Chapter-II

Theoretical Perspective

"Theory is a mental activity, a process of developing ideas that can allow us to explain how and why events occur.¹ The aim of theory in empirical science is to develop analytical schemes of the empirical world with which the given science is concerned. This is done by conceiving the world abstractly, that is in terms of classes of objects and of relations between such classes. Theoretical schemes are essentially proposals as to the nature of such classes and of their relations where this nature is problematic and unknown. Such proposals become guides to investigation to see whether their implications are true. Thus, theory exercises compelling influence on research-setting problems, staking out objects and leading inquiry into asserted relations. In turn finding of fact test theories, and in suggesting new problems invite the formulation of new proposals. Theory, inquiry and empirical fact are interwoven in a texture of operation with theory guiding inquiry, inquiry seeking and isolating facts, and facts affecting theory. The fruitfulness of their interplay is the means by which an empirical science develops.²

A researcher conducting study of a particular problem is required to undertake a critical analysis and understanding of the differing theoretical perspectives in relation to the problem to delineate upon one's own perspective. Without such a perspective or theoretical framework one's study becomes a subject to ambiguity, unmanageability and an exercise in
The main objective of this chapter is, thus, to discuss various approaches in relation to the problem introduced and also to try to present researcher's own approach in the specific Indian context.

The terms like 'nationalism' and 'nation' have entirely dominated the sphere of social sciences in the twentieth century and they still evade a precision in definition. To speak in Snyder's words "a short scholarly definition of a sentence or two, a precise definition which includes every thing nationalism contains and excludes all that is irrelevant, may be impossible". Toynbee rightly observed that nationalism is surrounded by a thick, almost impenetrable intellectual smog. Few historical phenomena are so suffused with paradox, inconsistency, and contradiction. As adaptable sentiment, it takes on different characteristics depending upon time and space. Its variations do not reflect any fixed motives. There is no absolute formula to be applied to nationalism. There is nothing 'natural' about it; its building was as artificial as the construction of the Panama Canal. There is little 'rational' about it, it is not necessarily a predestined way of life for the human animal. It is an 'ism' covered with confusion thrice compounded.

However, as Gellener, pointed out that "the impossibility of providing a generally applicable and precise figure does not undermine the usefulness of definitions. These definitions, must, of course, like most definitions,
be applied with commonsense. The origin of the concept of nationalism, as it is known today, is generally traced to the 16th & 17th centuries when the modern national-states began to take shape. But, if the scholars like Boyd Shafer trace its origin to 14th centuries, nationalism has been traced back to Hebrews & Greeks also. The loyalty that the Greek city-states enjoyed is regarded as the basis of the future developments of the nationalism. An Indian scholar R.K. Mukerji also holds that the foundations of nationality were well and truly laid in the very earliest period of our (Hindu) history in the people's possession of a fixed and defined territory followed by their gradual realization of it as their common mother land deriving their homage and service.

The modern nationalism that envisages the transfer of loyalty from primordial structures to the larger nation-states has been greatly inspired by French Revolution of 1789 when for the first time the loyalty of all the classes was pledged to national state. The revolutionary and democratic character of the French Revolution was termed by Hayes as "Jacobian Nationalism". It was mainly after this historical incident that the sentiment of nationalism gradually expanded, first reinforcing the counter-sentiment in Europe (German and English) and then to the rest of the world. The best considered six-fold classification of the historical evolution of nationalism in Europe given by Carlton Hayes is worth mentioning. Hayes speaks of
Humanitarian, Jacobian, Traditional, Liberal Integral and Economic nationalism.  

Humanitarian nationalism was the earliest and for sometime the only kind of formal nationalism that flourished in the 18th century. Its detailed variations as well as its essential unity can be found in three philosophies of the enlightenment; John Boilingbroke an English; Rousseau French; and J.G.Von Herder German. Despite the variations in interpretation (Boilingbroke projected an artistocratic form of nationalism, Rousseau advocated democratic form of nationalism and Herder's emphasis on cultural aspect of nationalism) they were all infused by enlightenment, evolved by reason and in object were humanitarian. They were urged, in truth, with motives obviously humanitarian, with so kindly an eye to the well being of the whole human face, with so touching a regard for the rights of other nationalities and with so resentful an attitude towards Jingoism and intolerance—that they may justly be described as variant specimens of a single humanitarian nationalism.

Jacobin Nationalism was based in theory on the humanitarian nationalism of Rousseau and was developed by a galaxy of revolutionary lights for the express purpose of safeguarding and extending the liberty, the equality and the paternity which had been asserted and partially established during the early days of Revolution....Jacobin nationalism. As it developed in the midst of foreign war and domestic rebellion, it acquired four characteristics. Firstly it was suspicious and intolerant of internal dissent, secondly, it relied on militarism to attain its ends, thirdly, it became fanatically
religious, and fourthly, it was characterized by missionary zeal. Throughout the 19th century, it inspired the different national groups who strove to free themselves from foreign domination as well as from oppressive socio-economic governmental conditions. Jacobin nationalism set the pattern for the 20th century nationalism of Russian Communism, Italian Fascism and German National socialism.

The opponents of French Revolution came out with traditional nationalism which was based on aristocratic humanitarian nationalism of Bolingboke. It was based on history and tradition against reason and revolution. Like Jacobin nationalism it claimed to be humanitarian but as the Jacobins departed in one direction from the humanitarian nationalism of Rousseau, Herder and Bolingboke, it departed in another direction. It made a significant place for aristocracy and tradition. Three of its most illustrious exponents were Busk, Bonald and Friedrich Von Schlegel.

Midway between Jacobin and traditional nationalism was liberal nationalism that originated in England in 18th century. It was chiefly evolutionary and tended to ignore historical and natural rights. It was surely not aristocratic, and, though paid lip service to democracy, it tended to be middle class. Although it stood for sovereign nation-states, but it also limited this sovereignty by preaching political, economic and religious liberty to individual. It also advocated international peace. Its earliest propagator was Bentham.
Integral Nationalism can be defined as the exclusive pursuit of national policies, the absolute maintenance of national-integrity, and the steady increase of national power for a nation declines, when it loses military might. It is opposed to internationalism and regards nation as an end in itself. It is jingoistic, distrusts other nations, labors to exalt one nation at the expense of the other, subordinates individual and relies on physical force. It is tyrannical, militarist and imperialist. This type of nationalism flowered in the first half of the 20th century in the pre-Second World War dictatorships in Hungary, Poland, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Hitler's Germany and Italy, Russia; began its career with this type of nationalism as an economic and social reform with protests against militarism, nationalism and imperialism, but soon converted into its own peculiar brand of integrated nationalism like the nationalism of USSR.

Economic nationalism was the result of the growth of integral nationalism. The resultant struggle for markets, raw materials and fields for the investment of capital came during the rise of integral nationalism. Thus the tendency developed to regard the State as an economic as well as a political unit. Modern nations erected tariffs against each other in their intense pre-occupation with economic self sufficiency. In this way economic nationalism merged with imperialism to become one of the driving forces of contemporary history.
In classifying nationalism, psychologists stress the real and imaginary working of the mind and community behaviour. Gustav Ichheiser presents two forms. Conscious Nationalism and sub-conscious nationalism.\textsuperscript{21} In the former, the members of a community profess national values in a vociferous way, consciously strive toward national goals, glorify their real and imaginary peculiarities. In the latter members of a national group, even though they do not formulate their national ideas, are nevertheless, so influenced by naturally prejudiced concepts that they without being aware of it, see and judge everything from a national point of view.\textsuperscript{22}

Another important classification of nationalism has been given by M.S. Handman, who divides nationalists into four groups.\textsuperscript{23} The first type has been called as the "oppression-nationalism". It is the system of reactions which is found to prevail in a group the members of which are exposed to a definite and clear cut regime of disabilities usually constitute an interference with the life of the group. It was conspicuously exemplified in the late 19th and early 20th century by Poles in Germany, and Russia, the Czechs and Slovaks in Austria-Hungary and the Rumanians in Hungary and Russia.\textsuperscript{24} At present this type of nationalism can be found in South Africa and Philippines.

The second type is that properly called "irredentists. It includes groups like Italians or Serbs or others who are so circumstances that large numbers of their own people are under the domination of another group. The irredentist
finds a stimulus for his activity either in the sufferings of his kind or in the unstable international relations. In the same category can be placed those groups who fear the loss of recently acquired independence.  

The third type is called the "precaution-Nationalism". It responds to the stimulus presented by the competitive organization of the modern state-system as well as by the identification of commercial expansion with the interests of the national security and of general national well being.

