became almost a 'Jehad' of the sort due to religious colour added to it from across the border and every effort is being made by Pakistan to convince its Islamic counterparts elsewhere also, that it is espousing the cause of fellow Muslim brothers in valley. It is a Goebbelist propaganda. But our vibrant democratic institution with well entrenched secular fabric can more than match this propaganda offensive of Pakistan. We have proved this at the Human Right Commission's meet at Geneva where none other than the trusted allies of Pakistan, Iran and China, advised Pakistan to withdraw its resolution or else face the humiliation of a self invited defeat.

We must prepare ourselves to take these occasional bickerings into our stride in as mature a fashion as the one we adopted in dealing with Hazratbal siege. Of course, this doesn't mean too soft an option to deal with terror mongers. The first task at hand in Kashmir is to weed out terrorism without causing any undue hardships to innocent people. And once this is achieved, a simultaneous politico-economic initiatives should commence. This task can only be achieved by the true representatives of Kashmiri people. At present, there is no political machinery worth the name existing in the state. Thus, instead of political leg-pulling, a common political heritage is to be evolved to win the confidence of both Hindu and Muslim segments of the state. No lasting peace in the valley can come about without a harmonious Hindu-Muslim co-existence. In such a scenario, the BJP in particular, must learn to exercise restraints over its Hindutva card gameship because the Hindutva banner of Hindu majority weakens the faith of minorities and they begin to doubt the very secular credentials of the Indian State. In a state where many minorities are to coexist with a majority segment, the minorities should not incite majority and at the same time majority must allay both the imaginary and real fears of the minority. The vote-politics whether

perpetuated by majority or minorities, proves catastrophic in the long run to any nation practicing it.

Only a just political Government can put a nation on the path of development. Right now, India is ripe to become a great economic force. But if Indian economic empire is not spread horizontally, it will not be able to survive as single nation because economic well being of people and their faith in nationalism or patriotism are complimentary to each other. One adds its effect to other. The USSR, now defunct super-power of the past, was also a military power of course, but was without an affluent economic base and a democratic institution supporting it. It is due to lack of these two pillars of survival that it ruptured into myriad micro-nations enjoying no recognizable identity. Thus, only a vibrant democracy sustained by a horizontal spread of economic well being can command patriotism from its people. The United States of America stands the only model example of an "eco-democratic" state where patriotism is never talked about, it comes automatically.

And so shall it come to India. Economic well being, particularly in the hills of north and northeast is the only answer to hill-area secessionism in India. The fruits of open economy are not the prerogative of a handful of already well offs. Do the Kashmiris have only apple cart to sell and earn their livelihood? Tourism is dead and hence is crippled the handicraft industry, for there are no tourist buyers. What else can be done? No worthwhile industrial base can be gifted to valley in the absence of basic infrastructural facilities. But if Germans (then West Germany) could rebuild their industry from war-ruined debris, we can also revolutionize the growth of industry in the hills. Instead of declaring 'hills', the disturbed area, what we ought to do is to declare 'hills' as priority industrial area with lucrative incentives working directly under the supervision of Planning Commission. This provision should last till hills and plains become 'economic co-brothers'. This will open

the floodgates of employment opportunities for the young aspirants who will thus get a chance of live a dignified life rather than taking to AK-56 in sheer desperation. Alienation sweeps only those who live in abject neglect.

Political parties must reach masses and convince them of the futility of violence. Indian state is the best bet for their moral and material development. The time is ripe now because it is for the first time in last five years that an anti-Pakistan tempo has surfaced in the valley. Even if it needs bringing them across the table without any preconditions, we shouldn't hesitate because 'yes' or 'no' is our decision. But negotiations once begun would be a gain as this would tantamount to the fact that political process in the valley has begun. It would leave the enemies of peace demoralised. This is what we as a nation require.

Time is getting out of hand. We have already reaped the whirlwinds for having sown winds in the past. It is time that we learn to tame icy whirlwinds of the valley, otherwise, its hills will crumble and the valley will become shallow. Thus, both the hills and valleys will be lost for good.

Punjab Prospers despite Terrorism

(Published in *Pioneer*)

8/2/91

Call it strange, enigmatic or else! Punjab has sown a steady track record of economic growth despite being racked by terrorism for over a decade now. Although this growth is not the same as registered in the pre-terrorist era, yet it continues to be an economist's delight.

