CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is a saying that all politics is local, but increasingly, all local politics has global consequences. And those global consequences, in turn, affect the quality of local life everywhere.

- Kofi Annan Secretary General, UN - 1998

Introduction:

The emergence of global economy worldwide, and instant communications system, and new western-led UN World role has replaced the question of national sovereignty into sharp focus.\textsuperscript{1} The state as the pre-eminent international actor and as the exclusive source of political identity is gradually yet decisively being challenged.\textsuperscript{2} Qualitative changes in international politics in 1990s, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the regional integration of Western Europe, the end of the cold war, the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989, the Unification of Germany, the adoption of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the formation of Commonwealth of Independent States, (CIS) change in American Foreign Policy towards South Asia, common currency (Euro Dollar), prominence of economic issues in the formulation of foreign policy relations and conflict in the Horn of Africa, West Africa, and Asia illustrate the porous and fragile nature of state.

Today, no region is isolated, none can be ignored; actions and events in remote places may have immediate world wide impact ... vast forces are reshaping the world with headlong speed. Under the impact of wars, nationalism, technology and communism, the old order has been

\textsuperscript{1} Stephen Haseler, in www.questia.com
shattered. Empires have crumbled; nations once dominant, are forced to adopt to shrunken influence. New nations have emerged and are struggling to survive... Nowhere do traditional attitudes fit the new realities... Thus notions of sovereignty and independence need revision to apply to a world where a nation’s level of life or survival may depend as much on the actions of other countries as on its own. Therefore, James N. Rosenau held that “The world is presently experiencing its first period of turbulence since the birth of the state system some 350 years ago.”

Scholars, diplomats and politicians often tell that we live in a global village. Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, even went as far as to call for redefining ‘sovereignty’ because of the forces of globalization. Hence, we are living in an era of dramatic change and transition, in a world that is being transformed by complex financial systems and revolutionary information technologies into a vast global market place. Globalisation while creating new patterns of interaction among people and states is not only promising unprecedented opportunities for material progress in larger freedom, but also threatening to compound many existing challenges before the international community and at the same time deepening the economic marginalisation of those most vulnerable. Thus, according to Stanley Hoffmann, the dichotomy between international and domestic politics is getting eroded.

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7 Stanley Hoffmann, quoted in Dr. S.S. Patagundi’s Party System and India’s Foreign Policy Process in Post-Cold War Era, A Report Submitted to the Karnataka University Dharwad, 1996, p.2.
Over the past decade dramatic events have changed the global political order, brought technological progress and shifted economic policies—events, defining the character of globalization and greatly accelerating it. The end of cold war unleashed a wave of global political integration. Information and communications technology has launched millions of global conversations, and the Marakesh Agreement of 1994 changed the rules of global trade. All this is in the wake of global ideological shift. National and International economic policies began to change in the 1970s and 1980s giving more importance to the market forces initiating declining of the role of state. The west-phalian system is now in terminal decline. Globalization is rendering sovereignty an obsolescent concept. A global village would naturally squeeze the concept of sovereignty out of usage, non state actors like MNCs, NGOs dominate the world by networking and information revolution, eroding national sovereignty. Increasing interdependence in trade, economic and financial relations, environment concerns etc. signify the increasing internationalism at the cost of national sovereignty.

Globalisation is not supplanting traditional lines of social conflict and cooperation, but it is redrawing them. Hence, Employers and Trade Unionists, environmentalists and polluters, indigenous people and multinational corporations, feminists and male chauvinists, fundamentalists and liberals, free traders and protectionists, human rights activists and authoritarian rulers, nationalists and multinationalists, the

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south and the north—all these groups have found that the capacity to achieve their goals is affected, in one way or the other by the forces of globalisation. Different societies and cultures, which were hitherto distinct, now come face to face and get interwoven in the social life of others. The new elites have access to elites of any part of the world.

The technological changes combined with economic and political developments have thrust a whole set of problems on the global agenda, pollution, drugs, space, human rights and terrorism are amongst an increasing number of transnational policy issues which cut across existing global political alignments and which demand international cooperation. In the true sense of the term borders are not only crossed or opened but rather they are transcended, with increasing connectivity. The world is not only taking the shape of ‘global village’ but global governance too.

According to Ian Clark “Oscillations between globalisation and fragmentation are mediated by states, which stand between international and domestic pressures for integration and disaggregation respectively” Thus the exclusive link between territory and political power has been broken. The contemporary era has witnessed layers of governance spreading within and across political boundaries. “New international and transnational institutions have both linked sovereign states together and transformed sovereignty into the shared exercise of power.” Thus globalization cannot be fully understood in terms of economic or trade

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activity alone. It has globalized the world economy and nation-states are increasingly becoming its part and parcel. Therefore globalisation will have consequent implications for the Nation-state in India in socio-economic and political domain. The policies and programmes within the state will be substantially affected by the process of globalisation. Therefore, its philosophy and practice should be understood and analysed in its totality in relation to sovereignty of Indian Nation-state and problem of Terrorism and Human rights with special reference to Kashmir.