The fourth type is "prestige nationalism". It finds its stimulus in the attitude of contempt or of insufficient esteem with which the nation may be regarded, when, in its own estimation, its past achievements or its present unrealized possibilities entitle it to a greater respect and consideration. In this type the nationalist becomes concerned for the life and honour of his group and begins to agitate in order to repel the attack or forestall a possible attack.

Another approach to nationalism is to consider its nexus with modernization. Modernization, that began in Europe in the 17th and 18th century brought about revolutionary changes in the social, economic and political fields in Europe. Industrialization, that initiated a new era by causing the speedy urbanization, agrarian reforms, political consciousness and rapid economic development provided a new angle of observing the phenomenon of nationalism. This approach considered the growth of modern nationalism as a
process of change from tradition to modern. Changes in the modes of production led to social mobility, rationalisation of laws and accelerated the process of industrialization which in turn led to migration, urbanization, expansion of markets and differentiated structures. All these changes loosened the narrow communal bonds and produced a sense of identity with the entire political community called the nation.

The models of development and nation-building, based on the experience of western states were developed to set examples before the newly born states of Asia and Africa. But because of the different forces involved in the evolution of new nations these models became impracticable.

The processes of nation-building in developing states were quite different. The colonisation of Asia and Africa and the rest of the world was a historical process in which diverse communities were bundled together. The emergence of nationalism which was largely an outcome of colonialism was negative in character so far as it opposed the alien ruler's but it also faced the dilemma of conflicting loyalties based upon tribe, race, religion or region. If the goal of independence led the diverse groups to make a collective effort, the attainment of it set them apart. Different groups asserted their separate identities based on parochial sentiments and this caused the breakdown of several of new nations like Pakistan and failure of newly introduced democratic
systems. The disruptive effects of modernization only accentuated these trouble torn nation's grievances. The root cause, remarked Huntington lie in the time gap as the developing states had yet to pass through all the stages of industrialization and institutionalized modernization through which the developed nations had passed. The super-imposition of modern political institutions upon traditional social structure led to competition not among individuals or classes but among castes, tribes and religious or regional groups. This aggravated the conflict between the majority and minority communities.

It was in this context that the theory of primodial erosion was extended by scholars like Silvert, Smelser and Eisenstadt who held that the development of nationalism is conditioned by modernization and related processes of structural differentiation which dislodge or erode traditional roles founded on kinship authority pattern. The ascribed bases of groups are replaced by the economic bases. Social grouping become atomized. Because of socio-psychological need for security and identity, social groups, then transfer their traditional loyalty to the emergent nation-state. The erosion theory points to the effects of modernization on the traditional patterns of social grouping and accounts for group crystalization at societal level. The simple assertion is that identification with national symbols replaces primordial loyalties.

In the communication theory developed by Karl Deutsch the process of social and political integration depends upon mass communication. The resulting social
integration can be measured by a number of indicators, showing the volume of transactions between people in different regions or belonging to different groups. The indicators are the levels of technological innovations, the expansion of the mass media, the shift to non-agricultural occupations, monetization, literacy, industrialization, urbanization, transportation network, linguistic diversity and trade. Communication is a pre-requisite of national integration. If communication is hindered, the likelihood is that integration will also be hindered. The function of communication in the context of national integration is like the function of arteries and veins in the body system.\textsuperscript{34} Deutsch has concentrated his analysis on quantitative factors but he ignores qualitative aspect i.e. that the contents of communication may give rise to disruptive rather than integrative tendencies. Put differently, Deutsch recognises the role of network of communication channels in nation-building but ignores what is communicated. It is not necessary that nationality would reflect nationalism and will ultimately lead to the establishment of nation-state. From the foregoing, one can infer that the group with the highest level of social communication is the most nationalistic. It is, therefore, expected that the level of nationalism in upper classes is greater than among the poor and middle class groups. In sharp contrast to it, Kautsky suggests that the reverse is true.\textsuperscript{35}
Another theory that focuses on the internal relationship between different ethnic groups may be called the theory of internal colonialism, according to which relationship between core community and members of the peripheral communities in a capitalist state are characterised by exploitation. The core community, having acquired an advantage over the outlying communities in the process of state-building or early period of modernization uses its political and economic power to maintain its superior position. The advocates of this theory are Gramsci, Hether and others.  

Pluralist theorists like Moynihan, Glazer, Connor and Bell assume that kinship, linguistic, regional and religious ties are natural to human beings. Nationalism is the fullest expression of human desires. The new ethnicists while not ignoring ethnic conflicts assume that they are not disruptive to the system because the membership of voluntary associations cuts across ethnic divisions thereby rounding off their sharp edges.  

Conflict theories of nationalism are also in the same vein. According to Quincy Wright "Conflict is the opposition among the social entities directed against one another". This theory, therefore, focusses upon the conditions under which social groups perceive their common interests and achieve social organization to become competitors for power. In the context of nationalism, the basic premise of conflict theories is that competition among groups gives rise to demand for control of distributive system.
The impact of conflict theories is evident in the 'pluralistic' model of society which assumes that groups are mutually exclusive because they are organized along different principles of stratification. While social conflicts are expressed in ethnic terms, economic factors are at the root of most such conflicts. Conflict over property is at the core of the theory of nationalism that has been advanced by Harry Jonson and Breton who argue that the proportion of property owned by foreigners in a society is directly related to the scope of nationalist demands for control of that property. Further, the economic theories of nationalism treat it as a process of social class conflict and some of these attempt to reconcile Marxist analysis with the concept of nationalism. According to these theories, nationalism is the product of a set of demands advanced by social classes having unequal access to the resources allocated by the distributive system. The origin of such class conflict may be either internal or external to the society.

The thesis of Marx and particularly of his followers, Lenin and Stalin, concerning nation and nationalism was this: "the bourgeoisie, becoming the dominant class, sought to and did wrest control of nation-states in order to serve their class interests—control of production and acquisition of wealth. To capture the home and foreign markets they had to have a politically united territory with a population speaking the same language and to be victorious in competition
with bourgeoisie of the nationalities. Hence they became nationalists and were responsible for the rise of nationalism throughout the western world.42

The basic assumptions to the economic theories are that with the modernizational process there come to develop urban bourgeoisie and intellectual classes. The interests of these new classes are generally opposed to those of traditional elites controlling the resources and power. Furthermore, the conflict of interests between the feudal aristocracy and intelligentsia arises because the latter groups are under employed and culturally displaced in the society. This results in confrontations cross-cutting ascriptive patterns. Because the class theory limits itself to socio-economic spectrum of distributive system, other modes of group integration which lead to separatism are neglected.

In most of the developing states ethnic ties or identities are stronger than class identities. In fact, it is the mixture of economic and social variables which prepares the ground for minority nationalism. The emergence of such sub-nationalisms in these societies, thus involve ethnic elements also. Ethnic criteria are salient sources of contention between social groups. Distinctive, historical, and, linguistic ties are the primary reference points for individuals. In such situation, the propositions that articulate the mechanism of the process of minority or ethnic sub-nationalism as noted by Chauhan is worth mentioning.43
I. Linguistic, religious or cultural commonalities are essential for defining the boundaries of society.

II. The process of modernization erodes primordial loyalties permitting identification with larger groups—linguistic, religious or regional. Under cognenial circumstances, the identity may get extended to the nation.

III. Modernization also creates acute cleavages of interests between ethnic groups which are differently affected by modernization. In such cases cleavages are rooted in the ethnic groups' desire to obtain access to political and economic power.

While both the streams of theories are distinct and can be categorised apart, the integrative and conflictive tendencies are mutually inclusive in both streams. Nation-building is an ongoing, never ending and uncompartmentalized process. It is not a uni-dimensional process but a multi-dimensional process. The mechanism of formation of nation, nationality, nation-state and the emergence of minority nationalism reflects circular causation having cumulative effect.44

Nationalism is one of the great driving forces of the modern world and defies a precise definition. It is a concept in which the loyalty and allegiance of the individual are held to be due primarily to the nation-state. Put another way, it can be described as the desire of a people to be united as a sovereign nation.45 Nationalism
is a complex of nation-state, nationality and national-patriotism. It is the militant attitude, of defense and agitated and agitating concern for the life and honour of one's people in case it is realized that they are in trouble due to the actions of another people.

Nationalism comes from the root word 'nation' which is derived from the Latin word 'Natio' or 'Nasci' signifying birth. Originally it meant a social grouping based on real or imaginary ties of blood. The emotions and attachments first focused on family, clan, tribe and then gradually spread to towns, cities, religious bodies, the realising the lord, kings and then to nation. It was in the late eighteenth century that nation came to be used interchangeably with country.