Although surrounded by a hostile neighbour, Punjab has belied the theory that socio-political crisis is rooted in economic ills. The first manifestation of terrorism anywhere in the world is that it cripples the economy of that region—be it West Asia, northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, Jammu and Kashmir or the North-east belt in India. Although one of the worst hit, yet Punjab continues to enjoy the fruits of a vibrant economy in the midst of secessionist terrorism.

The anomaly can be the result of many factors put together. The yearning for Khalistan has not penetrated the cross-sections of Punjabi society. Brave as the people of Punjab are, there had not been any mass exodus of people from the state, as is invariably the case with the other terrorist infested areas.

Such being the dynamics of Punjabi psyche, a long history of survival and hardwork and the resilience to fight the terrorism, it won't be difficult to solve this enigma of a vibrant economy in the face of everyday terrorism.

Situated in the fertile belt of the Indus valley, one of the world's most fertile areas, the state's agriculture has received a thrust due to this geographically advantageous position. Along with Haryana, it is the leader and chief gainer of the "green revolution" in the country. Since terrorism does not effect soil fertility, Punjab has surged ahead in agriculture. As a result the state has the highest per capita income with no poverty worth the name.

No poverty also because of horizontal expansion of resources to the masses, unlike other states which have a plethora of haves and have nots. Having the highest percentage of irrigated land, it is obviously less prone to natural calamities like floods and droughts.

Another interesting feature of Punjab's economy is the mix up of weak governments and rich people. Successive governments, Akali or Congress, have proved inefficient. Inter-party rivalries among the various Akali factions and a

self-destructive Congress culture have contributed to weak governments.

Taking advantage of this situation, the Centre has been giving a step-motherly attitude to the state as far as the industrial sector is concerned, depriving it of any worthwhile industrial units. A surprise gift, however, came in the form of the recently set up Kapurthala Railway Coach Factory.

Nevertheless, the people of Punjab are rich. Rich not only because of the agricultural boom, but because of their efforts to set up parallel, self-motivated small scale industries like bicycles, automobile spares, hosiery, sports goods, agricultural implements and so on, notwithstanding their very little contribution to the economic growth of the state.

Since farming is not a round-the-year job, many rich farmers have set up small industries in their homes, most of which are self-sustained. This has catalysed the economy of Punjab, henceforth termed as "double booster economy", which is further supplemented by its numerical strength of overseas assignments.

It ranks second only to Kerala in having highest number of its people abroad for job or business. Punjab thereby supplements the income of its people, besides earning our crippling economy the precious foreign exchange.

Despite the fact that the state is brewing with seemingly endless terrorism; the workers of UP and Bihar have gone back to their homes and no night-shift work takes place, the private sector has still shown remarkable courage in setting up industrial ventures in Punjab. Oswal Agro group of companies and Thapar group of JCT Mills are few leading names to reckon with. Tata's joint venture with Pepsi Inc., of USA is yet another grand addition.

For the last three decades, Punjab has shown a steady growth in agricultural sector. The foodgrain production touched a high of 192 lakh tonnes in 1990-91 as against 185 lakh tonnes in 1989-90, wheat and rice accounting for the

bulk of production. Against the production targets of 115 lakh tonnes of wheat and 68 lakh tonnes of rice, 120 lakh tonnes of wheat and 65 lakh tonnes of rice were produced in 1990-91.

This is unfolding of an enigma. But it leaves many afterthoughts. The brave people of Punjab have clearly shown resilience to withstand the onslaught of terrorism. But if terrorism goes unabated and the law and order situation is allowed to deteriorate further, Punjab may not present the same rosy picture in the future.

The economy may slacken leading to a catastrophe. One should not forget that an economy slackened is fuel to terrorism, and if secessionist terrorism succeeds, India may have to meet the same fate as Gorbachev's Soviet Union.

Quite obviously, the politico-economic approach need to be addressed by the Government in order to uphold the unity and integrity of the country.

Economic Federalism a Must

(Published in *Delhi-Midday*)

16/2/92

The Indian Constitution describes India as "the Union of States". The word "Federation of states" is missing. But Indian State is not unitary either. Many authors have defined the nature of Indian Constitution variously as federal with unitary bias or a federal quasi-federal state.