Statement of the Problem:

"The recent trends towards economic and political interdependence on the international level have undermined sovereignty in some respects - a subject of special interest to research on globalisation"14 The three broad conclusions for further research on globalisation are 1) The impact of globalisation on national governance 2) The institutional conditions which blunt or sharpen the effects of interdependence and 3) The impact of globalisation on institutional change."15 Ever since India’s entry into GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and W.T.O. (World Trade Organisation) and its plan to open economy for Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation in 1995, India is largely pressurised by the terms and conditions of W.T.O. and TNCs (Trans-National Corporations) paving the way for gradually losing control over internal and external sovereignty. The state of India, instead of occupying centre stage in the social and economic arenas, is seen to be in retreat, particularly in key areas such as education, environment, health and housing and

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generally implementing laws of the land for the betterment of vulnerable sections of the society.\textsuperscript{16} In the words of Dick Bryan "The real centre of economic power decision making now lies with Trans-National Corporation and not with nation-state."\textsuperscript{17}

The emerging global scenario and the universal trend of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation effectively impinged upon the nation-state system, which has remained the basis of international system for the last few centuries. "The state sovereignty is fast eroding and therefore, its autonomy to decide its foreign and domestic policies is severely conditioned and constrained."\textsuperscript{18}

The nation-state sovereignty in India therefore, is overshadowed by the impact of globalisation, which results into gradual decline of sovereignty and legitimacy. It is clear that the transformation of sovereign statehood is a crucially important element of a research programme aiming at exploring the global polity.\textsuperscript{19} Therefore, the topic "the nation-state and globalization; changing roles and functions" opens the door to many possible approaches and modes of investigations.\textsuperscript{20}

The contemporary research on globalisation encompasses an immensely broad range of themes, from the new international division of labour, changing forms of industrial organisation and process of urban


regional restructuring to transformations in the nature of state power, civil society, citizenship, democracy, public spheres nationalism, politico cultural identities, localities and architectural forms among many other. Globalization therefore, poses a profound challenge not only to democracy but also to the nature of state power and civil society. During the last decade, it has not only become focus of serious research and discussion among academics, business people, bureaucrats, and politicians but also has become the focus of almost daily discussion among the people of different spheres.

Thus, the traditional nature of a state in India with the growth of international and transnational organisations and collectivities; from the UN and its specialised agencies to international pressure groups has altered the form and dynamics of both state and civil society. In effect, the autonomy of states is compromised as governments; finding it increasingly difficult to pursue their domestic agendas without cooperating with other agencies, political and economic. Therefore, state is increasingly associated with regional and global inter-connectedness permeated by quasi-supranational, intergovernmental and trans-national forces, such developments, it is also contended, a challenge both to the sovereignty and legitimacy of state.

Sovereignty is challenged because the political authority of state is displaced and compromised by regional and global power systems, political, economic and cultural. The state legitimacy is at issue because

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23 David Held and Anthony McGrew, Supra no. 13, p.13.
with greater regional and global interdependence states cannot deliver fundamental goods and services to their citizens without international cooperation. Globalization thus is eroding the capacity of Nation – state to act independently in the articulation and pursuit of domestic and international policy objectives.  

Globalization therefore, does indeed impact on national governance and its domestic structures but the impact is not only or even generally constraining. Rather, the impact is just as likely to be enabling in particular, enabling the emergence of governed interdependence. Hence, this model of nation-state today is in disarray. On the one hand, state is ceasing to be central mechanism of the nation, while on the other, the nation that had come into being has entered a process of acute fragmentation, multiple polarisation and likely disintegration. Therefore, the period 1789-1945 appears to have been the golden age of the nation-state but in the second half of the 20th century its power and autonomy seemed increasingly threatened by the rising forces of globalization. 

This fragmented improvement has caused increased impoverishment, inequalities, work security, weakening of institutions and support systems and erosion of established identities and values. Therefore, globalisation will weaken government and render them incapable of implementing the corrective measures that the crisis demands. 