If we analyse the different definitions of the 'nation' that have been given by eminent scholars it becomes crystal clear that the term nation has become to many of them a completely subjective phenomenon whereas to others it is an objective one. While for the former what actually shapes a nation is something psychological, a common will of the members to hold themselves together under the single sovereign nation. For objectivists, a nation is formed on the basis of certain specific common traits shared by the members such as territory, race, language, culture etc. Still there is another school that takes an "intermediate or synthetic view, known as 'objective-subjectivism'. It believes in the nation being the result of both kinds of
factors—the one creates the conditions that make a 'national togetherness' possible, desirable and the other which arise from these conditions and render that togetherness consciously and positively valued. Important among subjectivists are J.S. Mill, Renan, G.P. Gooch, E.H. Carr and Emerson.

First important statement about nation was made by Ernest Renan in which he emphasised the words like sentiment and desire. To quote him 'a nation is a ground solidarity, constituted by the sentiment of sacrifices which one has made and those that time is disposed to make again. It supposes a past, it reviews itself especially in the present by a tangible deed: the approval, the desire clearly expressed, to continue the communal life. The existence of a nation is an every day pleistete'. For Kohn nationalism is a state of mind and an act of consciousness which gave a psychological character to the term nation. For Gooch, nation seems to be a unified single body that can think and act on its own. He defined nationalism as the 'self-consciousness' of a nation. Another scholar, Rupert Smerson also remarked that "the simplest statement that can be made about a nation is that it is a body of people who feel that they are a nation; and it may be that when all the fine-spun analysis is concluded this will be the ultimate statement as well". Deutsch and Kedourie can also be put in this school of thought.

These modern writers have shown a tendency to lean toward Kohn's point of view, that necessarily views nation as an act of mind, attitude or feeling. Achad Ha'am, a
zionist thinker held that what really count for a nation is subjective feeling. "A nation is what individuals feel in their hearts is the nation". For subjectivists, nation is thus a spiritual entity. It exists in the minds of people that bind them together. Their unity may be the outcome of common history, traditions or common heritage that make the members apart from the rest of the people. These definitions denote that nation is a state of mind, an act of will, a common desire, a feeling to live together and an entity that essentially lies in the hearts of the people. But these definitions seem to be inadequate so far as they fail to recognise the growth of modern nation-state in different societies, the conditions that limit it and the different variables the interaction of which determine the course of formation of new nations. Reference to territory is absent in these definitional exercises, though without a territory to speak of a nation is misleading.

The objectivists on the other hand have placed emphasis on certain common traits that are held by members of a group and facilitate the becoming of nation on the bases of one or more of these commonality factors. In the words of Carlton Hayes, in one form or the other, a strong identification and loyalty attached to a group have been present in human affairs. It has always been the mark of nature for human beings, since the dawn of history. An attachment with one's family and locality where one was born,
has always been part of its beginning; hence 'patricia', one's birth place, and from that the idea of fatherland and motherland eventually came into prominence. There emerged logically some consciousness of nationality feeling which the linguistic, historical and cultural peculiarity of a group makes its members a kind among themselves and alien from all other groups.

To Hayes, "nationalism is a modern emotional fusion of two phenomena—patriotism and nationality. 58 Patriotism is love for one's land of birth and community or nationality. Nationality is a people like Chinese, Japanese, English etc. It denotes common historical traditions, common language, race etc. that go on to form nationality. A nationality need not be a political entity but as soon as it acquires political unity and sovereign independence it becomes a nation or a nation-state. 59 Lingual and territorial aspects of a nation were also highlighted by Joseph Stalin who defined a nation as "a historically evolved community of people, based upon the common possession of some attributes, namely common language, a common territory, a common economic life, and common psychological make up manifesting itself in a common specific feature of national culture". 60 In summation, "most of the people (objectivists) find it difficult to conceive a close social unity without a physical bond and that they cannot think of common mentality without common blood. An intimate solidarity of fraternity between the members of a nation seems to them to imply a real relationship between members of a family." 61
The synthetic view is held by Minogue, Smith and Shafer etc. Minogue holds that "a nation as a living component of nationalism is something to be found largely in the aspirations of nationalist. It consists of all those people who have been persuaded that they share in the national grievance. Taking the objective view he further remarks that with the collapse of any single criterion, complex and abstract definitions have been suggested. Yet in a metaphorical sense, language remains the more promising candidate. A nation does consist of people who speak the same language." Except the existence of the nation in the aspirations of nationalist Minogue does not rule out the role of objective components like race, religion and more importantly language. Anthony Smith conceives 'nationalism' as an ideological movement, for the attainment and maintenance of self-government and independence on behalf of a group, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential 'nation' like others. The phrases like 'ideological movement', 'attainment and maintenance of independence' and 'group' involve that nationalism contains some fixed objectives such as fraternity, equality and self-government and a specific ideology adopted by a group of people who share some commonality ties and differentiate themselves from the other such groupings. The most acceptable definition of nation that can be considered as an operative definition for our present study is given by Smith. "The nation is a large, vertically integrated and territorially mobile group
featuring common citizenship rights and collective sentiment together with one (or more) common characteristics which differentiate its members from those of similar groups with whom they stand in relations of alliance or conflict. 64

This definition is a comprehensive one as it encompasses the images of the ideal nation held by nationalist everywhere.

Shafer has given ten attributes of nationalism which if taken together define the basic nature and attributes of nationalism, both real and mythical. These attributes are in brief, a defined territory; a people, who share or hope to share a common culture; existence of some dominant social and economic institutions which are accompanied by different socio-economic interests and conflict or collaboration which might play the role of both making and breaking the nation; sovereignty; a shared belief in a common history in common ethnic origin; preference and esteem for fellow nationals; a shared common pride in the past; a shared indifference and hostility to other peoples similarly organized in nations; a devotion to the entity called nation that symbolizes their culture, territory, people, heritage, interests etc.; and a shared hope that their nation has a secured future. 65 These ten attributes are generally present. They do not all have to be present at the same time and in the same way or to the same degree. The varieties of combinations emphases are manifold. Before nationalism can be said to exist, however, most of them must be present, and when all are present at the same time, then
nationalism will be strong. Any group that does not possess one or more of these features is not a complete nation. If Smith and Shafer make the existence of one or more objective factors as the pre-requisite to compose a nation, they equally emphasise the existence of collective sentiment, common hope, pride and belief etc. as essential for the making of a nation. There is then, both an objective and subjective component in the constitution of a nation. Nationalism appears when the self-consciousness of the nation turns into a collective expression of "will", an intention to move in a certain direction, to achieve some specific objects of desire.

The efforts at building a nation or the term nation-building has both voluntaristic and mechanistic aspect. It suggests in the words of Karl W. Deutsch, "...an architectural or mechanical model. As a house can be built from timber, bricks and mortar in different patterns, quickly or slowly, through different sequences of assembly in partial independence from its setting, and according to the choice, will and power of its builders, so a nation can be built according to different plans, from various materials, rapidly or gradually, by different sequences or steps and in partial independence from its environment".  

Nation-building refers to the social processes by which national consciousness appears in certain groups. These social processes proceed through institutionalized social structures to attain political autonomy for their society.
Nation-building means as has been put up by G. Almond, "breaking up of traditional petty loyalties based on such narrow structures as family, caste, religion, community etc. In other words, it means that every one owes allegiance to the state in preference over the narrow loyalties. In the words of Reinhard Bendix, "the central fact of nation-building is the ordinary exercise of a nationwide public authority. It means that innumerable problems such as the quest for national culture, the unity in linguistic feelings, reconciliation of differences in ethnic, religious or regional feeling, diminution of corruption, freedom from narrow loyalties, formation of laws etc. have got to be tackled and resolved so that there is homogeneity not of heterogeneity in the people as a whole." Thus nation-building is related to the transformation of parochial loyalties into national i.e., the identification with the state. It means, in short, the achievement of national integration.

Nation-building and national integration is a multi-dimensional process. As Myron Weiner suggests, it may involve five tasks, the creation of a sense of territorial nationality, the establishing of a national central authority; the bridging of the elite mass group, the creation of a 'minimum' value consensus; and the devising of integrative institutions and behaviour.
Thus nation-building is both a psychological and political process. The task of building a nation becomes easier if the society is culturally, racially, religiously or by any such other base homogeneous, a phenomenon that is found today in the least. Heterogeneity or diversity of society make today the task of nation-building a difficult one.