However, despite the ambiguity of these interpretations, there is clarity in one perception, and that is, the Indian state is inclined towards a very strong centre, which is the feature of a unitary state. There was a historic need for it. We may talk euphemistically about 'unity in diversity', but the fact is that our diversity has primordia of division in it. This aspect was taken into account by the Constitutional Assembly which under the chairmanship of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar accepted with one voice, the system of a strong centre.

The system worked well in binding us in nationalist fibre. But with the passage of time, political pluralism became distinct, the era of different Governments in centre and state began, and the theory of a strong centre began to be questioned. The Government at the centre, the Congress for most of the time, started extracting political mileage out of this provision, particularly during Mrs. Indira Gandhi's rule.

Dismissal of democratically elected State Governments by the Centre, through Governors became the order of the day. States politically hostile to the Centre had to face discrimination in centrally sponsored development programmes. This resulted in the evolution of vertical strata of least, and the most developed states. Maharashtra, the political citadel of Congress, became the most developed state of India, while West Bengal and most of the northeastern states (where Centre's negligence or high-handedness bred insurgency) became impoverished. This led to the creation of collateral states, one of which produced raw materials, and the other, processed goods. This is how the green revolution giants, Punjab and Haryana remained farm states with little or no industrial base. Thus, Pandit Nehru's words, "a strong Centre is envisaged for the collective good of all to the perils of none", became redundant.

This fiscal discrimination, stoked the fires of secessionism and regional nationalism in Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir, Assam and the north-east states. Jharkhand, Uttaranchal and Gorkhaland of Subhash Ghising also hoisted the flag of sub-regional nationalism. It may be just a wild outburst by Biju Patnaik when he says, "if we (the people of Orissa) continue to suffer fiscal discrimination, we will declare ourselves an independent State.' But the fact is that, if this trend of regional disparity continues, the seemingly wild concept of Biju Patnaik may become a reality in the future.

The need for a very strong Centre was felt by the framers of our Constitution, because of the integration into the Union of India of around 600 princely states, which had behaved more or less like allies of the British in the pre-independence days. But today, those states are nowhere to be seen. In addition to this, the root cause of secessionism in post-independence India, is economic backwardness and political subordination. Therefore, it is high time that we moved towards fiscal and economic decentralisation. Even the 'village republics' as visualised by Gandhiji are nothing but the end products of decentralisation.

New Delhi should stop the game of crippling the economies of the Opposition ruled states, as it did in the early 80's, when the Marxist governments of Kerala and West Bengal were refused overdrafts from the RBI for payment of salaries to their employees. Southern states have for long complained that they have to be content with only spinning mills, while all new licenses for weaving mills are allotted to the millowners from Gujarat and Maharashtra.

In the case of Assam, the root cause of political unrest is the step-motherly treatment with regard to industrialisation, while giving high priority to exploitation of its oil, timber, tea, and other natural resources.

In contrast to this, successive Central governments have succumbed to the political pressure of western

Maharashtra's sugar lobby and blandishments by the Shetkari Sangathana. It won't be surprising if, even in this year of short cotton crop, Maharashtra gets its full quota of cotton, to keep its cloth mills running and garment export industry booming, while other states are starved of their minimum quota. Greater and equal fiscal authority to states is a significant character of a federal set up. Subservient and ever-begging states can hardly achieve anything on economic fronts. It is important to realise that, cohesive federation of the United States of America is the direct result of the creation of economically independent states.

A meaningful initiative in this regard should come in the form of apoliticisation and restructuring of the Planning Commission. Hitherto, the Planning panel has been a handpicked body of the ruling regime (with the Prime Minister as its de facto chairman). Consequently, Planning has been reflective of political twists and turns. Whooping subsidies were continued, while our economy was crumbling under its weight. It is time for the economy to be made free of politics.

Portrait of a Terrorist

(Published in *Pioneer*)

15/9/94

A terrorist at core is a firm idealist, the popular term for which is a hardcore terrorist. He is a confirmist in the sense that he begins to believe that his ends can be met only through the barrel of the gun. But Harjit, a 16 year old lad, could hardly have had a mental make up which could categorise him as a terrorist.

