Chapter - 3

Domestic Unrest and Internal Security Problems
In the multicultural societies of South Asia, ethnic, religious, and linguistic overlap has affected not only internal political development in each regional state, but also interstate interactions in profound manner. The societal aspect of life has got political element. Moreover, domestic systematic challenges often take the form of violence which not only affects the political and societal stability but also disrupts the pattern of regional security. One of the world's most enduring institutions, that is modern nation-state building, which is the base of stability, prosperity, and advancement of a country and a source of binding nations together is facing a major challenge in the last of the twentieth century which has not only altered the political map of world but also transformed the notions of sovereignty and nationhood. Nation-states are being forced in different unpredictable and politically violent ways by ethnic, religious, or political groups seeking self determination in the forms of autonomous rights with in existing one's their separate countries or reunification with home land across their borders, e.g. creation of Bangladesh in 1971 question of Kashmir, demands of Tamil State in Sri Lanka, demands of Gorkhaland, Bodoland, Khalistan in India, Baluchi and Sindhi demand in Pakistan etc. But it is not only face by third world countries alone, it also faced by western world, such as, collapse of Soviet Union and division of Czechoslovakia in Czech and Slove, Yugoslavia unrest etc.
Domestic unrest in South Asia

South Asian countries have been in the midst of a major crisis in state and nation building. Ethnic separatist movements increased day by day in the region, especially in Sri Lanka in the form of a demand for a Tamil State. The sectarian, religious and ethnic violence has influenced the Indian as well as Pakistan politics. In fact the threat to the security of the two states is posed more by internal turmoil than by any external power.

The domestic unrest has been categorised in different forms and types. Rummel puts them into three categories namely turmoil, revolutionary conflicts and subversive conflicts. Eckstein also adopted similar parameter in categorisation such as turmoil, conspiracy and internal war 1.

The domestic unrest in South Asian Countries is due to two different factors. One is systemic and other is ethnic (regional, linguistic, religion and communal) conflicts. Economic conflict can also be linked with either of a systemic or ethnic conflict because economy is a root cause of all problems and conflicts.

As the systemic conflicts is concerned, there are two distinct political objective of it, one is short term, that

is the sharing of power within the given constitutional and political structure, another is long term, objective of transforming the fundamentals of political system by changing the basic power relations and equations and also political procedures and constitutional parameters in a given society. The Akali and Kashmiri agitations in Punjab and Kashmir, Political conflicts resulting from opposition activities at the centre or state levels in India, Military coups in Pakistan and Bangladesh, Surya Bahadur Thapa's attacks on the Panchayat government in Nepal and the Sri Lanka Freedom party's opposition to Jayawardene regime and Vice Versa in Sri Lanka are all example of systemic conflicts created by limited short term objectives.

On the other hand, the movement for the restoration of democracy (MRC) agitation in Pakistan, movement of the opposition alliances against the martial law rule in Bangladesh, struggle in Nepal for a multi party system based on democracy which has now came to existen in Nepal, Naxalite uprising in India and Nepal and the Che Guvera style, revolt by April 1971 in Sri Lanka all are examples that are aimed at bringing broadbased and basic changes in political structures as a condition or a means for acquiring power.

The second form of conflicts are related to ethnic and other forms of sectarian identities, which lead to political conflict. The Baluchi, Sindhi & Mohajir uprising in Pakistan and Tamil struggle, for a separate state in Sri
Lanka, Sri Lanka's JVP insurgency of 1971, which sought to overthrow the bourgeois parliamentary system and its reactionary government led by Mrs. Bhandarnaike of SLEP, comprised low caste Sinhalese youth. The Naga and Mizo insurgency of North East India also have an overlap of political turmoil caused by ethnic uprising.

The main cause of ethnic or other sectarian conflicts is the sense of deprivation and discrimination in sharing of political, administrative and economic power, suffered by a communal, casteism, religious, linguistic or regional groups which begin to protest and agitate. The sense of deprivation is related to societal status where one finds the gap between a particular group aspirations and achievements.

It is very difficult to evaluate the degree of deprivation or discrimination because its nature varies from one situation to another. With regard to employment upward mobility access to the avenues for achieving prosperity etc. Politics and practices regarding language, recruitment to various jobs opportunities for establishing and expanding trade and industrial establishment etc. But when social consciousness among people develops against their deprivations, it becomes an engine for social mobilization and conflict generation. The community consciousness, unity and cohesion group leadership and responses of dominating groups play an important role in creating ethnic turmoil and
its political impact.

The ethnic conflicts have a fostering quality that leads to become separatists and secessionists forces as in the case of Tiger Tamil Elam in Sri Lanka, Kashmir and Khalistan in India. It is due to continued negligence or improper handling of the initial modest demands of linguistic recognition, regional autonomy or equality of economic opportunities that gradually alienate the dissatisfied ethnic or regional group to the extent of seeking complete separation. There are also political and economic vested interested in search of preservation or prosperity resort to precipitating conflicts on ethnic issues. All these reasons can be seen behind the ethnic turmoil in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India & Nepal.

External Powers interferences are also play major role in domestic disturbances, in which they tend to exploit the problems to serve their desired strategic and economic interests, for example, Pakistan's support to Kashmiri and Punjabi militants. Having this background, it is essential to take some aspects of Internal Security problems of the SAARC countries, which are generated by domestic unrest.

Maldives:

Maldives is located in the central Indian Ocean, 143 Km South of Lakshadeep and Minicoy Islands. Spanning an area of 750 Km, with a land area of 280 Km. most of the Islands vary in length from 600 m. to 1.6 Km. in length being fairly
narrow in width. It's figures on the map is like a chain, with several islands grouped in cluster of atolls. Historically a Buddhist country it got converted to Islam in 12th century. Islam is the declared state religion with justice based on "Shariat-law", while the population is of the Sunni faith².

Like other South Asian countries Maldives is also facing the problems of Socio Economic and ethnic religion and linguistic configuration.

The country's resources are very limited. It has a weak agricultural sector leading to its dependences for basic food stuffs on external resources. Health and hygienic conditions have remained at low level low life expectancy rate, indicates the poor health of the Maldivian people. The low level of education reflects the scarcity of trained and skilled manpower³.

This tiny state is also not free from ethnic problem. In 16th century Maldives was freed from Portuguese rule by the two Adduan chiefs, who became Sultans. But in 19th Century during the Tenous negotiation between the British and Maldivians for greater political autonomy some Adduans asked for a separate state which they wanted to name.

Suvadiva republic. Since the British withdrawn in 1976, the Adduans have deprived of certains economic advantages. The coup of 1988 against president Maumoon Abdul Gayoom with the help of external agencies was a part of Adduanians grievances⁴.

An other major threat to the Maldives's security is arising out of environmental crisis, inrising of sea level by a few millimeters a year, threatening to submerge the 1200 odd coral islands. It is a very serious threat since all of the land is less than 3.5 meters above mean sea level⁵.

Global warming from the "Green House Effect" is the main cause of the rising seas menacing the Maldives, mainly known as an exclusive vacation destination offering palm fringed white sand beaches and crystal clear waters⁶. Therefore it is need to save Maldives from a watery grave next century, and industrialised nation must bring under control their emissions of greenhouse gases—mainly carbon dioxide—which destroy the Ozone layer.

Bhutan:

Bhutan is a mountain state in the Himalayas, with China on the north and India on the south. It has three distinct

⁶ Ibid.
geographical features, the southern foot hills, the inner Himalayas and the upper Himalayas. Bhutan is a agricultural state. Its ethnic and cultural diversity and economic backwardness and its geographical and demographic content have contributed to the domestic crisis.