The resurgence of ethnic or, minority nationalism, holds Apter, is not only the creation of factors like geography, religions, region, language, culture or tradition because no minority community is homogeneous in respect to all these factors. It is the process of modernization, consisting of increased centralization of power, differentiation and specialization of institutions, and an expansion in the level of social mobilization which generates sufficient quantitative change in the life styles of people to effect a qualitative change in the level of organization. The process of modernization causes sufficient changes in the level of organisation of groups to make demands at the societal level. Minority nationalism is a by product of these multi-level changes.

The reference group for the concept of minority and majority is nation or state as a whole and not a region or province. For instance blacks in USA or Muslims in India form a majority in one or more states but they are minority in the nation as a whole. A minority group is generally, but not always, politically less influential than the majority, but its political position is only one
factor in distinguishing a minority from other types of groupings that may also occupy subordinate positions.

What marks off a minority group in the eyes of members of society are a number of distinct feature, such as race, (S. Africa and the USA), culture, language and religion.72

There are variations in political and economic subordination of a minority. A minority may be politically and economically powerful. This is the case in South Africa, where the minority is ruling the majority. Jews are economically and politically powerful in US, though they are a minority. Chinese in South-East Asia, though a negligible minority, are economically more powerful than the majority communities. This is why some American sociologists prefer to use the term "ethnicity" to minority.73

An ethnic group can be defined in terms of its members who conceive themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others. Ethnic identity refers to an individual's emotional attachment to certain core symbols of his ethnic group. Two distinct aspects of this ethnic identity should be stressed. First, ethnic identity is subjective rather than a group characteristics, second, it encompasses a limited set of beliefs that are defined a priori as 'national' or 'ethnic'.74

Of late, the resurgence of ethnic sentiments in several states of the world speaks of the inherent complexities and distortions that the social fibre of these states is faced with. Minority-majority groups have pulled apart
and reached on the brink of clashes and continued armed struggles. Resolution of minority-majority conflict is a difficult task requiring skills and tolerance. As a broad generalization, there are two ways of resolving this problem. The majority may either attempt to eliminate it (assimilationism) or decide to tolerate it (amalgamationism).

According to Claude, "assimilation demands that minorities consent to abandon the ethnic, cultural and linguistic characteristics which distinguish them from national majority with whom they live. It also demands that the majority concerned accept and facilitate this merger." A variation of the assimilationist theory is the "diffusionist" theory of social integration, according to which culture and values of the core community in a society are gradually diffused throughout the peripheral community. The former approach which is also called the "integrationist" approach treat all other loyalties, except those to the nation-state, as parochial or primordial loyalties, divisive in their impact and detrimental to national integration. Therefore, they should be assimilated or integrated in the mainstream of the loyalties towards the nation-state.

The alternative to this approach is the pluralistic perspective to the problem of ethnic diversities. The shift from the former to the latter came from the realisation of the increasing tendency for regional, communal and separatist movements gaining momentum, not in the developing but also in the developed world. Walker Conner, Daniel Moynihan and Cynthia Euloe are the main advocates of this
approach. These theorists assume that kinship, linguistic, regional, cultural and religious ties are inherent and natural to man. They focus on the process of formation of ethnic group, the role of the national elite in nationality formation and the role of the state in influencing this process. These theorists hold that ethnic, religious, sub-national systems can exist side by side with secular systems and compete constructively with the same geographical area. These subnational loyalties are not necessarily inconsistent with national loyalties. They may promote integration rather than disintegration. The extent to which political groups and group conflicts may be channelled into integrative behaviour will depend on among other things, the nature of the general decision system in which they are made to operate. If the political system in which they operate is based on pluralist decision system (federal), rather than authoritarian one, the probability of political integration will be higher.

The conflict between ethnic identities and national identity can be reduced by accommodating ethnic diversities and making them a part of the national identity. The political system makes for the gradual redistribution of political power as new groups emerge and mobilize themselves. So it is held that caste or communal groups or so on are not disruptive to the system, rather the membership of these voluntary associations or groups helps in developing a society in which unity in diversity prevails. In multi-societies with Parliamentary systems, the sense of striving for power tends to promote inter-ethnic collaborations. Hence,
pluralists do not emphasise the old cliches of modernization such as centralisation, secularisation and assimilation. On the contrary decentralization, enhanced ethnic identities as protected by the system evolving out of accommodationist process are advocated.\textsuperscript{78}

However, the two approaches 'integrationist' and 'pluralist' have certain implications. While the former may encourage pro-authoritarian tendencies and subdue the role of intermediary loyalties, the latter may pamper the minority ethnic groups by rousing their aspirations for greater autonomy to the extent of emergence of secessionist movements. Further more, the economic factors have also been ignored by the theorists of both of these approaches.

In yet another substantial approach, it is argued that ethnic nationalism may have its roots in the uneven regional economic development within a multi-ethnic society. Perceptions of relative deprivation may develop, not just amongst communities in less developed regions, but also amongst indigenous inhabitants of wealthier regions. These perceive either that their resources are being diverted to the benefit of other communities or regions in the states, or that their economic dominance entitles them to a correspondingly greater degree of dominance in government. Such perceptions of relative deprivation generate demands for a "better deal" which, if not represented to, lead to calls for secession, legitimated by reference to ethnic distinctiveness.\textsuperscript{79}
However, there are several problems with this type of explanation of ethnic nationalism. One is that there is no way of measuring or even describing adequately the levels of relative deprivation experienced by different ethnic groups in different societies to test the basic theory that "those groups which experience the highest levels of relative deprivation may be expected to be most nationalistic." The second problem is that the theory accepts the arguments and myths of nationalists as data to demonstrate relative deprivation rather than as myths themselves in need of explanation. Finally, the deprivation theory cannot explain the nationalism of privileged groups.

Kashmir problem, that is of our concern, shares most of these attributes of minority nationalism. Kashmiri Muslims are a majority community in the context of state but they are a minority if we take them in the context of nation as a whole. The separatist sentiment in Kashmir has always been present in the state though in varying degree but the recent upsurge of secessionist elements propagating Kashmiri-nationalism and questioning the justification of Indian presence there is necessarily an outcome of a multi-dimensional process. The causes of the problem attribute to history, culture region, religion, language, modernizational forces and to external variables like role of super powers, UNO and the neighbouring countries.
A Synoptic Perusal of Literature

After having gone through the complex terms like nation, nationality, nationalism etc., and coming out with some operative definitions for the purpose of our study, we move on to review and analyse varying ideas and approaches held by different scholars on the problem of Kashmir, mainly on the resurgence of militancy in the Valley in the late eighties. So far as literature on Kashmir in general is concerned, there is a huge bulk of literature existent on the history and relationship of Kashmir with India. However, there has been little work done on the growth of militancy with the special mention to the recent phase of militancy in the valley. In our present study, we have made every possible effort to consult the relevant literature on the problem "Secessionism, in Kashmir since 1980".

The most authentic source of the history of Kashmir is "Rajatarangani" of Kalhana, which was reinterpreted by M.A. Stein in English under the title of "Rajantarangani" Vol. I & II. The earliest kingdoms in Kashmir, according to these sources existed before 2000 B.C. Rajatarangiri provides a systematic, well compiled history of Kashmir mainly from the period of Ashoka to the middle of the twelfth century A.D. when it was written.82

Frederic Drew's Jammu & Kashmir Territories, written in 1875, is yet another important source of information about Kashmir. It presents geographical and anthropological attributes of the state comprehensively. The book is a reliable...
source as the author himself remained in the state for years and the data compiled by him was largely based on his experiences and facts. The book was first of its type that studied the geographical aspect of the state so profusely and became an important source for the preparation of the State Gazetteer by British in 1911.