One could often see him play 'gulli-danda' of marbles on the street. Carpentry was the family profession and he had inherited the talent in abundance. He could be seen working in his vests and shorts with his father. The most striking part of his personality was the look of innocence on his face. Everybody in the neighbourhood could not but love him.

Harjit would often take Guddi, a little girl in his neighbourhood, to his house and play for hours with her. Once he made a wooden stool for Guddi and presented it to her parents. Naturally, he refused the money offered from them in exchange when they pressed him for it. People were unanimous in their opinion about him: that he had a heart of gold.

But on one fateful day he visited his relatives in Delhi after 1984 riots. He returned after just three days, but he was never the same Harjit again. His behaviour underwent a complete change. He would remain silent, sullen, and introspective. His eyes were vacant, he would no more play 'gulli-danda' with his friends any more. Nor would he spend hours with Guddi. His interest in carpentry also waned.

People thought it was a passing phase. But they changed their opinions when he suddenly disappeared after about a month. Nobody, not even his parents knew anything about his whereabouts. Soon his disappearance became the talk of the town. Some guessed he had crossed over to Pakistan, while some others associated his name with bank robberies and killings of innocents.

The police also started pestering his parents about his whereabouts. Their house was searched on a number of occasions. The family members had a visible gloom on their faces. Their social interaction also suffered a great deal just as their prestige took a blow.

One day, a newspaper report mentioned that Harjit, a terrorist, was killed in an encounter with security forces. That is how he met with his fate. But I still wonder what

must have happened in those three days he spent in Delhi. How his innocence transformed into the evil hatred of a terrorist.

To this date, it remains a mystery as to who did he meet and what actually transpired in Delhi at his relatives. But this was certainly a case of the making of a terrorist who, perhaps without knowing what he was doing, met with such a gruesome and violent end.

How many such lives of young innocents have ended up with their deaths with the tag of "terrorist" in encounters with security forces.

Wanted a New Bretton Woods

(Published in *Nation and the World*)

14/3/92

The complex dynamics of economic relations between the developed and developing world gave birth to Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. The conference decided to form the World Bank. Its chief organs are International Bank for Reconstruction & Development (IBRD) and International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The philosophy behind the creation of such an institution was to ensure the collective growth of both the developed and developing world with greater obligations to be honoured by the developed world to sustain the progress of developing nations.

As the Bretton Woods system progressed, it led to acute polarisation between the developed and developing world which endangered the very survival of the latter. The plight of the developing world can be found out from the fact that more than \$100 billion from Asian, African and Latin

American economies are drained into payment of interests and debt instalments every year. It is due to such a high scale of indebtedness of the Third World that in 1983 for the first time American banks received more dollars in interest payment than the sum they lent during the year.

This led to a situation where even for debt repayment, many Third World countries seek credit from international institutions at high rates. Staggered by mounting debt trap, many Latin American countries like Brazil, Mexico and Argentina had to impose unilateral moratorium on debt repayment. And with four other Latin American countries they were branded "dirty seven" group of nations by the world community. Such a state of affairs by itself is an index of inherent anomalies in the existing world economic order. This, if not corrected, can even lead to collapse of the world economy.

There can be no denying that developing countries could not bring their domestic economies in tune with global trends. This by itself is not the cause of the pathetic state of Third World economies. The main problem for them is the policies pursued by the United States which over the years has been using IMF as an instrument of political pressure upon developing countries. This has led to unilateral debt squeeze, high rate of interest, shorter repayment period, adverse terms and conditions dictated unilaterally by the successive US administrations. The American intent behind such coercive tactics is that by mounting pressure on the developing countries, the penetration of American Multinational Companies (MNCs) into the developing world can be easily affected in the midst of stiff competition from other developed countries.

Besides, the domestic economy of the US depends heavily on the inflow of capital from abroad and this is possible only when the tentacles of American financial interests deeply penetrate the entire world. Many private banks in America will go into the red if Third World

economies collapse because of indebtedness. Compounding the mess, the protectionist policies pursued by it have affected the trade balance of developing countries.

Such policies of the US will boomerang on the United States as much as these will affect the developing countries. This can be analysed in the light of the fact that if forced moratorium on debt repayment is exercised by the debtor nations, American GNP will come down at least by one per cent. Besides, credit squeeze for the debtor nations will render millions jobless in Europe and many industries shall automatically face closure ruining their economies. Successive US administrations have overlooked this fact.