But the ethnic composition is one besides the geographical economic and political factors. Though the Drukpas forms the core of the people, the Nepalese who began settling on southern slope of Bhutan a hundred years ago claimed parity in number today. By religion they are Hindu, restricted in their political and economic representation. Since no political activity is permitted in Bhutan, there is hardly any outlet for their grievances. The Bhutanis king’s efforts to integrate their nationals in national main stream he alienated Nepalese by introducing common uniforms to Bhutanese people for their cultural identity. Many reactionary organizations came to existence against the Bhutan government’s activities like Bhutan People Party (BPP), Bhutan National Democratic Party (BNDP), HUROB and SUB etc. They carried out pro-democracy movement. Other Nepalese leaders took terrorist move from the bases in Nepal. Their contend that the royal regime of Bhutan is actively pursuing a policy of ethnic cleaning. According to Bhutan People Party (BPP) of the ethnic Nepalis more than one lakh people have fled the country on account of the reign of terror let loose by the Bhutanese administration.

7. The Times of India, 4 September, 1992.
The refugees, who began to leave Bhutan in 1990, say they feed because of a brutal campaign of 'ethnic cleaning' after the first census in 1988 attempted to classify nationals and illegal aliens. Where as Bhutanese administration claimed that the people in the camps are being mobilised by anti-nation who under the banner of democracy, are trying to undermine the bases of the "drukpa" identity.

Flanked by giant neighbors without a large resources base or army, national identity is an important force of cohesion in Bhutan. Thus, the promotion of the Bhutanese languages, dress and way of life are regarded as vital components of the dragon Kingdom's transition to modernity, although some may feel that such a policy will keep Bhutan rooted in the feudal age. The problem with the southern Bhutanese dissidents who are ethnic Nepali and Hindu rather than "drukpa" or Buddhist is that they are trying to upset the pace at which a traditional kingdom is trying to change the system without sliding into anarchy. Yet the refugees issue has focussed attention on the need for Bhutan to develop a more pluralistic identity. But the flight of one lakh refugees who now live in camps in Jhapa and other places in eastern Nepal, has created grim situation, that effect Bhutan and Nepal relations.

Where as the economic position is concerned Bhutan is

9. Ibid.
entirely mountainous country, its agricultural potentials are limited and has nothing to export to the outside world and it is dependent almost totally for its basic import and economic growth on outside powers.

Bhutan faces some other problems such as, technical and managerial manpower and manual labour shortage, low productivity, the terrain and inadequate communication networks, serious shortage and gaps in material and financial resources and increasing dependence on foreign aid. So to achieve ambitious economic goals Bhutan's dependence will increase. It's dependence on India for markets, for all of its products and manpower is also obvious. But ill conceived external assistance could be serious for the security of the country.

Nepal:

Nepal is a land locked country in the Southern slope of the Himalayas, situated between India and China. The geopolitical location of Nepal is itself a major challenge to security. As Rose and Scholz described Nepal's position in these words "small countries situated is highly strategic areas between larger and more powerful neighbours must, by necessity, formulate strategies and policies that reduce their vulnerability and exploit opportunities. In situation the objective is not merely the advancement of national interests, but not infrequently, the survival of the society as an independent polity. Nepal finds itself in
this unfortunate situation.\textsuperscript{10}

The country is facing political instability for which social and ethnic factors are responsible. The predominant group in Nepal today, both in numerical and political terms is the Hindus with the different groups of caste, such as Kshatriyas, Bhahmins, and Mewars. They dominated the armed forces and civil services, furnished the majority of the kings principal advisors and enjoyed disproportionate representation in the Rashtriya Panchayat. Due to this imbalance the social problems were created and the king was tried to redress the balance somewhat through nomination of Panchayat and supported in election to candidates from backward groups. However, the politicians of Panchayat system encouraged the growth of separate identities\textsuperscript{11}, that led to the dramatic change in Nepali politics in 1990, in support of Democratic form of government and finally after 32 years of dictatorship its multiparty system elections held in 1991. Moreover in December 1994, for the first in Nepal's history a communist government installed and its head Man Mohan Adhikari is very much a leader of the party. He promised that "it is his commitment to serve the poor people, of Nepal and no worker should ever ignore the essence of this sacred mission, he says, "All of them should keep in touch with those who have elected them to power."

\textsuperscript{10} Leo E. Rose and John, T. Scholz, Nepal profile of a Himalayan Kingdom (New Delhi, 1980), p. 117.
\textsuperscript{11} U.S. Bajpai, op.cit. p.81.
Nepal's internal security is threatened due to its multi structural society where ethnic composition, religion, language and regional difference. The main ethnic groups of the hills are Brahmin, Chettri, Nayar, Rai, Limbu, Sherpa etc. are well off and dominated in Nepal's politics. While as in Tarai region Brahmin Rajput, Rajbansi, Sutar, Muslim, Tharu & Bodo are main communities. The linguistic diversity is higher in Tarai than hills, and as backward in comparison to Hills people.

Since the last decade the ethnic and regional movements started among Kiratis, Bishwakarmas and Tarai people for a greater share in political and economic power of the movement, the Tarai movement is based upon legitimate grievances. As the Tarai region is the backbone of the Kingdom, it accounts for nearly 55% of nation's agricultural production and 65% to 70% of industry. The hill people dominate the economic life of the Tarai and create problems for the Madheshis as the local inhabitants constitute more than 65% of the population.13

Thus the economic hardship created a sense of discrimination and neglect in Tarai people. They had poor representation in civil services, army and police, many of them had been denied citizenship.

Such type of negligence and deprivation developed consciousness among backward groups and formed the revolutionary cadres or the extremist marxist Lennist group. These groups have succeeded in mobilising support from the backward groups, and now in December 1994 election they formed the government.

Although, the democratic form of government has come to existence in Nepal. Yet socio economic problems are remained to solve such as nepotism and castism in bureaucracy, problems of economy. It is one of the poorest countries in the world with a nominal percapita GNP of only about US $ 200. So it is great need to change, the economic condition of the country.

In course of change in political system the Nepalese. People particularly the political leaders must prepared to cooperate with each other in establishing and strengthening the institution basis for democracy in the country in the interest of national security.

Sri Lanka:

Sri Lanka having circular location of the coast of South East India, is an island in Indian Ocean, Sri Lanka became an independent, state in 1948 after centuries of foreign rule. Like India, Sri Lanka also is a multi ethnic; multi-religious and multi lingual country.

Sri Lanka is in midst of dangerous crisis in its past
indirect independence history in the form of ethnic conflict between the Tamil minority and the Sinhalese majority which had reached a crucial point. The ethnic antagonism to the greater extent, remained non-violent till the early 1980s with only three major ethnic outburst, first in 1958, 1977, and last in July 1983. There are multidimensional problems between two communities such as ethnic, religious and linguistic. The physical location, social structure, economic interests, historical myths and natural resources are deepening the crisis and playing a crucial role in economy, polity, ethnic relations and defence strategies. The protected conflict has caused a massive loss of the life and property leading to the deterioration of the nation's traditionally democratic structure.

The ethnic and political troubles of Sri Lanka can be traced back to 1948, when the island was granted independence from colonial rule. The crisis originated due to racial discrimination policy of Singhalese majority against the minority of Tamils. The Tamils have been degraded and humiliated during the past four decades. Discriminatory laws deprived them from their jobs and business opportunities. The Tamil youth adversely affected with that policy, and they had no option except to revolt

against it, and started pressing their demand for a separate Tamil State in the Northern areas where they are in majority, under the militant organization Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) headed by Velupillai Prabhakaran.

The Sri Lankan Tamils are Indian origin, so they have close link with the people of Tamilnadu in India, they speak the same language. By religion they are Hindu whereas Singhalese who are Sri Lankan origin having Buddhist faith. Due to this there is intense bitterness between the Singhalese and the Tamils.

The Singhalese think Sri Lanka as a sanctuary for Buddhism, therefore they believe that it is their duty to protect Buddhism in Sri Lanka, and this commitment has lead to civil war in Sri Lanka. The Singhalese also argue that the Tamils have their own state in India, whereas they have only Sri Lanka. While the Tamils of the Jaffna Peninsula refused from accepting this view and claimed that they also arrived in Sri Lanka from Southern India at about the same time as the Singhalese came from Northern India more than 2,500 years ago.