Then there are a large number of works of different scholars that have pierced the long history of the state out of which we have consulted a few selected one. P.N.K. Bamzai, in his work _A History of Kashmir: Political, Social and Cultural_ attempts at tracing the history of the state from the earliest to the present. He not only deals with the political history but also details out socio-economic and cultural contents of the history of Kashmir. It brings to light how the mixed culture of Kashmir took shape and how different religions influenced each other and gave birth to a communal syncretism where communal cleavages were absent. The work also covers the crucial days of partition and post-partition era and gives out the description of events upto 1971 Indo-Pak war. A similar type of work is of B.L. Sharma's _Kashmir Awakes_. The author has attempted to trace out the origin and growth of religious tolerance and cultural co-existence, which is a remarkable feature of the valley from the earliest times to the present day. A visible change at the socio-economic, political and psychological level has been noticed and the developments propounded how Kashmiri nationalism originated, reconciled with Indian nationalism and found safe future with secular
India. The changing politics of Sheikh, his exit, Indo-Pak
debacle and the forces that operated upon these developments
have also been noticed.\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Kashmir Story} of the same author
foccusses mainly on the accession and aggression issues of
Kashmir at the time of independence of India.\textsuperscript{26}

M.L.Kapur in his work \textit{Kingdom of Kashmir} studies
the cultural and political history of Kashmir from the
earliest to 1586 A.D., when Moghuls invaded the Valley.
The book reveals that with a few exceptions of few occasions
when Kashmir formed a part of bigger Kingdoms or empires,
it has maintained its separate political identity with its
own kings or queens both Hindus and Muslims unto 1586.\textsuperscript{27}

Yet another important work is that of R.K.Parmu,
\textit{A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir: 1320-1819}. In this work
the author studies, how Islam came to Kashmir and influenced
the existing Hindu cultural and social life. The work also
reveals how demographic change took place in the valley and
a Hindu majority valley turned into a Muslim majority Kashmir.
Religious fanaticism of Muslim rulers, destruction of great
Hindu heritage in the form of splendid constructions of
temples etc. and the atrocities perpetrated on Kashmiri Pandits
also receive a place in the book.\textsuperscript{28} The work of S.C.Ray,
\textit{Early History and Culture of Kashmir}, is also an exceptional
one as it is of great help to know about cultural, political
social and economic history of early Kashmir.\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Kashmir & Jammu}
of Walter Lawrence is a concise but significant informative
book about the geographical constitution of the state with
special reference to major cities and towns, the sources of history, agriculture, climate, archaeology and of miscellaneous aspect of state's life.90

Surendra Chopra in his book, UN Mediation in Kashmir attempts to identify the factors that possibly affected the security council in playing a useful role. It was the cold war politics of the early fifties that influenced the deliberations of security Council on Kashmir question. The motives of Pakistan to internationalise the issue, Moscow's bent towards India and the role of UNCIP, Mc Naughton, Dixon and Graham Missions have also been analysed profusely.91 The book of J.B.D.Gupta Jammu and Kashmir is yet another, significant work that gives a detailed account of post-independence developments in the State. The author advocates a confederation that would end the armed confrontation to the immense relief of the soldiers and the civilians on the both sides. The author has treated the problem as more a legacy than a creation.92

A.S.Anand, has widely discussed the various stages of development of the State constitution in its relationship with India. He remarks that the growing of the Constitution of the State is synonymous with the march of the state from absolute autocracy to parliamentary democracy. The state constitution is the reflection of the hopes and aspiration of the people of the State to India and held its legality beyond doubt.93
H.S.G. Rao takes the legal content of the Kashmir issue. His main contribution lies in his discussion over aggression and accession issues. He holds that the hardest of all realities is the fact that the ruler of J & K was competent to sign the 'Instrument of Accession' before August 15, 1947 and he continued to be competent even after August 15, 1947. Thus when the ruler signed the Instrument of Accession in favour of India, the State of J & K became an inseparable part of India. The author also refutes all those who even regard the sale deed of 1846 illegal as under international law that kind of act of sale and purchase of territories is permissible.

A.G. Noorani, on the other hand while accepted the full validity and legality of the accession of the State to India holds that it is provisional. In other words, the State's future still remains to be decided by agreement among the three parties, the government of India, Pakistan and the people of Kashmir.

Although, there is scarcity of literature on secessionism in Kashmir, yet certain references can be made to various articles published in different journals, magazines, newspapers and to some recently published works.

Balraj Puri in his scholarly work Jammu & Kashmir: Triumph and Tragedy of Indian Federalization holds that Kashmiri Muslims were one of the first Muslim communities of the sub-continent to get what may be called regionalised. Apart from the awareness of Kashmiris, the author has also
traced the regional consciousness in Jammu and Ladakh as an inevitable concomitant of modernization. The work deals in totality with State's relations with the national identity-constitutional, political, ideological and emotional. The work also tends to answer how the diversity of reactions among different segments of the State's population have affected the constitutional, political and emotional integration processes. International aspects of the problem has been given due heed and the influence of rising Islamic fundamentalism traced. The work has been aided by an opinion survey on the basis of which ouster of Sheikh from power in 1953, Praja Parishad Agitation, uncertainty about the future, religious appeal from Pakistan and incitement from the foreign countries and few other factors have been traced as responsible for the first emotion rupture with the national identity and alienation of the masses from the rest of the country. But the over-emphasis of author on regional consciousness and his failure to correlate the events with the socio-economic infrastructure of the State mark the deficiencies of the work. Except it, the causes behind the present crisis are not traceable mainly those of recent origin because of its earlier publication in 1981.96

Balraj Puri in his another work, Simmering Volcano: A Study in Jammu's Relations with Kashmir, has again picked up the regional pulls within the State that have affected the inter-regional and Centre-State relations. The conflicti
Dogri and Kashmiri nationalism, role of communists in the State politics and their changing stances and the operation of super-power politics in the region in early fifties are the other highlights. However, the work focusses mainly on how the Jammu based leaders perceive the State's relations with the Centre and how they resisted the hegemonic role of valley based leadership. Except the inter-regional tensions no specific mention of any other significant factor has been made that can be taken as a solid basis of alienation of Kashmiris. However, the scholar has presented the three region formula with more autonomy transferred to them and has given solid bases to legitimise the grievances of the people of Jammu and Ladakh region. In similar vein Puri in his article "Sub-national identities and National Integration" again takes the regional consciousness as a criterion in measuring the relation of a sub-regional or regional identity with the national identity. He observes that sub-regional or regional consciousness is likely to grow with the processes of modernization and democracy. He thinks that the 'technological revolution' instead of wiping out smaller identities has led to 'rootlessness, alienation and atomization of individual'. This vacuum is filled by his urge for identity which he seeks in smaller culture, language, group, history, and region with which he identifies himself. Puri concludes that the enthusiasm and initiative unleashed by regional consciousness if channelized in the direction of overall political framework can strengthen nationalism. It was on the basis of
this regional identity of Kashmiris that Article 370, holds
the writer, was inserted in the Constitution of India.
However, the author regrets that, despite of the hetero-
genous character of the State, it was placed under a
unitary Constitution of J & K and the same logic of article
370 was not extended to the three distinct regions which
resulted in inter-regional tensions. This together with the
rightist organizations like VHP, RSS, BJP and others who
demand the abrogation of special status have shook the faith
of Kashmiris in Indian secularism and communalised the
different communities of the State which tend to seek
separate destinies today. Puri also takes the political
content of the problem when he remarks that terrorism in
Kashmir and for that matter any where else is neither due
to administrative excesses and lapses nor to poverty and
unemployment as such. As a political phenomenon, it is
unrelated to individual grievances. It is able to articulate
discontent of a community religious or ethnic when it suffers
a sense of discrimination and deprivation more in terms of
political power than economic benefits due to which it
comes to believe that its dignity and identity are threatened.
Community discontent due to its alienation from system on
account of its failure to provide proper non-terrorist channels
of protest is yet another cause of terrorism. However,
author is self-contradictory as political discontent does not
rise in vacuum but is by-product of definite socio-economic
set up and its perception by the elites.
In another article, Puri takes notice of the absence of a secular two-party system in the State. In these articles what Puri has argued is that lack of autonomy to the different regions within the State, absence of at least two secular parties of equal weight so that communal elements could be sided with and the political opportunism shown by the State leaders at the cost of popular aspirations have alienated the masses in the valley greatly. Two party system, could have cut across the regional loyalties. However, the author has taken little notice of the popular problems that are economic in nature. His articles are largely piecemeal in nature and do not provide a proper socio-economic basis of the problem. The input of external forces mainly from the neighbouring states on the Kashmir problem has also been neglected.

Vidya Bhushan argues that the growth of State-system in India, is very much like the countries of the developing world. The feeling of nationalism arose there mainly as a reaction, a negative feeling. In other words it grew as a negative concept— to be rid of foreign rule, and not as a positive connotation i.e., process of internal assimilation and integration. It therefore, failed to infuse a sense of oneness in Indian society, which is pluralistic in character. That is why at the withdrawal of foreign power, the anti-Indian sentiment began to rise. The movements of disintegration began to be augmented and demand for regional autonomy began to crop up. The book also throws light on the process of constitution making in
the State and the forces that influenced the process.