The ground reality is that rejuvenating the present economic order is essential for the survival of developed economies as much as it is for the survival of the Third World economies. Interdependent as the global economy is, this is imperative that a New International Economic Order (NIEO) should be evolved for the collective good of the entire world. The first step towards realisation of a New International Economic Order would be to write off part of the debts of the developing world. Most of the indebted nations have paid about half their original debt by way of interests, instalments and debt servicing. If it is not done by voluntary action, it is bound to be 'bad' in due course and shall have to be written off anyway.

Once a part of a debt is written off, the restored balance of trade will help increase export and provide more employment in the developed world. As the cold war is over, the arms industry in the west is shrinking. It has led to an increase in unemployment in the USA and the European countries. The exercise of writing off the debts must be accompanied by the regular inflow of new credits at static rates of interest. Besides, protectionist barriers must be removed to narrow the gulf in trade balance between developed and the developing economies.

The evolution of New Economic Order is destined to collapse if it not accompanied by wholesome changes in the attitudes of Third World countries. It is commonly believed that the poor developing world will do better in the absence of any external aid. The corrupt bureaucracy and political system must undergo a sea change to streamline their domestic economies. Budgetary deficits must be wiped off. In addition to this, the evolution of a comprehensive long-term export policy is a *sine qua non*. This must be the basis on which a neo-Bretton Woods economic order should evolve.

Revitalising SAARC Economic Links

(Published in *National Mail*)

11/8/91

Complex economic interdependence of the nations paved the way for syndicated outlook towards economic management on a regional basis which forged the era of a bloc led economies. It began with European Economic Community (EEC) and spread to South East Asia in the form of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) and the SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation).

Demographically, the SAARC is the largest economic association. It encompasses one-fourth of the total humanity. India alone contributes 80 millions. But in terms of per capita income, this is the weakest of the economic blocs. The per capita income of India, Pakistan, the Maldives, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh put together is less than

that of several European countries. Thus, though a bottom ranked economic association, the beginning of the SAARC by itself is a significant landmark in South Asian history.

Aimed at regional cooperation in the field of agriculture, rural development, scientific and technological cooperation etc., the SAARC has many grounds to cover at its very root because of political, cultural and religious heterogeneity of its member nations. This sharply contrasts with the EEC nations which represent a cohesive political, cultural and religious force. Moreover, all these nations have a sound economic structure of their own. The two factors lend the Western Europe a vibrancy of unequal proportions.

Contribution

Going by the EEC as the model, if the SAARC is to render any significant contribution to the development of South Asia, all its member nations must boost up their own economies supported by non-inhibitory collective effort with regard to SAARC action plan. This is where lies the rot. The health of their economies can be inferred from the fact that of the total global export, the SAARC share stands at around 0.2 per cent while its share of total global imports is to the tune of two per cent, most of which flows from extra-SAARC region. This happens when most of the import requirement of tiny SAARC nations such as Bhutan, Nepal, the Maldives and Sri Lanka can be met from within the region and most of it on reciprocal basis. This can spare them of indebtedness of major currencies like dollars, pounds, and deutsche marks.

But the policies pursued by the developed countries vis-a-vis poor nations and lack of trust within the SAARC Fraternity has bedevilled the growth of intra-regional trade. Firstly these small nations find the task of wriggling out of the debt trap of developed countries too daunting and have to continue to depend on them for certain of their necessities.

These vested interests impede the regional trade and cooperation and curb independent economic decisions by small nations. Even a country of India's size feels such pressures occasionally. An instance is available in pharmaceutical imports from the developed countries by small SAARC nations. This is notwithstanding the fact that much of the South Asian requirements could be met by India. Yet there is a preponderance of multinational companies operating in these countries even for formulations like antibiotics and other simple drugs. Although during the last three decades there had been about 514 per cent quantum rise in the growth of trade within the SAARC nations, the corresponding rise of extra-SAARC trade has been 706 per cent during the same period. In contrast to this, the EEC has been pursuing the goal of boosting exports and reducing imports from the extra-EEC region. As a result of this whoopingly high extra-SAARC imports, collective trade deficit of the SAARC nations stood at 12719 millions in 1987. The only answer to such imbalances is to accelerate regional trade on barter basis. This will ward off extra regional indebtedness and would create greater scope for generation of employment.