The other internal unrest which brought the unprecedented consequences for the island were the armed insurrections led by radicalised Singhalese youths first in 1971 and later in 1987. In 1971 a militant organization Janatha Vimukhti Peramuna (JVP) staged and insurrection to seize power which was defeated by Sri Lankan armed forces with the help of
outside support. The organization reemerged in 1987 soon after the signing of India Sri Lanka accord in July 1987. Sri Lanka after the two and half years of bloody civil war and extreme political uncertainty finally managed to score a military victory, over the JVP. By the end of 1989, the organization lost its entire leadership captured and killed by the Sri Lankan armed forces.\textsuperscript{15}

The bloody civil strife between the Singhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka war interrupted by an accord signed by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lanka President J.R. Jayawardane in 1987, which provided for the despatch of Indian peacekeeping forces to disarm the Tamils militant group (LTTE) and pave the way for a referendum in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. It was welcome by most Tamils including some militant groups, but refused by the LTTE and they engaged in a major assault against the peacekeeping forces. The accord also provoked the Singhalese nationalist JVP into a bloody campaign of terror against the UNF Government, nearly all government institution, education and business activity was disrupted. Under Political pressure in both Sri Lanka and India, the IPKF were withdrawn in March 1990. The war resumed between the LTTE and Sri Lankan security force. Mr. Ranashighe Premadasa the former President tried to talked to the Tigers and armed

\textsuperscript{15} Rasario Samaboria, op.cit., p. 125.
them during the later part of the IPKF's stay in Sri Lanka. But it is unfortunates that he also assassinated in May 1993 by a suicide bomber, earlier in 1991, Rajiv Gandhi was assassinationed by the LTTE.

But in the first-ever peace move since a 10 days ceasefire in January 1991 started by the People's Alliance (PA) Government headed by Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga in 1994. Since she took office last August, Mrs. Kumaratunge has made numerous concessions to the Tigers. She has unilaterally reopened the land route to the Jaffna peninsula, eased fishing restrictions, posted, six teams of foreign observers to supervise the truce, disregarded ceasefire violations by the LTTE and sent essential items, including generators, to the North. In return LTTE have begun negotiations with Colombo but have insisted that the government lift the economic embargo completely, implement its promised rehabilitation package worth Rs. 40 billion and agree to a permanent ceasefire before discussions on political issues begin.

Bangladesh:

Bangladesh is bounded by India from three sides—north, east and West with a common border. In the South and East

17. The Hindustan Time, New Delhi, 1 Sep., 1994.
18. Ibid.
19. LTTE'S Games", The Times of India, New Delhi, March 10, 1995.
near Chittagong and Cox's Bazar she has a little boundary with Burma with a common border of 176 miles. In South it has the Bay of Bengal with a coastal boundary.

Bangladesh also faces threats from within like other South Asian countries. These are due to socio-economic and political instability.

As the socio-economic problems in concerned it is because of its back wardness. It is one of the least developed countries of the world with a per capita GNP is about $190 US. The economy is basically agrarian that still absorbs 55.27% of the total GDP.

There is not much industrial development, its economy is so much dependent on the agricultural sector that any fluctuations in agricultural output particularly two main crops-rice & Jute easily tend to destabilise the total economy. The annual growth rate is insignificant to cope with the economic problems arising out of both internal or external causes.

Bangladesh over population of 110.7 million (1989) resting on a stagnant economy has posed severe economic threats to the existence of Bangladesh in the form of draconian poverty rising unemployment, increasing dependence on external aid and so on.

According to an official report prepared for the aid meeting for aid to Bangladesh consortium in Paris in 1990, more than 50% to 60% of the people in rural areas live below the poverty line. In all cities and towns of the country there is also sizable number of slum dwellers and deprivation\textsuperscript{21}.

Poverty in Bangladesh finds in two ways one poor another ultra poor. According to one report more than 30% of population of Bangladesh are ultra poor who's per capita daily calorie intake is less than 1600 calories of average 2100 calorie\textsuperscript{22}. In rural areas many people are without belongings.

There is also a number of landless peasants. They are just rootless having no security of tomorrow. Because they cannot be expected to contribute to the security. They are indifferent to the state structure and do not care for the sovereignty of the country. They drage the country backward and make it unfit to compete with the external world.

The rising unemployment in the country is putting extra burden on country's economy. The present economic position of the country is not in position to absorb all the unemployed youth, that create frustration and ultimately


\textsuperscript{22} Atiur Rahman, "Missing Dimension of Poverty : The issues of vulnerability and insecurity in Abdul Hafiz and Mizanur Rehman Khan (ed.) development, politics & security - Third World Context op.cit. p. 97
It's major weakness is the dependence on external aid and assistance. Its Annual Development Plan (ADP) is totally dependent on foreign aid. Undoubtedly, interdependence aid is essential for developmental process, but it often minimizes the sovereign decision making power of the receiver, that can be a threat to the security of the country. In the case of Bangladesh the World Bank backed up by the IMF has been the praetorian guard for western aid donor influence. These two institutions have used their leverage through their domination of the aid consortium to impose their policy including privatisation of the economy and reduction of subsidies on agricultural inputs and food grains.

Political Threats: Arising due to political instability is another challenge to national security of the Bangladesh. Since, independence, Bangladesh is facing a series of coups and counter coups. Within a short time span of only four years the country's founding President Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was brutally assasinated. The military strongman and later President Ziaur Rehman lost his life in 1981.

After that the country fell into the iron fist of another military dictator, H.M. Ershad ousted through people's upsurge on December 6, 1990, and a new forms of

democracy came to existence. Under the leadership of P.M. Mrs. Begum Khalida Zia. Now she is facing political turmoil due to mass resignation by opposition parties from Parliament as they claimed that BNP government has become corrupted and failed in controlling law and order in the country. And now they demanded dissolution of Parliament and fresh election under the caretaker government. They also started mass movement and nationwide strike which has paralysed the civil lives. While Prime Minister Begum Khalida Zia accused the opposition of disrupting development activities and leading the country toward destruction by launching negative programmes like hartals and sieges.

Bangladesh is also facing domestic unrest due to ethnic and tribal differences. It is a large ethnically homogeneous with a Muslims majority of 87% and Hindu minority of 12%, Christian, Buddhist and tribal communities comprise of one percent. Since independence no major ethnic or racial violence took place other than upsurge of tribal subnationalisation in parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) and some communal violence in 1992 after domolisation of Babri Masjid.

The south eastern region of Bangladesh known as Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) is inhabited by thirteen minority ethnic races that include the Chakmas, Marmas, the Tipperas, the Morgans and others. Chikmas alone constitute nearly 47.89% of the total tribal population of CHT which
cover 10% of the total area of Bangladesh. The tribal insurgency problem is not new. The Chakmas were started fleeing in the mid 1960s when Bangladesh was still East Pakistan. At present all these Chakmas refugees find themselves in the unpleasant position of not being able to return to their original homes in CHTs.

The tribal insurgency problem began just after independence with the demand of the Chakmas for a special status of the CHT. In 1973 the Bangladesh Jatiya Sansad passed a resolution with a majority of votes declaring Bangladesh a unilingual and unicultural nation states. Earlier the Sheikh Mujibur Rehman Government had abolished CHT Regulation of 1900, introduced by the Britsher for administrative purposes. This government’s step developed a sense of fear in the mind of Chakmas to their cultural entity, detribalization and changing the demographic and ethnic balance through Bengali settlement and insufficient economic development.

A group of tribal leaders under the leadership of Manabendra Nareyan Larma met P.M. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, who failed to get their demand fulfilled. They organised a movement against the Dhaka Government and formed a regional

political party the Parabattya Chattargong Jana Sanghati Samity (JSS) and another military front named Santi Bahini who are fighting against the Bangladesh security forces in the area.