Hari Ram in his work, *Special Status in Indian Federalism: Jammu and Kashmir*, holds that special status in a federal set up safeguards the varied interests of the units. But in the State of Jammu & Kashmir the special status has given birth to certain peculiar problems, leading to three clear cut but divergent pulls in the State politics. While Kashmir stands for the maximum internal autonomy which author calls, "politics of privilege", the region of Jammu stands for the abrogation of special status termed as "politics of integration". Ladakh on the other hand wills to be a centrally administered territory. The author has studied the origin, nature and the extent of special status and its impact on the process of regionalisation within the State. Kashmiris have become regionally and culturally more conscious and have developed a strong sense of nationalism in contradiction with the Indian nationalism. The chief propellants behind this development according to the author are region, race and language that have made them resist their sub-mergence in the Indian Union.

D.K. Joshi has taken the international aspect of the problem of Kashmir. In his work the author traces the relationship of Kashmir with super powers and the countries like China and Britain. The attitude of Washington and Moscow towards Kashmir was guided largely for its strategic location through which the political interest of these super powers in the States of Central and South Asia and China could be
obtained. The role of personalities like Jinnah, Nehru, Sheikh, Mountbatten, Ghulab Singh, Hari Singh and Mrs. Gandhi has been studied objectively in the context of the problem. The book forms a remarkable piece of comment involving historical, international, domestic and leadership role in shaping the politics of Kashmir. But since the book studies the developments up to 1976, its importance lies mainly in the background knowledge of the Kashmir problem, in respect to international aspect.

Political alienation of Kashmiris observes Manzoor Fazili, is mainly due to political profligacy of the State leaders. In contrast to the view of Joshi for whom the problem owes more to external factors and to Puri who perceives inter-regional tensions behind the Kashmir's emotional rupture, Fazili holds that in the post 1947 period Kashmir has witnessed more opportunist leaders in the political arena. A political party shouted for the retention of article 370 when out of power and acted for its dilution if not abrogation when in power. Political alienation also resulted due to revoking of their own commitments on Kashmir by Indian Government and Union leadership. Thus for average Kashmiri politics is normless, elections fraud, political loyalty a matter of expediency. The developments at Jammu and Srinagar have little to do with the development at village level who comprise 95% of the State. The impact of Iranian revolution has also roused the communal feelings in Kashmir.
P.S. Verma in his work *Jammu & Kashmir: At the Political Crossroads* has studied in depth the underlying factors that have created conditions favourable to the current crisis in the State. After presenting a vivid description of the socio-economic profile of the state, the writer has skillfully demarcated the role of diverse factors in pushing the state into present day crisis. The work presents how the age old secular, syncretistic composite Kashmiri culture has fallen a prey to the communal, fundamentalist, subversive forces. The ethno-regional chauvinism and its linkage with political parties, personalised politics, and misuse of religion for political ends have caused an irreparable damage to the communal amity in the State. The author holds that since the party-system in the State is largely rooted in ethno-regional considerations, it has neither allowed healthy interactions among the people of cross-regions, nor permitted inter-party electoral competition on secular and democratic basis. Conversely the narrow particularistic ties have been strengthened. Power has got concentrated in the hands of few better off privileged groups or families that has proved diastrous to the State polity. The book also provides a profile of some major militant outfits and leaders of the state. The political profligacy, corruption and nepotism in politico-administrative set up has also been highlighted. Due attention has been paid to the role played by external forces. However, the author has failed to delineate the economic grievances of the people such as industrial lag, unemployment and lack
of proper market facilities for the goods and fruits produced in the valley. In all the book provides an excellant, unbiased analysis of the Kashmir imbroglio. 106

M.K. Teng, has taken the communal and constitutional aspect of the problem. He attributes the Muslim majority character of the State that pushed it into a separate orbit of operatives. He remarks that institutionalisation of political power on the basis of the recognition of the Muslims of the State as a sub-national identity, a principle that was not recognized by our constitution, in respect of any other religious denomination, had deep and wide repurcussions on the evolution of the political personality of the state and its relations with the rest of the country. Within a short time the quest for Muslim precedence came into sharp conflict with the religious minorities inside the state, as well as secular operatives of the federal government. However, due to focus of the author on the insertion of article 370 its pros and cons, the other aspects of the Kashmir problem such as economic, social, political and international have been neglected. 107

Satish Ganjoo attributes the genesis of the problem to the sudden shift in the stand of Sheikh Abdullah who after an exile of about two decades from the State politics entered into an accord with Mrs. Gandhi in 1975. Thus, he overlooked the great expectations he had created among the youth in Kashmir whose blood had been infused with hate-India virus. The slogans of self-determination, independent Kashmir and plebiscite evaporated and Sheikh
started speaking the language of Indian nationalism, democracy, secularism and national integration. Obviously he left the youth in a dilemma who felt betrayed, disillusioned and left in wilderness. It is this segment of Kashmiris who wielded weapons and indulged in violence later. The author also discusses the emergence of party politics in the state since 1923 and light has also been thrown on some eminent personalities of the state. The role played by external forces like regional pressures, policies of the Union government, spread of Islamic fundamentalism etc. has been overlooked. Like other writers socio-economic setup of the state in relation to the political development has been neglected.

Alastair Lamb in his much debated work *Kashmir A Disputed Legacy-1846-1990* attributes the present crisis in Kashmir to four major factors. Firstly Pakistan has became an important element in the situation for it cannot ignore the events next door which touched so deeply upon its own sense of national identity. Secondly, increased instability of the various regimes, in the state of J & K after Sheikh have much to do with the prevailing situation in the vale. Thirdly, Sikh separatism in Punjab andLeadership vacuum at the centre after Indira have also encouraged pro-independence or pro-Pak forces in the valley. Finally, the onset of Iranian Revolution and the reactions to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Muslim sentiment in South Asia has undergone a profound transformation. A new Islamic
militancy has emerged Lamb terms the present situation in Kashmir as "a terminal colonial situation" and predicts the disintegration of India as inevitable. The study is coloured so far as the author can make blind statements like "India's legal position in Kashmir is dubious—indeed a good case can be made that it has no business at all to be there."

That Islamabad has a case of sorts would be hard to deny but that new Delhi has none may be difficult to accept. His analysis seems to be far from objective. The author shows no constraints in expressing the view that the killers of Maulvi Farooq may have been Indian agents or Hindu extremists. The book is divisible into two parts: pre-independence and post-independence era. It is an odd mixture of some of his earlier work *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947 to 1966,* and few fresh sketch maps and some additional material. The biased role of Mountbatten and Redcliffe as argued by the author earlier, to strive to project the innocence of Pakistan as to quote the author, "in all this Pakistan was in great measure an innocent victim and in neither case was the policy of Pakistan was to destabilize India", and to dub the accession fallacious are the other highlights of the work. But the failure of lamb to uphold the involvement of Pakistan in Kashmir, economic under-development, poverty, corruption, unemployment and electoral malpractices as revealed by the findings of the present study make his work biased and partial.
Jag Mohan in his work *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir* has attributed the special status of the State under article 370 as the root cause of separatism in Kashmir. He holds that this article has worked as a shield that hides the narrow and selfish motives of the corrupt state politicians and well-off people. The author has also come on heavily on the role of National Conference and Congress in Kashmir which have done nothing for Kashmiris but to promote their narrow short-sighted interests. The book provides a good account of events of nepotism, corruption and militant activities in the valley. The indecisive and ambiguous policy of centre towards the state has also been attacked. It is not only the government machinery holds the author but also the psyche of the India that her ruling elites have polluted and in these circumstances recurring crises are inevitable. The author holds that India has always refuted the two-nation theory but it has been following the same in case of Kashmir for which we will have to pay a heavy price. Irresponsible and weak administration, the role of religious fundamentalists like Jamat and Pakistan's design to destabilize India through abetting, terrorism have also been highlighted. The sorrow plight of Kashmiri Pandits also mark the book. In short, the author stresses the need to have a clearcut straightforward policy towards Kashmir with no special concessions that go on to help only the already well-off people in the state.

Gull Mohammed Wani is of the view that Kashmir has institutionalized in a microcosm all the historical irritations between India and Pakistan and has continued to defy rational solutions. Like Satish Ganju and Fazili the chief underlying
cause of the recent Kashmir uprising, holds, wani, is the story of unfulfilled promises and betrayals by both their leaders and the powers around them. In the early twenties of this century Kashmiris fought against despotic Dogra rule. However, partition left their fate undecided. The author also attribute the genesis of present crisis to the manipulative character of the policies followed by Delhi towards Kashmir. Forty years of misrule and manipulation, ruthless economic exploitation and the denial of fundamental and democratic rights to the people have also consolidated their desire for a separate state. Nonetheless, the work pays little heed to the role played by external factors in feeding terrorism to the valley, regional irritations and pulls within the state and the disruptive impact of modernizational forces and Islamic fundamentalism on the changing psyche of Kashmiris.  