Hostilities

On another level, this kind of cooperation is marred by mutual hostilities, tensions and fear of being swamped by the big brother, India and Pakistan have never been able to live down their differences. India and Sri Lanka have had a love-hate relationship. India being the biggest country in the region has a special role to play here, being geographically the largest, politically the strongest and economically more stable, it is morally binding on India to create congenial environment in the region. Unfortunately India has always projected itself as a big brother in the region which makes smaller nations apprehensive of its

intentions. For example, airdropping of food over Tamil areas of Sri Lanka and scrapping of free trade treaty of 1950 with Nepal are enough indicators of pressure politics India has been pursuing. In such an environment, the smaller states are bound to develop fear psychosis vis-a-vis India. It is due to lack of the political harmony that Pakistan did not even figure in the export policy of India. Even today, the two countries have only nominal trade links. Any meaningful step in the direction needs to be preceded by some measure like setting up a SAARC trade centre for dissemination of information. The SAARC trade fairs could bring about contact between entrepreneur of the region. In addition to this, efforts must be made to improve the quantum of reciprocal trade between governments. Possibilities for forging multilateral joint ventures must also be explored which will boost both economic and technological standards in the region.

Chronology of Events

INDIA

1846—The State of Jammu and Kashmir was created under the Treaty of Amritsar between the East India Company and Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu

1932—Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah formed the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

1939—Muslim Conference becomes the National Conference.

March 1940—Muslim League at its Lahore session demands Pakistan.

August 16, 1946—'Direct Action' day call given by the Muslim League.

March 2, 1947—All members of the Coalition Cabinet submitted resignation.

Oct. 27, 1947—Maharaja Hari Singh signs the Instrument of Accession to the Indian Union which was being endorsed by Sheikh Abdullah.

Jan. 1, 1948—India referred the intrusion of Pakistani soldiers in Kashmir to the UN Security Council.

Jan. 30, 1948—Mahatma Gandhi assassinated.

- April 21, 1948—The UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was established.
- June 8, 1948—It was the deadline given by the British Government to quit India.
- 1949—'No War Pact' offered by Nehru to Pakistan.
- Indian Constituent Assembly adopts Article 370 giving special rights to Jammu and Kashmir.
- April 8, 1950—Agreement between Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan that both Governments should ensure complete security and equality of minorities in their respective countries.
- Nov. 1952—Jammu and Kashmir Assembly elects Dr. Karan Singh as head of the State.
- Oct. 30, 1956—The Jammu and Kashmir State constituent assembly adopts a constitution which mentions that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union.
- Jan. 24, 1957—The UN General Assembly reaffirmed that future of Kashmir could be decided only by a plebiscite.
- 1965—State of War in Rann of Kutch.
- Jan 4, 1966—Tashkent agreement between Shastri and Ayub Khan.
- Feb. 21, 1968—Territorial dispute in Rann of Kutch was solved by the international tribunal between India and Pakistan.
- March 25, 1969—Ayub Khan resigns as the President of Pakistan.
- 1970—Awami League declared its 'Six point Autonomy Programme' which was considered an act of secessionism in West Pakistan.
- A devastating cyclone hits East Pakistan killing around a million people.
- General elections were held in Pakistan and Awami League secured majority.
- March, 1, 1971—Postponement of the inaugural session of the constituent Assembly which was to take place on 3rd March.

March 25, 1971—Military crackdown in East Pakistan and Sheikh Mujib Rehman was arrested.

Dec. 3, 1971— War broke out between India and Pakistan.

Dec. 7, 1971—The UN General Assembly asked for a ceasefire and withdrawal of the troops by both the sides.

Dec. 16, 1971—Pakistan declared unilateral ceasefire and surrendered in Dacca.

July 2, 1972—Simla Agreement was signed between Z.A. Bhutto and Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Feb. 11, 1983—Maqbool Bhatt, founder of the Kashmir Liberation Front was hanged to death in Delhi.

Jan. 26, 1992—Ekta Yatra undertaken by Dr. M.M. Joshi which culminated into hoisting national flag at Lal Chowk in Srinagar.

KOREAN WAR

1905—Korea became a Japanese colony but was ruled by Korean monarchy as Japanese proxy.

1910—Full and direct Japanese rule over Korea.