Although the Chakma insurgency in due to domestic political factors, but it has acquired an external dimension since Bangladesh alleges that the Chinese and Indian government have supported the tribal rebels\textsuperscript{27}.

As the involvement of Indian government in the Chakmas matter, it is due to refugees problems in Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura region. There are now estimated to be some 45,000 Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh and about 5500 in Tripura. There are likely to be some more scattered in neighbouring areas\textsuperscript{28}. Recent Indo-Bangla ties on the Chakma problem has reached to solution and some tribal refugees have departed for their home land in CHTs.

Other than Chakmas problem, the Rohingya Muslims the migrants of Arakan region of Mayanmar have created domestic unrest in Bangladesh. They fled from Mayanmar due to military government's atrocities, now they have settled in Bangladesh.

\textsuperscript{28} "In Search of Home", The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, 19 Oct. 1994.
Pakistan:

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is flanked in northwest by Afghanistan, north by the Central Asian Countries and China, east by India and South by the Arabian sea.²⁹

Politically Pakistan is having a unique feature, which is neither democratic nor very Islamic. It is supposed to be based on Shariat law of Islam. While of rule in the history of the country, and democracy has existed casually.

In Pakistan the struggle against the dictatorship has always been accompanied by a struggle against the centralization of nationality rights. That rised from two sources: a) the dominated classes and b) dominated nationalities. The dominant groups in the dominated nationalities consider a federal parliamentary system with considerable autonomy for the provinces, with the safeguard of their interests and democratic freedom.³⁰ For example the break of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) in 1971, from the United Pakistan, Pushtoonist's people, struggle for same cause. The Baluch nationalist resisted the authorian rule of Pakistan's government, because they do not get proper Power equation of Pakistan.

The opposition of the dominant classes, elite of

²⁹. Manorma Year Book, 1990, Published, Kerala.
³⁰. Pakistan and Asian Peace, ed. V.P. Chopra, op.cit. P. 189
dominated nationalities to dictatorial tendencies because of nationality oppression in Pakistan state. As long as the two go together and the Punjabi ruling class is unable to co-opt the dominant classes of the smaller nationalities Baluch, Pukhtoon etc. On the other hand imposition of military government takes away even a semblance of participation on the part of masses and denial of freedoms adversely affects their struggle for economic well being and for a dignified existence in society.

The political instability in independent Pakistan is best illustrated by the fact of unprecedented phenomenon of rule in the first eleven years by the seven Prime Ministers one after the other before the Army crack down by General Ayub Khan brought the first martial law regime in Oct. 1958. In Pakistan, the democracy is still at a experimental stage. It is not in position to handle all domestic problems democratically. Military still playing its role in political affairs of the country.

Ethnic and Regional Problems

The social order of Pakistan is badly disturbed by the intra-regional and intra-sectarian conflict. The ethno and sectarian overtones of the clashes have been mainly a result of Mohajiris and Sindhi, Shia & Sunni divide. Created mostly by Zia-ul-Haq using the "Islamic Card" and

propagation of an Islamic order based on Sunni Principles for the entire country. Where as Regional feelings, it turned to violent because of social inequalities and the dominance of politico-commercial classes having an enormous concentration of economic resources. Regional aspirations and demand for political power for the influential regional and ethnic groups have also worsen the situation.

Pakistan came into existence because of its religious identity, but religion could not unite the distinct cultural, linguistic and ethnic group together. As the leaders of Pakistan highlighted the strength of Islamic Unity which recognised no regional, ethnic or linguistic loyalties. While the founder father of Pakistan Mr. Jinnah was forced to concede the need of secularism in his first address to the constituent assembly in Karachi on August 14, 1947, he said, "You are free to go to your worship places temples or mosque etc, in the state of Pakistan, there is no discrimination on the basis of religion, caste or creed... We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state.

But, it is unfortunate that the secular stamp given by Jinnah was declared as a Muslim state by the right wings parties. Soon the religious issue became a point of conflict and gravated towards becoming an "identity crisis"

for the various groups. The demand for autonomy expressed itself in a demand for recognising ethnic regions in Pakistan. Therefore regional conflict developed in demand of new state. This led to the break up the Pakistan in 1971, and continues to be an explosive problem today. Punjab enjoyed the lion's share in terms of power and influence, that developed a sense of discriminations and ethnic regional intolerance in the minds of depressed and exploited people of Baluchistan, Pakhtoon and Sindh. The breaking away of the eastern wing (Bangladesh) made the dominance of Punjab even more striking in comparison with the other provinces. Punjab is more inclined to statusqua than other regions of the country.

Baluchistan

It is at strategic locations between Afghanistan and the Gulf on Oman to the South, and the rest of Pakistan and Iran to the West. Baluchistan is a least developed province of Pakistan. Its population is heterogenous; while Baluch's constitute about 1/2 population, the other half is made up of several other ethnic groups, the Pushtuns, Brahuis, Sindhis and Punjabis. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has increased the problems of ethnic and tribal diversity. It has led to political parties in Baluchistan.

34. Khalid B. Sayeed, the political system of Pakistan Coup, Lahore, 1966, p. 66.
becoming very factionalised and polarised. To add to the simmering tension the arrival of Afghan refugees all of whom are Pushtuns have inflamed. 35

On the other side the struggle between Baluch nationalists and Punjabi Pathan dominated military bureaucratic elite is one of the crystalized difficulties that Islamabad face. Although, it provided the bulk of the energy requirements of the nation, had more than two millions population and even less significant share in the politics and administration. However, a strong demand for constitutional autonomous raised in mid 70's and took armed against the government, which was suppressed by Bhutto’s government with the military help from Iran and US. Still Baluchistan is in search of autonomous status of livelihood.

The NWFP : The North West Frontier Province's also tribes also created problems to the central authority. The Islamisation policy pursued by Zia produced a sectarian problem, which has led to violent clashes. In July 1987, there were severe clashes in the Parachinar and the Kurram Agency and again in November 1994, the violence erupted in Malakand Division, Swat and Bajaur Agency of NWFP by the supporters of Tanzeem Nifaz Shariat-i-Mohammadi (TNSM) demanding implementation of Shariat laws in the region and

against the Shia Community of NWFP was brutally crushed by a combined forces of paramilitary organization.

Thus it is clear that the shortsighted Islamisation policies of Zia have created more problems of nation building rather than solving any. Now it is necessary for a democratic government to either give concessions to the religious minorities or to again stress the secular character of the state in order to save it from ethnic and violence.

Sindh: It is called as 'a' province of permanent crisis. Now a days in Sindh, the politics revolve around different points of conflict. Sindh versus centre, Sindhis versus Mohajir's, Mohajirs versus The Punjabi Pathan Combine, Mohajirs versus Mohajir (Political), Shia Versus Sunni etc.

The genesis of the conflicts lies in the very creation of Pakistan, when as new ethnic configuration was imposed on a highly pronounced socio-economic stratification that prevailed in Sindh. After partition, the city offered refuge to the people who left India by force or by choice. Although other ethnic groups, like Punjabis, Balochis and people from North-West Frontier Province migrated to the city in search of employment, the largest ethnic group which settled down in the city was the urdu speaking Muslims from India. The Sindhi's considered this groups to be a threat to their language and culture. After sometime this has aggravated the ethnic class and regional divide between the
old Sindhis and new Sindhis. Old Sindhis were dominated by a socially and politically cognizant minority of Urdu speaking and urban based. They are largely concentrated in the cities of Karachi and Hyderabad.

As a result of this refugee's domination conflict erupted between local and non locals. Sindhis elites fear hindrance in career advancement and other economic opportunities.

While the Urdu speaking migrants from India have not been assimilated into the mainstream of Pakistan. Neither they have been assimilated into Sindh. They are being discriminated against in education and employment. They are denied of their share in political power. This group calls itself as Muhajir Quom. They are predominant in the Urban Sindh. They have formed a political organization called Muhajir Quomi Movement (MQM). It has become a powerful political organization. Sindhis have become hostile to this group. Where as the government, instead of resolving the grievances of Mohajirs, is trying to suppress them by force. Due to this problem a civil war situation has created in Karachi.