A. Varshney perceives undefined ethnic boundaries, misinterpretation of history by partisan leaders, availability of deadly weapons today and spread of information technology as the main reasons behind the ethnic revival of the day. The writer traces the similar type of properties of ethnicity in the problem of Kashmir. He remarks that Kashmir problem is a result of three forces: religious nationalism of Pakistan, secular nationalism epitomized by India and ethnic nationalism embodied in what Kashmiris call "Kashmiriat". Each side accused the other of duplicity; however, internal inconsistencies, contradictions and paradoxes mark all three. Varshney also expresses fears over the rise of Hindu
nationalism in India which has the potential of alienating the Muslims in India and has a direct bearing upon the Kashmiris. Kashmiris are critical of hegemonic tendencies of both India and Pakistan. In the early fifties Sheikh's hobnobbing with independent Kashmir was due to his fear of rising Hindu nationalism in India and at present the similar type of suspicions in the minds of Kashmiris against the increased communal overtones of rightist organizations have much to do with the present situation. The author thus takes the antinomies of nationalism as the chief factor together with the unfair politics of New Delhi when it imposed its choice on the Kashmiris in 1984 by replacing Farooq and then entering into alliance with National Conference in 1986 and consequent electoral malpractices as the forces that enriched the soil for fissiparous tendencies. The factors, counted above have obvious impact on the problem but again the economic content of the problem is missing in Varshney's significant article.  

Nirmal Mukerji has seen the genesis of the present crisis in the state largely as a result of electoral malpractices. Democracy has become a dead letter to the Kashmiris. Almost all the elections to the State assembly have been rigged, though, the elections of 1977 form an exception, and of 1983 were also largely fair. These two experiences by the people holds the writer helped greatly in containing the alienation. But the dismissal of Farooq, National Conference-Congress alliance and consequent rigging of 1987 elections played a havoc on the Kashmiris and alienated them completely from national mainstream.
Contrary to the ideas of Mukerji, for Gautam Navalakha the roots of the crisis in Kashmir lie in the Kashmiri people's fear for their national cultural identity, in the face of the aggressive advance of the Hindu/Hindi notion of nationalism in the country. Popular support for militancy is the consequence of the erosion of faith in Indian secularism and democratic functioning. Sathe and Engineer have taken the constitutional aspect of the issue. Sathe remarks that the main reason of discontent of Kashmiris is the failure of Union Government to keep its stand on article 370, because the autonomy for the State envisaged under this article was never put into operation.

A.A. Engineer holds that article 370 has become a dead letter. It has been used against the dignity and individuality of the Kashmiri people, which is not only religious but regional and cultural also. Had it been religious only, the state instead of joining India would have joined Pakistan. Engineer observes that had the article 370 been properly implemented in its true spirit the people of the State would have developed more brotherly ties and affinity with India.

P. Bidwai also expresses similar views and holds that the time has come to acknowledge the case for genuinely respecting the autonomy for Kashmir provided in the constitution. This arises from the unique socio-cultural identity of the Kashmiri people both Hindu and Muslim, the valley's very special geography and economy, six centuries long resistance to incorporation under Indian and Afgan
rule, weak integration into the colonial structure and the struggle for a special political identity inspite of accession to India. Article 370 is nothing, if not an implemented property of this. If the vast majority of Kashmiris want greater autonomy their will must prevail. The writer advocates pre-1953 status to the State as the Key to the breaking of Kashmir impasse.\textsuperscript{118}

In contrast to the views held by Bidwai and Engineer, Ram Gopal and Balraj Madhok regard the article 370 as the root, cause of the Kashmir problem. To speak in the words of Gopal, the demand for 'azadi' to Kashmir means making an independent Kashmir that would form a part of India, the latter only bearing the costs without any return i.e. responsibility without authority. 'Azadi' to Kashmir within Indian Constitution will mean condoning all the sins of the old oligarchy from Sheikh and Company to his son Farooq and his company. The writer argues that the talk of a separate culture or ethnicity has no substance. India has many sub-cultures and all of them are safe and sound, What Kashmiris need is a good government, not azadi which they have so far in abundance. If India has taken the responsibility of bearing costs of Jammu & Kashmir, it should take a further step by removing or drastically curtail article 370 so as to provide good government, justice and fair play to the common man.\textsuperscript{119}
In similar fashion Madhok also holds article 370 as a breeding ground of secessionist forces. He blames Sheikh as the first man who had sown seeds of secessionism in the State. The unreasonable stand taken by Nehru also added to the complexity of the problem. The writer argues that to seek a peaceful settlement of the problem with Pakistan is to run after a mirage. The author advocates the abrogation of article 370 and opposes any suggestion to single out Kashmir for special treatment. However, such views have been bitterly criticized by several scholars as also by Kashmiris. According to the opinion survey conducted for the present study the dilution of this very article has been the root cause of secessionism in the valley.

M.K.Tikku attributes the genesis of the problem to the rise of fundamentalism in the mid-seventies and the influx of foreign money to back fundamentalist causes. The drug trafficking in the region (most of it through Afghanistan and Pakistan) in the seventies resulted in the promotion of charas cultivation in the valley. The drug money as well as the influx of foreign funds thus emerged as the new sources of economic power to compete with central aid which until then was the principal source of financial patronage in the valley. The relations between Congress and National Conference which swing between conflict and cohabitation gave rise to public cynicism about a political process in which a genuine democratic opposition did not seem to have much scope. It
was in the backdrop of these factors that Pakistan started the training and arming of Kashmiri youth in the mid-eighties. The situation has been further compounded by the dual behaviour of State leaders at Srinagar and Delhi, generating a whole lot of misperceptions in both places. The writer, however, undermines the role of unemployment and economic underdevelopment in alienating the masses.121

Like Tikku Ravinder Kumar also agrees with the fact that since early 1980s, a number of Muslim countries, most prominently of all, Pakistan have been pouring substantial monies into Kashmir to create a network of fundamentalist missionaries in the valley. The strategy is to communalise the whole issue. Islamic fundamentalism is a phenomenon which battens upon the frustration of the underprivileged classes which modernization has created in so many countries. The author also attributes the current crisis to the role played by Delhi on ousting Sheikh in 1953 and his son in 1964.122

T.N.Kaul also expresses concern over the indulgence of Pakistan in aiding and abetting terrorism in Kashmir. The Pak's designs, holds the writer are guided mainly by its feeling of taking revenge of the defeat of 1971 war which might lead to its own disintegration as the similar type of demands are also being raised in Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan of Pakistan. The writer has also taken into account the whittling down of autonomy envisaged for the state, corruption and maladministration as the chief stimulants to the Kashmir problem.123 Similar view have been
expressed by Ajit Bhattacharya.\textsuperscript{124}

H.S. Surjeet also sees the direct hand of Pakistan in the present separatist movement in the valley. However, he also expressed concern over the role of rightist forces like BJP who by holding Ekta Yatras has contributed to the worsening of the situation.\textsuperscript{125} For M.V. Kamath, Pakistan has been used by US to check India's hegemonic aspirations and this has resulted in the turbulence in South Asia. Pakistan's entire strategy, observes Kamath, is to wrest whole of the Kashmir from India and gaining respectability for its two-nation theory. For this purpose Pakistan has sold its soul and accepted the servility of Western powers. India cannot, will not, and should not concede to the two-nation theory and to the stupid concept that religion is a stab basis for the formation of a state.\textsuperscript{126} Similar view have been expressed by Inder Mohan.\textsuperscript{127}

Karan Singh, former Sadar-i-Riyasat of the State accepts the viewpoint of these writers but at the same time he would relate to several other factor that have worked to effect the current crisis in the valley. According to Singh, political mismanagement, inter-party and intra-party rivalaries, corruption and nepotism, the incapacity to take a longer view of the multiple complexities involved, the psychological impact of the events in the erstwhile Soviet Union and East European countries and massive assistance in weaponry training and finance from Pakistan have all contribut to this monumental human tragedy. Thus, Karan Singh unlike other writers has viewed the problem from a broader perspective.
involving extraneous and internal variables simultaneously that have operated upon to push the valley into the hands of extremists. Like Bidwai, Puri, Mukarji and Bhattacharjee, the writer is also a staunch supporter of restoration of special status to the Kashmiris and observes that we should be prepared to adopt a flexible and imaginative approach rather than to seek to stream roll all the constituent units of India into a single, rigid pattern. 128