1937-45—Sino-Japanese War.

1945—The Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (CPKI) was formed by Yo-uu-hyong.

—Japanese surrendered to the Allied forces.

—Division of Korea along 38th Parallel.

Oct. 1947—UNTOCK was established.

May 9, 1948—UNTOCK supervised elections were proposed to be held in the whole of Korea but were held only in South Korea.

Dec. 1948—Stalin's troops withdrew from Korea.

June 25, 1950—Outbreak of the Korean war.

Dec. 1950—China enters into war with MacArthur's forces with a massive attack which off balanced the United States.

April 1951—MacArthur was dismissed and eventually lost the Presidential ticket as well.

1952—Eisenhower was elected president of the USA and threatened the use of atomic bomb.

July 1953—Korean War ended and Korean peninsula was formally divided into South and North Korea.

WORLD WAR

June 28, 1919—Treaty of Versailles.

1933—Hitler takes to power in Germany.

1938—Germany annexes Austria on invitation of a Nazi supporter Arthur Von. Austro-German unification is called Anschluss in German language.

—Munich Pact in which German speaking part of Czechoslovakia was given to Germany.

Sep. 1939—The USSR invades Poland.

1940—Japan joins the Axis powers.

—Italy enters World War II.

—, German troops invade Denmark and Norway.

—German Air Force (the Luftwaffe) began to bomb British cities.

1941—The United States enters the World War II after Japanese bombed the American fleets in Pearl Harbour.

—Operation Barbarossa launched by Hitler.

—Russia launched a massive counter attack on German forces around Moscow.

—Hitler took direct command of German army.

1942—Surprise and heavy aerial bombings by Britain on German cities.

—Japanese army captured islands in the Pacific and threatened Australia.

1943—Battle of Stalingrad.

—Heavy Allied bombings on German cities.

—British and American troops occupied Sicily.

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- 1944—Allied forces further intensify their bombing on German cities to destroy armament factories to arrest the morale of German army.
——France was recovered from Germany by Allied forces.
- 1945—Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met to resolve their differences over the post War sphere of influence.
——Germany surrendered, ending the World War II.
——On Aug. 6, atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and on 9th, on Nagasaki.
——The UNO was formed on 24th October.
——On April 30, Hitler committed suicide with his wife Eva.

MISCALLENIOUS EVENTS

- 1975—Mizoram accord with Laldenga.
1979—USSR invaded Afghanistan.
June 5, 1984—Operation Blue Star.
Oct. 31, 1984—Indira Gandhi assassinated and subsequent rioting against the Sikhs.
1985—Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal accord.
—— Assam accord.
1989—Crackdown by Chinese army on innocent students at Tiananmen Square.
1990—Nelson Mandela freed from jail.
——Iraq invaded Kuwait.
1991—The United States led UN forces freed Kuwait from Iraq.
1994—Crisis at Hazratbal where militants sheltered themselves.

SOVIET UNION

- 1917—Russian Revolution.
1985—Gorbachev becomes leader of the USSR.

1986—Perestroika was introduced in the Soviet economic system.

1989—Ceaucescu was overthrown in Romania.

March 1989—Election to the People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet were held. Yeltsin was voted more than five million votes.

1990—East and West Germany reunited largely due to Gorbachev's efforts.

Feb. 1990—Article Six of the Soviet Constitution was promulgated. It made the creation of Russian Communist Party (RCP) mandatory.

1990—Army was sent in Azerbaizan to crush the uprising against the Soviet Union.

1991—Army was sent to Baltic republic to check secessionism.
—Army was sent in Vilnius.

—Yeltsin was elected the President of Russia.

—Coup against Gorbachev which was undone by the Yeltsin's firmness.

—Gorbachev resigns and the USSR breaks up.

—Civil War in Yugoslavia begins.

Dec. 8, 1991—Formation of new Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

1996—First democratic elections took place in Russia. Yeltsin was voted back to power.

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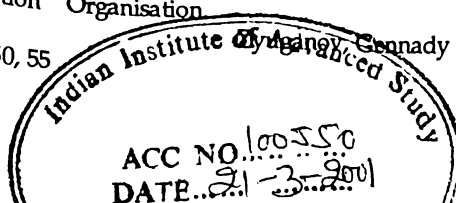
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