Another factor, which is responsible for recent killings, in Karachi is the conflict between two Muslims sects, Sunnis, and Shias. This is the creation of religious leaders. Sectarian violence has assumed alarming proportions with armed attacks on religious leaders and
places of worship. Some of the Sunnis have formed a militant organisation called Sipan-i-Sahaba party (SSP), on the other side some of Shias have also formed their own militant groups, Tahrik-i-Jafri party. The attack on the leader of the Suuni Sipan-i-Sahaba Maulana Azam Tariq and assassination of Shia leader, Syed Hussain Shah have added fuel to fire. Karachi violence is attributed to factional fighting between the mainstream Altaf faction of the ethnic Mohajir Quomi Movement (MQM) and its rival Haqiqi faction. Since January 1994 more than 2000 people were killed in Sectarian clashes. In all these killings, most sophisticated weapons are being used, and the gun culture threatens to spread to Baluchistan and NWFP.

Karachi is burning and bleeding. Repression is no solution. A dialogue with the MQM and the religious leaders alone can end the nightmare through which Karachi is passing.

India

India occupies a strategic position in Asia, looking across the seas to Arabia and Africa on the West and to Burma, Malaysia and the Indonesian Archipelago on the East and extending from the Himalayas in the north to the Indian

Ocean in the South India is inhabited by various ethnic, linguistic and socio-religious groups. In terms of area and population it is the largest country in South Asian region. Its boundary touches all the countries of South Asia, except Maldives.

At present India is passing through a period of uncertainty and drift that can lead to dangerous consequences. The political, social, economic systems of Indian polity are facing unprecedented challenges from inside as well from outside. The main crisis of India today is multiple, it is political, economic, social and of values. The security of the national system is closely linked to the security of the sub system which make up the national system. Regionalism, communal violence, growing terrorism in Kashmir and Punjab and insurgency in northeast, urban industrial unrest, rural tensions arising due to upper and lower caste differences, political agitation, social conflict and youth unrest, smuggling and spies (ISRO) tribal Vs non tribal, hill Vs. Plain people (ultra khand) etc. are of the well known threats to the internal security of the country.

The inequalities and the injustice of socio-economic structure is destabilising factor. The common people working hard, fighting the battle of survival and desirous to

participate in the political and decision making process and want to improve the living conditions. But India's social systems do not allow him to do so, because the democratic institution which operate the electorate process and tools of governance are hijacked by the power brokers and the operators. The question of even a fair election is in doubt as criminalised politics uses money and "goonda" muscle power to sway the voters, prevent any just action by the police or by the election machinery or even by the judiciary.

The economic and political system is suffering from a crisis of legitimacy and crisis of identity, which is disastrous.

Progressively politics has been criminalised and those rising to political power and authority have forced the bureaucracy, police and democratic institutions to fall in line at the cost of job, s promotions and postings. And for the general masses, there is little equality law and justice but only that of criminalised action, corruption and sefarish the appeal for help to those who wield power. The bureaucracy has slowly wilted as the face of political demands, as has the police. The only way for official to survive is to tactily obey the dictates of their criminalised masters.38

The only way for the deprived masses to retain some self respect and vent their anger, is in violence, insurgency and terrorism for underground criminals gangs and terrorists.

These are the root causes of most of our current internal security unrest.

Law and Order Problems

Law and order is the main issue of tackling the high and low intensity of problems. On the high level, it is active insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir and North-East and terrorism in Punjab, and on the other side are problems of law order like civil disorder related to political, socio-economic, ethnic and religious issues.

When the lower level civil disorder is not taken seriously at its beginning stage it gains permanency and takes serious violence shape. The understanding of problem at macro level and to search for a solution is the job of political leaders and their advisor both government and non governmental. While the tackling of law and order at local level is depend on the administrator and other law enforcing agencies. Generally police forces are handling the lower level problems. But, the police, despite its vast rising strength of armed battalians under the central Home Ministry or under the various states, with thousands of crores expenditure is unable to easily control the violent masses when the police itself is subservient to criminal
political masters and their fawning bureaucrats. When the violence reached out of control, there may require the involvement of Para Military Force or even the Army. But the scope of involvement of PMF and Army should have well defined norms and parameters.

Law and order maintainance is the primary job of the police not of the army. It is only when political parties and leaders developed undemocratic and criminal methods of acquiring power and staying in office, that public institutions, the civil services, the police and business houses deteriorated in standards of conducts and corruption became rife. Till this corrected, violence in Indian society is likely to grow further more.

The Problems of Terrorism and Insurgency

Terrorist violence has become increasingly frequent in recent years. Between 1975 and 1992 there were an average of 500 international terrorist attacks a year. Bombings were by far the most common type of terrorist violence, accounting for 60 percent of all such incidents. As the terrorist believe in the cult of the bomb and the gun violence by all available means. In 24th oct. 1985 on the 40th anniversary of UNs, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said: "Terrorism is a major challenge of our time. It has assumed new forms".

40. Ibid.
41. The Times of India, October 25, 1985.
Terrorism in India is not a new phenomenon, it has a history extending over a century and more. In the second half of the 19th Century, the Wahabis, a puritanical Islamic sect steeped in fundamentalism, unleashed a wave of violence in India.

Insurrectionary violence involving acts of terrorism, erupted in Nagaland in the early 50s, in Mizoram in 1966, in Manipur in the late 70s, in Assam, in 1979 and in Tripura in 1980, in Punjab since 1984 and in J & K since 1989. Extremists subversive activity and other forms of terrorism have increased since 1985. According to the Union Home Ministry report for 1989-90 admits that such lawlessness has particularly affected the border states of Punjab and J & K. The latest manifestation of terrorism has been through insurgent extremist activities in north eastern region and the spurt in left-extremist violence in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. In Punjab the security forces continued to mount pressure on the terrorists. The People's War Group (PWG) based in Telengana region is responsible for the bulk of violence. The Targets of attacks included public property.

In the North Eastern region mostly in Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Mizoram and Assam are continually rocked by violence for which the extremists of various categories were responsible.

Jammu and Kashmir Problem

It was called by a Mughal emperor as "paradise on
earth", the beautiful valley of Kashmir has lately been rocked by bomb blast, shootings and other subversive elements, trained with arms equipments by Pakistan have causing havoc in that state. There is intense fear among the people. The militants have created tough law and order problems for the state administration.

The remotness of the valley of Kashmir has helped to promote a feeling of special identity not only because it has discouraged the mass influx of new settlers, but also because it has restricted the Kashmir's contact with the outside world. Confinement to a relatively small area for generations has produced an unusual degree of cultural and racial homogeneity.42

The internal security turmoil of J & K did not emerge all of a sudden and the external factors have caused the escalation to the present level. It is only when developing situations are not recognised immediately and steps are not taken. When the government does not give any response to the grievances of the people, they gain dimensions and complexity resulting in a public outcry, agitation and ultimately inviolence.

The state government has lost the popular base because of its own weakness and indecision and did not take those

hard decisions which should have taken to curb the military at the initial state.

Conflicting contentions: The respective standpoints of India and Pakistan on kashmir reflect a conflicting and contradictory approach.

India argues that both legally and constitutionally J & K is a part of India since the state acceded to the Union of its own free will. The instrument of Accession was signed by the Maharaja of Kashmir. Since J & K is an internal part of India, there is no dispute as such over kashmir. But Pakistan insists that kashmir is a disputed issue and not an integral part of India.

A joint session of the Pakistan Parliament adopted on Feb. 10, 1990, a resolution accusing India of repression in Kashmir and calling for a Plebiscite. The five point resolution, moved by Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan expressed solidarity with the people of J & K in their struggle for self determination, called upon India to desist from its ruthless attempts to suppress the demand of the Kashmiris for self determination.

It demanded a final settlement of the J & K dispute through a fair and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the UN and in accordance with the resolution of the security council and the directives of the UN commission for India and Pakistan.