Dole also perceives the problem from a broader perspective. For him the current situation in the valley is the cumulative effect of the injustices perpetrated on Kashmir during the last 40 years. Rigging in almost all the elections with the exception of 1977, and the rise of Hindu Chauvinism which has created suspicions in the minds of Kashmiris have helped the emergence of fissiparous tendencies in the valley. Increased modernization that heightens the group consciousness and growing unemployment have also their share in the problem. Corruption and nepotism are yet another forces behind the present crisis. 129

Like Jagmohan S.D.Gupta has also remarked bitterly on the role of Centre when he holds that "at the core of the problem is a dithering and indecisive regime which has taken refuge behind half-truths and shibboleths to obfuscate the reality behind the most serious secessionist threat since independence." 130

George Fernandes remarks that there is much that is wrong with India's Kashmir policy since freedom. Much of what is wrong flows from corruption of the rulers of Delhi
and Srinagar, the cursedness with which the Congress party manoeuvred to keep power in its hand or its puppets in Kashmir through rigged elections, the total neglect of economic development with resultant unemployment leading to frustration among the Kashmir in Union Government services, contrived divide between Kashmiri Muslims and Pandits to give a communal twist to what was a political and identity struggle and attacks on human rights in recent years.\textsuperscript{131}

M.N.Buch has severely criticized the role of liberal thinkers in India who are indulged in holding India guilty of myriad shameless acts in Kashmir and more or less pleaded that we should abandon the state. The author holds that Nagaland and Mizoram are the States which are ethnically more different from the great mass of India. But as these states, which were more alienated from India than Kashmir, were treated as a law and order problem, the Kashmir problem will have to be treated in the similar manner. A feeling of alienation of a small section of the population of India certainly cannot be a justification for secession.\textsuperscript{132}

M.S.Aiyar is of the view that Delhi based power elite has since 1947 till, at any rate, November 1989, made a deliberate attempt to nurture (through article 370) and not to erase the Kashmiri identity of the valley as it happened with East Pakistanis before 1971. The Pakistani attempt at subverting the Bengali character of East Pakistan failed, because a nation built on religion does not understand, how to forge unity out of diversity. Drawing a line of similarity Aiyar holds that the crisis in Kashmir assumed
its present proportions only after a similar attempt was made in January-May 1990 at the instance of BJP and through its instrumentality, Jagmohan. The solution lies in nurturing the delicate plant of Kashmiriat, not Hinduising it or Islamizing it. To do that India (including Kashmir) has to again become a fortress of secularism as it was in the heydays of Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah. 133

Askari Zaidi gives a brief account of secessionist out fits in the valley. He holds that secessionism in the valley was never absent, though, it remained dormant at times. The writer holds that 'Kashmiriat' or Kashmiri identity has never been communal in its content, but it was the national identity often expressed in religious idiom that has been misinterpreted. 134

D.N. Ghosh has taken the economic aspect of the problem. He remarks that for the pan-Indian bourgeoisie it is as a captive market for its manufactures, that Kashmir is important and not as an area of investment. The Central Government has crushed the attempts of the State of self-reliance by controlling the major natural resources of the State. 135 Similar views have been expressed by Gurbhagat Singh who holds that the blame for mass upsurge in Kashmir lies with the lopsided approach of the Indian State. Instead of educating Kashmiris and helping them attain self-sufficient modern economy, the Union government has turned Kashmir into a dependency. This is due partly to mistrust and partly to treating the region as a holiday home with cheap labour to serve the new sahibs. 136
Thus most of the literature that we have gone through perceive the problem from one dimension or the other i.e. history, geography, ethnic identity and separate culture, erosion of the special status of the state, electoral malpractices, corruption and nepotism, the rise of Hindu chauvinism, the inter-regional tensions within the state, the role played by Pakistan and the other Muslim countries, or the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Therefore, most of the studies are piecemeal in nature. Some of the articles are totally subjective as they serve the objectives of their preference organizations. The others are not upto-date.

After having a brief review of literature it is important to delineate upon the perspective that would guide our study. In the ensuring lines we have framed some tentative hypotheses in the light of which the present study has been executed.

We believe that the phenomenon of secessionism is an outgrowth of the interaction of both subjective and objective variables. The former involves the psychological consciousness of the people or a group who feel, think, believe and act in a particular manner. The latter involves the objective conditions i.e. politico and socio-economic variables i.e. interest groups, political parties, religion, language, culture, region, race and economic development such as industrialisation, literacy level, living status and per capita income etc.
Politically the distribution of power and share in decision-making machinery for ethnically distinct groups play a significant role in determining the overt behaviour of such groups. Federalism is considered to be the best remedy to meet such problems. In India the reorganization of states on linguistic basis had resolved the regional and ethnic conflicts to a great extent. But many of the states are still culturally, linguistically and religiously heterogeneous and contain geographically concentrated minorities. Jammu & Kashmir is one of the states in this regard. In such states ethnic differences, therefore, still persist. The federal set up that guarantees a good deal of autonomy to different groups may fall a prey to demands for more autonomy or even secession in case the guaranteed autonomy is not in compliance with the aspirations of constituting units or is tempered with by the federal government. Governments may expedite the process of alienation of such groups through the policies that distribute state resources and opportunities in terms of government employment and resources.

Nationalism or ethnic sub-nationalism are political phenomena. They require political organization and skilled leadership to mobilize support to make demands on the political system. Effective political organization and political leadership and the resource base to maintain them are independent variables that deeply influence the outcomes. Political conflicts include regionally based inter-party conflicts and intra-party feuds. The divided voting behaviour on regional levels also add to inter-regional tensions- a case true of
three regions within the state of J & K. Furthermore, the State of J & K, that is heterogeneous in character, has a unitary constitution, which has its own repercussions on the inter-regional relations within the state.

The easy access to international arms market and the aiding and abetting of secessionist movements by the sympathiser countries and other international actors give to such movements a character of potential nationalist forces seeking to carve out separate nations of their own. The strategically important geographical location evoke the attention of major international powers who in pursuit of their national interests seek to either intervene directly or extend their influence indirectly.

The social basis of ethnic secessionism or sub-nationalism relate to primordial ways of life i.e. food, dress, folkways, caste, religion, dialect and language etc. We assume that culture is the principal vehicle for identity formation and if a particular region exhibits a cultural distinctiveness, cultural identity is likely to be used as a vehicle for political and social mobilization in order to have a due share for the region in economic development and political power. Language and religion are the other major socio-cultural elements that go on to make for separate ethnic identity. The ethnic nationalism and conflicts are most likely to develop if the variables like culture, religion, language and territory all provide a cohesive element to such movements. The existence of even one of these variables has the potential to give a homogeneous
character to a people concentrated in a particular geographical area and every addition of a new variable greatly strengthens the viability of such movements.

We also believe that unequal economic development lies at the root of the ethnic conflicts and separatist movements. There is a close connection between regional distribution of political power and economic development. A region which happens to dominate political power is also able to side with a big share of developmental funds at the cost of politically weak regions. The ruling party already entrenched in the dominant region maintain its hold in the region but is gradually weakened in the underdeveloped regions. The position of the opposition parties is just the reverse. The result is that the party system that is developed, acquires regional character in term of electoral support and interests. The vicious circle can be broken only by an enlightened and rational leadership which undertake the steps to redress the regional developmental imbalances.

Uneven regional development is inevitable because of favourable locational factors such as climate, soil natural resources and better communication facilities which offer better opportunity for increasing production and profit than others. Maximization of production and profit being the principal motive, capitalist development patronises actual or potential profit earning regions to the neglect of other regions. Inter-regional tensions within the state of J & K partially owes to this factor. Except it, political instability and uncertainty about the future of a region also hinder
the unrestricted inflow of capital investment in such a region. It is also our assumption that the lack of employment facilities, especially in a region that is ethnically distinct and constitute a minority in the context of nation, also divert the channels of discontent of the masses from democratic, secular and systematic to anti-democratic, communal and anti-systematic.

In essence, secessionism is not an outcome of one but of several factors which are mutually exclusive but function in conjunction with each other so much so that secessionism in the ultimate analysis proves to be a conjunctional phenomenon— a web of interrelated relationships emmeshed in a manner that one factor can hardly be isolated from the other. Secessionism is a multi-dimensional process which is cumulative in effect and circular in causation. The relative importance of variables lie in the particular contextuality of the problem which accelerate or retard the process of secessionism.
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