43. The Times of India, 12th Feb. 1993.
Apparently under domestic pressure, Ms. Benazir Bhutto adopted a hawkish posture. She flatly reiterated that Pakistan would not compromise on the right of self determination of the people of J & K.

There are believed to be about thirty subversive groups operative in Kashmir Valley. These are part of the separatists movement which has gained strength as a result of financial and other support given by Pakistan and Kashmiris settled abroad. With some available information to BSF, there are 40 battle hardened Afghan Mujahideen in the valley imparting training to the Kashmiri militants and fighting along with them. Besides, there are Sudanese, Bahranis Pakistanis and Saudi Nationals.

The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) one of the most active group based in POK is actively involved in violence in the valley. The other groups like the Allah Tigers, the Hizbe Islami, the Hizbul Mujahideen and Al Umar Mujahideen have been enforcing norms such as observances of purdah by women, stopping trade in liquor and closing video libraries and beauty parlours. It is believed that these subversives are being patronised by the Jammat-e Islami, a fundamentalist Islamic Party. Pakistan's Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA) acting in cooperation with the Pakistan based Kashmir Liberation Front (KLFI) like IDA.

44. The Times of India, 7th May 1993.
other organisations train Kashmiri Youths in the use of arms. Pakistan's Field Intelligence Unit (FIU) and the Pakistan Interservice Intelligence (ISI) have been supplying arms to militants.

The allied groups in occupied Kashmir cooperate with them. Official reports indicate that several fully armed groups of trained Kashmiri youth often smuggled into valley from the Jammu border which has several easy spots for crossing over in either direction.

Some other organizations, like the Islamic students league, the Jammat-e-Islami, the Jamiat Tulaba and the Mahazi Azadi, have made their existence depending on the situation in the state and across the border.

Besides, the instigations and encouragement by Pakistan there are several internal causes of the trouble in the valley. The state administration has been inefficient, ineffective and also corrupt. According to close observers of the turmoil, the present impasses in Kashmir is largely the result of a series of ill conceived policies pursued by the central government and state administration. Political mismanagement and economic neglect are among the principal factors that led discontent and disillusionment. The interests of the people have been repeatedly disregarded.

with the result that their confidence in the democratic process has shaken.

Since independence, Kashmir's economic development is not satisfactory because its share of national resources is inadequate, so there is no industrial growth. Many important projects, sanctioned, a decade or so ago, either remain on paper or have been abandoned for want of funds.

There has been shortage of drinking water and electricity despite the vast natural water and power resources. Education has spread, but there is inadequacy in employment to the educated youth. Besides, the tourism industry which has earned the country's substantial foreign exchange is still woefully backward. While Amritsar boasts of an international airport, Kashmir has none. These deficiencies, have enabled certain vested interests, both within and outside the country, to exploit the situation.

Besides, economic deficiency, the Islamic factor also has influenced Kashmiris in their quest for a separate identity. The "Shaheed" factor, and the canonisation of Maqbool Butt has been yet another motivating cause for young militant Kashmiri Muslims.

The lack of political will to face the situation, and ineffective dealing allowed the militancy to gain in strength and stature, and at the same time demoralised the once effective police force to such an extent that quite a few of them established their links with the militants to
safeguard their life and security. The situations got to worse and the climax was reached in 1989 with the kidnapping of the then Home Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed's daughter Dr. Rubiya Sayeed. The case was handled in such a manner that opened a new way of militancy. The kidnapping has become an accepted act in J & K. They could tell the people that by kidnapping they have been able to bring the Indian government to the negotiating table. This was a golden chance for Pakistan in helping the Kashmiri militants. The minister of state for external affairs R.L. Bhatia said that the government have press reports about setting up of special ISI camps by Pakistan both in Pakistan and POK in which about 20,000 Kashmiri militants, besides Afghan nationals had been trained.

The J & K Governor (Retd.) Gen. K. V. Krishna Rao said that Pakistan after having failed to grab J & K through open wars, has now waged a proxy wars to annex Kashmir. It has been aiding and abetting terrorism by training and arming some of the misguided youth.

He also declared that, during the past five years, there have been seized more than 20,000 weapons, thousand of grenades, lakhs of ammunition rounds and other assortment of ammunition which were supplied to militants by Pakistan to create large scale violence.

46. The Times of India, 5th May 1993.
48. Ibid.
And still the incidents of Utter lawlessness, such as bomb blasts, arson and destruction of property have become frequent. There are more signs of Panic and nervousness among the people than of return to normalcy.

Along with the increasing fear and deep anxiety, there is intense anti Indian feeling, which is naturally a matter of great concern. For this state of affairs there are two main causes. One the endless propaganda by the militants by word of mouth as well as through their own furtively printed propaganda sheets, besides posters on street walls and on poles. Second cause is the administration's failure to ensure peace and protection to the people. The local people and also the visitors notice the virtual collapse of the administration and the lack of confidence in the ruling elite. The occasional arrest and detentions without trial have caused further resentment.

Now the people of Kashmir are tired with present situation and want peace to return in J & K.

Punjab

Punjab has witnessed a spurt of terrorist activity during the past few years. Terrorism entered a dangerous phase in 1984-85. Earlier, during 1982-83 scores of innocent people, mostly Hindus were killed. In later phase Hindus as well as sikhs including women and children, were killed, with the use of the latest sophisticated weapons.
Places of worship were turned by the militants into arsenals. The accelerated lawlessness ultimately led to military action "operation Bluestar", which became a sore point with the Sikhs. The assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi was a manifestation of militants anger against what they described as "oppressive policies of the Union Government".

The Punjab problem is not a current one although it was started before partition, when Kartar Singh, the then General Secretary of the Akali Dal, demanded in 1946, a "Sikh Home land" for Sikhs in Punjab.

After partition again demands arose for special privilege to Sikhs. Because the terror and suffering wrought on the Sikhs by partition made the Khalsa more insecure and so more favourably disposed to a separate state. Those who suffered much, the west Punjabi Sikhs were more inclinded for seperate homeland.49

The migration of Sikhs to East Punjab and the Muslims to the West Punjab made the Sikhs a much larger percentage of the total East Punjabi population, one third. Most Sikhs inhabited a defineable contiguous area in East Punjab. When Haryana was formed in 1966 the Sikhs constituted 55% of the population, and 62% of the Punjab population. Then the

leaders of the Sikhs argued for a separate state on majority status.

Since then several demands came out and made more and more complex, that is resulted current deteriorating situation.

Since the General elections of 1980s, in which congress won a comfortable majority defeating its main rival, the Akali Dal, created fears among Akalis for their survival. This reverse led them to adopt agitational measures to win back the support of electorate and political power.

To get mass support the Akalis took the issue of Anandpur Sahib Resolution, which could be easily termed and exploited as aspirations of the Sikhs masses in the political, economic and social sphere. This Resolution was adopted by the Akali Dal in 1973 at Anandpur Sahib:

On 13 April, 1982 the Akalis launched their agitation to force the government to accept the Resolution and some other demands, in its totality. This movement was given a deep religious colour as "Dharma Yudh", with its headquarter located in the Golden Temple. Of course this agitation was in peaceful non-violent manner. But it turned violent in due course of time with involvement of some hardliner Sikhs who wanted to take the advantage of the Akali movement to carry out anti national activities while agreeing with the goals contained in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, they also demanded extra ordinary status for Punjab which meant an
exclusive Sikh State and ultimately the demand for an independent Kahlistan.

To achieve their goals, they advocated militancy and violence as opposed to the declared policy of non-violent agitation by the Akalis. It was soon there after the militant groups established an effective parallel leadership of the movement under Sant Bhindrawale with pronounced separatist and anti national objectives.

Militant Organisation in Punjab and their Foreign Linkages

There are several militant organisation which are fighting for Khalistan for example NCK, Dal Khalsa, Babber Khalsa, Akand Kir tani Jatha. The three most important organisations that are militantly Khalistani are the National Council of Khalistan (NCK), headed by Jagjit Singh Chauhan. The All India Sikh students Federation (AISSF) and the Dal Khalsa.

Bhindarawale also had his own group centred at the holy place near Bhatinda called Damdam Sahib where he resided. The group has committed a number of terrorist acts.

The National Council of Khalistan is an umbrella organisation which is a government in exile in name only. It serves as a coordinating body which distributes information promoting the Khalistani cause. The Central Organisation operates from Khalistan House, situated in well to do Bayswater near Hyde Park in London. It has branches
in various parts of the world. Funds for the NCK comes from Sikh businessmen in Canada, the USA and the UK. Money is contributed at meetings in Gurdwaras and by direct contributions. After the army action in the Golden Temple (operation Bule Star) a much broader cross section of the Sikh community were willing to give money to Khalistani organization.

The pro-Khalistani Groups have sprouted up in various parts of the world where Sikhs live. Many Khalistani organisation are based in UK including Dr. Chauhan's. Another famous organisations is the International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF) founded by a Sardar Jasbir Singh, relative of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale after the Blue Star operation in 1984.

Another important centre for Khalistani is Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada where more than two third of Canadian Sikhs live. At least three important Khalistani live there. One is Surjan Singh Gill. He publishes the Indo-Canadian Times and the newsletter Babber Khalsa.

In US, Ganga Singh Dhillon of Washington who was known to be the close friends of Pakistani Zia ul Haq. He also propagated that the Sikhs are a seperate nations and maintained contacts with US senators and persons in the higher ranks of Pakistan administration.

As the question of foreign hands in supporting to Punjabis terrorists it can revealed with following informations:

In the first phase of secessionists movement, it seems most of the arms were supplied either by pakistan or by the US. In final phase China also supplied arms through the Jammu and Kashmir.

The CIA and Pakistan intelligence (ISI) were actively involved in the training of anti Indian terrorists in specialised camps in Pakistan for example in Qasur, Emnabad, Gurdwara in Gujranwala district, Rahim Yar Khan near the Rajasthan border, Attock Fort, Daud Fort and Sheikhpura city.

After the completion of training, which included use of sophisticated weapons and ammunition and hate campaign against India, these terrorists were smuggled into Punjab from various points in Jammu, Rajasthan and Punjab for carrying out operations.

Preliminary interrogation of an extremist arrested by the army from the golden Temple revealed that he was a Pakistani who had supplied specialised detonators to the extremists positioned inside the temple, disclosed Lt. Gen. K. Sundarji GOC-in-C Western command, at a press conference.

after operation of Blue Star.

Such types of foreign support to Punjabis militants have made it easy for them to carry on extremist activities. Their extremist activities commenced with murder of Lala Jagat Narain, a leading public figure, who was a severe critic of communal policies of hard line Akalis. Thereafter a spate of murder of prominent personalities, Hindus as well as Sikhs police officials and random killing of Hindus. Their activities also included sabotage and subversion. These activities were related with following objective.

a. Paralyse civilian administration and reduce them ineffective.

b. Carryout subversion in the police force and demoralise those who could not be won over.

c. Create communal rift and mutual mistrust between Hindus and Sikhs.

d. Terrorise all elements and echelons of anti extremists force and public figures.

e. Gain international recognition and support for their movement.

When these activities of extremists reached to its height in 1983, the late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi announced the acceptance of some of the religious demands of

the Akalis, and appointed Sarkariacommission to review the centre state relation to please to Sikhs. But these efforts of Mrs. Gandhi could not satisfy the Akali leaders. Unabated violence continued in the state. The government banned Dal Khalsa and All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF). The banning of these organisations created even more problems for the Government. They killed not only innocent people but also very important persons. They killed Ramesh Chandra the editor of Punjab Kesari, Shri Atwal a state Police officer and Mr. Manchanda prominent Sikh leader of Delhi.

When all methods to check terrorism failed, the centre Government took a drastic step to flush out terrorists from the Golden Temple. The military action called "Operations Blue Star" took place on June 5, 1984 against the Bhindrawale activities. The army entered the Golden Temple. It was a painful but unavoidable act. During the army action many terrorists were killed and arrested. Some army personal were also killed. The militant Sikh leader Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale was also killed an action. Arms and ammunition in large quantity were found in the Golden temple.

The "Operation Blue Star" did hurt the Sikh sentiment in the country and abroad. In protest against entry of the army into the Golden Temple, Khushwant Singh, a noted scholar and journalist returned the title of Padam Bhushan
to the Government. Many other highly placed Sikhs also expressed their resentment by resigning the posts held by them.

However, terrorism was not eliminated, murders of Hindus and Sikhs has continued long after the entering to the holy shrine. The assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi by her two Sikhs security men was an other repercussion of the army operation.

In July 1985, Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal reached agreement on a number of different Akali demands. Chandigarh was to be handed over to Punjab. The dispute over Abohar and Fazilka was to be resolved. A commission was to be formed to look into the massacre of Sikhs in New Delhi and other places of country after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination.

But this accord could not satisfy some sections of the extremists. Meanwhile the election of Vidhan Sabha and also Lok Sabha for Punjab were announced. The extremist decided to boycotted the election in the state. The election was held under the Gun, besides Longowal assassination. Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala took over as Chief Minister. But killing and looting was a common thing in Punjab.

The holding of elections in Punjab in Feb. 1992, has given new hope to this troublous state, although Akalis boycotted the election. The Beant Singh Government is showing courage to tackle the situation and some how succeed
in it. It is true that the things have certainly improved as far as the law and order situation is concerned. The fear of the extremists has receded into towns and villages and the self imposed curfew after duck, that has become a normal features of life in Punjab, has improved. Economic activity that witnessed a down fall during the past five years has gained momentum.

But killings of two ultras in an encounter near Bhatinda and arrest of a top militants are once again trying to regroup and strike back. The recovery of one AK - 47 assault rifle and some ammunition besides some literature and diary from their possession, confirmed that the militants activities again gaining their bases in state.54.

The intelligence agencies in Punjab have warned that the International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF) under pressure from the Pakistani outfit Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) had been very active in reorganising the militant movement in Punjab55.

Another militant outfit still active but mostly outside, the country are Babbar Khalsa, Khalistan Commando Force. Khalistan Liberation Force and Bhindrawale Tiger Force of Khalistan. Most of these outfits are based in USA which have as yet not given up hope and also have been sending funds to buy arms56. Now again it is need to revise

55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
all necessary action by the Punjab Government to deal law
and order problem with fair and right means to topple the
rise of militancy in state.

North East Region Problems

In India's north eastern region, which comprises the
"Seven sisters" the state of Assam, Nagaland Manipur,
Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram. The
region has a considerably large international boundary with
China in the North, Bangladesh in the South, Bhutan and
Nepal in the West and Burma in the East.

For decades the people in North East states had
experienced political violence, cultural insecurity and
economic deprivation, that was sporadic and confined to the
Naga and Mizo. But it is the fear of loosing their identity
as an ethnic group due to demographic imbalance has become
the major cause of trouble, that has crossed geographica
barriers and engulfed even the perennial peace zone like
Meghalaya. 57

There have been as many as six insurgencies, the well
known the Naga revolt which continues at present and it has
bases in Bangladesh and Myanmar 58. The Mizo National Front
which captured the main town of Mizo Hills, Aizawl, in 1966

57. U.L.K. Sarin, "India's North East in Flames", New Delhi,
58. Dangerous Developments "Sunday Magazine, The Hindustan
was another powerful movement. The United Liberation Front of Assam was a third as was the revolt by Tripura volunteer force. Most of these movements such as in Mizoram and Tripura have abated or ended as a result of a combination of negotiation and Indian military force  

In Manipur, the activities of diverse insurgent groups operating mainly from the Imphal Valley. For the first time in 1994 came in the grip of ethnic clashes and rise of insurgency and witness political killings. Over 45000 security forces belonging to different Army and para military Units were deployed throughout the state, but two years long Naga Kuki clashes continued claiming at least 500 lives.

The Naga Kuki clashes are due to some different reason: One is the political linkages of both the two groups with the political parties, who give direct and indirect support to these groups. Another is the domination of Naga majority over to Kuki minority, Nagas of Manipur want to create a greater Nagaland with the combination of four districts of Manipur which is not acceptable for Kukis of Chandel District of Manipur. Another main cause is the collection of illegal money and tax by the NSCN with the Kukis these are responsible factors of ethnic conflict between the Nagas and Kukis.

59. Ibid.
As insurgency problem is concerned, Manipur, in the insurgency history of the region faced for the first time in 1994, when Armed Naga under-ground men ambushed and killed 29 security personnel at Yangkhullan area in the state's Sanpati district bordering Nagaland.60

According to official records there were at least 30 ambushes or encounters between armed security men and underground activists belonging to different organisations in different parts of the states.61

While the National Socialists Council of Nagaland is active in hill districts particularly in Chandel and Ukhrul, the United Nations Liberation Front (UNLF) the oldest and well organised underground outfit in Manipur has become agile both in the hills and valley in the state.62

Other underground organisations like People's Liberation Army, Kuki Defence Force, People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak, Kuki National Army and other two stepped up their activities.63

The problem with the Mizo or Naga concept of nationality lies in there extension beyond their respective

60. "94-A Year of Insurgency for Manipur", The Hindustan Times, 6 Jan. 1995
61. Ibid
63. Ibid.
crystalleized zone. The Naga's claim that there are altogether 32 tribes, of whom only 16 live in Nagaland, 16 others in the Neighbouring Indian states and Burma. Unification of all the Naga inhabited areas is a very sensitive issue in both Nagaland and Manipur.64

The Mizos are also scattered over Mizoram, Manipur, Cachar as well as Burma and Bangladesh. The territorial unity and solidarity of the whole Mizo population continue to haunt the people since the days of transfer of power.65

In Tripura, the tribal reaction against the dominance of the Bengalese settlers is generally as the root cause for the emergence of extremist movement there. The Tribal National volunteers (TNV) have stepped up their extremist activities and intensified violence. They are based in the CHTs in receiving help from MNF and Bangladesh. Un-checked immigration in Assam and some other states also complicated situation.

The Pakistani Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) is very active in the North Eastern states and giving every assistance including training to insurgent groups there.

GOC in C, Eastern Command and Lt. Gen. R.N. Batra,

65. Ibid.
said that the ISI had been providing training to the NSCN in Nagaland, the ULFA in Assam and PLA in Manipur as well as to certain elements in lower Assam in some neighbouring countries.

The Army had been making every effort to keep it in check through its operations and deployments. But the porous border with Bangladesh and Myanmar had compounded the task.

Because of the remotness of these areas there is some insensitivity among the bureaucracy and political leadership of centre and states to understand their grievances and aspirations. The belief that the problem of insurgency has solved in Nagland, Mizoram, Manipur or Tripura could be unrealistic. It has no doubt been contained in some of these areas but the problem is far from being over.

Assam:

Assam is bounded by Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh in the North, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Manipur in the East, Tripura, Bangladesh and Meghalaya in the South and West Bengal in the West. It provides access to Bhutan and Bangladesh and the state of the North East which were part of Assam earlier. All these areas are highly prone to infiltration by Bangladeshis and to some extent by the

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people of Nepal through West Bengal and Bhutan. In addition there has been infiltration of Cheap Bihari labour into Assam like any where else in India.

All these things created security threat for Assam from China, Myanmar and Bangladesh. The threat from Bangladesh directly is nominal, but threat to internal security is mainfied due to the presence of large number of immigrants from that area which is still continuing. It created fear among the real inhabitants for their deprivation. So the real problem of Assam was related to foreign nationals, settled in Assam during the post partition period. So basic demands of the Assamese were that all foreigners must be deported to their country and their names must be removed from the electoral roll. The international borders along Assam must be sealed to check infiltration.

And Government must issue identity cards to Indian voters in Assam. All Assam Students Union (AASU) and Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AGSP) gave agitational shape to these demands by which the whole administration was paralysed. Their target was to disrupt the movement of oil as well as law and order situation. In view of the serious nature of agitation the central government made efforts to come to some sort of settlement with the agitation leaders. Despite all the efforts no agreement could be arrived on identification and deportation of foreign nationals in Assam.

The AGP Ministry of Mahanta could not deal with the
problem of foreigners effectively. The Centre also found it
difficult to detect and disenfranchise thousands of
foreigners. The sealing of the Assam Bangla border was also
a difficult task. These factors damaged the credibility of
the AGP Government. And the failure of the Assam Accord
created another serious problems of militancy. The two
militant organisation the United Liberation Front of Assam
(ULFA) and All Assam Bodo Student Union (ABSU) came to
existence.

ULFA : It was formed in 1979 at Sibsagar by Rajiv Rajkhowa,
Parash Baruuo, Pradeep Gogoi, and Gulab Baruo for Swadhin
Asom (Independent Assom State). They started kidnapping
killings and extortions at large scale, which ruined the
economy of the state and made a mockery of the state
government.

The centre Government had no other option except to
deployment of Army to flush out ULFLAs. The "Operation
Bajrang" launched to flush out the militancy from the area,
but it could not fully control in the area. Subsequently
election was held in June 1991 and a new Congress(I)
government headed by Hiteshwar Saikia assumes office. By
then the ULFA had become very active. The army was again
called to assist the state government and "Operation Rhino"
was launched it was also accompanied by a massive public
relations drive so that the local public could be won over
there by making thing smooth for the army. In Dec., 1991
the ULFA announced unconditional and unilateral ceasefire.
ABSU: ABSU started its agitation because of socio economic backwardness feeling of insecurity due to long oppression and deprivation, non implementation of tribal welfare programmes etc.

They launched their movement in March 1987, since then they have been holding rallies bundhs and indulged in violence arson, bomb blasts, blowing up of road and railway bridges, vehicles and railway bridges, vehicles and derailments of trains. In 1988 ABSU, under Upendra Bharmi demanded a fifty fifty division of Assam the state government rejected demand of division of Assam. Violence took the deadly shape in which hundreds of people lost their lives.

But after blowing hot and cold both the government and Bodo militants came to negotiating table, and on 20th Feb. 1993 the six year old Bodo ethnic issue was settled with the signing of an accord on the creation of a Bodo land Autonomous Council with legislative powers.

But violence once again erupted in mid-1994 in the region of Bodo Autonomous Council (BAC). In Churni: Bengali speaking Muslims were massacred by Bodo militants, has proved that until the problems of grievances of the Assamese people are not solved, the violence cannot be controlled in state.

Naxalist Violence:

Violent activities of Naxalists and extremists are continued in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal, and these violent acts posed a serious threat to the internal security of the country. The root cause of rising the Naxallism is dissatisfaction, disillusionment, inequality and exploitative social system. The non-implementation of land reforms is one of the major factors for Naxalist hostility against the state governments. Their battle against the oppressive social economic order is more anarchic and rebellious in style as well as in substance in creating lawlessness, disorder and chaos. If the situation is not tackled effectively, it would create a more serious and violent situation, which could threaten the very foundation of our national security.

After surveying all these problems, we can say that there is not a very bright picture of current internal security scene in India, but there is no need to react in anger or panic. India is a large country and its democratic institutions and administrative structure, however weak, have been able successfully absorbs shocks without giving up democratic form of government or disintegrating.

Now taking as a whole domestic unrest in SAARC countries we find that secessionist demand of ethnic minorities has created a dangerous situation. Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh are multi-ethnic societies,
which are facing separatist or autonomist movement for a very long time. These are the Tamil in Sri Lanka, Chakmas in Bangladesh, Baluchis, Sindhis and Mohajir in Pakistan and Sikh. Kashmiri and Naga, Bodo, etc. in India.