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24 ibid.  
25 Linda Weiss, Supra no. 15, p.315.  
26 K.L. Chawla, Supra no. 16, p.149.  
29 http://www.nnn.se/archive/globodem.htm
reforms through World Bank, W.T.O. and IMF have caused serious concerns, such reforms include privatisation, dismantling of public welfare programmes, and the shredding of safety net for the poor, resulting into a huge gap between rich and poor in the country, leading to social unrests like poverty, unemployment, hunger, starvation and rise of terrorism and violation of human rights.30

This declining capability of nation-state becomes the primary objective of the terrorist groups or those agencies that sponsor, support and protect them, so as to use them vis-à-vis their targets. Terrorism is considered too policy oriented an area of research in political science.31 Therefore, analysing terrorism as something separate from globalisation is misleading and potentially dangerous. Indeed, globalisation and terrorism are intricably intertwined forces.32 Though terrorism targets innocent civilians, the primary focus of attack is the existing state system because only a weak and degraded state system can offer an appropriate environment. Such forces resort to terrorism to dictate terms not only to the legitimate government but also to the people of India and Kashmir...

Because of extremist policies unacceptable to the state actors who saw in them a threat to the very foundation of the state security and structure, "Undoubtedly national security is of primary importance, without protecting the safety and security of the nation, individual Human rights cannot be protected. However, the worth of a nation is worth of the individuals constituting it."33 Therefore, it is the primary responsibility of

32 Jamal R. Nassar, Supra no. 30, p.52.
the state to protect violation of Human rights and dignity of all. It is also
the responsibility of the state to ensure such rights are not violated either
through overt acts or through abetment or negligence.34 The 1993 world
conference on Human Rights in Vienna declares “The acts, methods and
practices of terrorism, in all its forms and manifestations, are activities
aimed at the destruction of human rights, fundamental freedoms and
democracy, threatening territorial integrity and the security of states and
destabilising legitimately constituted governments, and that the
international community should take necessary steps to enhance
cooperation to prevent and combat Terrorism”35

Terrorists are sworn enemies of human rights and there can be no
equivocation on this matter. Terrorism must be fought and combated.
This is essential for the protection of human rights without which human
beings can exercise no other rights in India.

Globalization thus reduces the capacity of states to exercise political
power over the territory in which private-sector actors like terrorism
operate. This loss of control probably means that, “probing into the
future, including the future of the nation-state itself, one must recognise
that globalisation has ended the nation – states monopoly over internal
sovereignty, which was formerly guaranteed by territory. This change
deprives external sovereignty of its functional value. The nation-state as
an externally sovereign actor in the international system will become a
thing of the past”36 Thus the weakening capability of Indian nation-state
cannot effectively control terrorism, hence over the last century the

34 Ibid. p.3.
35 http://www.org/unconf/wchr/Vienna programme.93ehtm.
character of terrorism has changed greatly. This goes not only for its methods but also for the aims of the struggle and the character of the people that were and are involved in it.37

Many scholars have made eloquent contributions to understand the problems and issues of Globalisation, Terrorism and Human Rights but no attempt has been made to interlink these concepts. Though there is much emphasis on Globalisation, Terrorism and Human Rights, they are studied separately. Therefore, in this study an attempt has been made to analyse how globalisation affects sovereignty and capability of Indian Nation-state and as a result how terrorism is changing its nature and character leading to violation of human rights from Indian perspective.

Limitations of the Study:

The concepts Globalisation, Terrorism and Human Rights are very broad, vague, not specific and cannot be precisely defined. Therefore, the limitation of this study is not to cover all dimensions of Globalisation, Terrorism and Human Rights, but the study primarily focuses on capability of Indian nation - state to deal with problem of terrorism and protection of Human Rights in India.

Review of Literature:

IDSA Library, IIPA Library, Exim Bank Library, Indian School of Economics, Tata Memorial and Delhi University Library, it is found that an overview of literature is desirable to understand the impact of globalisation on Terrorism and Human rights in India with special reference to Kashmir and explain how this study distinctively contributes to the same area.

In this study, some major published and unpublished works have been reviewed which are relevant to this study, essentially to indicate how this study is distinct from all other previous works.

(1) Bhagabati Prasad Padhy’s thesis on “Globalization Protest Movements and Human Rights Case Studies in India and Nigeria” focuses on the debate of globalization protest movements and Human Rights with reference to Indian Economy and states policies in relation to local economy. The thesis looks upon prawn culture and people’s movement in Chilika and how state policies encouraging prawn culture to augment foreign exchange deprive fisher folk, which examine the state of Human Rights issue in this context. The thesis tries to integrate Nigerian economy with global economy from the historical perspective and impact of oil explorations on community under structural adjustment programme. It also looks upon the issue of Ogoni People’s Movement and states that suppression of that movement brings out the gross violation of Human Rights.

(2) Mohit Chaudhry’s Dissertation on “Terrorism, Human Rights and State in India A Sociological Study”

analyses the phenomenon of Terrorism – meaning Genesis, distinction between Terrorism and protest movements, characteristics, devices,
methods, theories and stages of Terrorism in India. The dissertation covers the issue of Human Rights and its implications, relationship between Indian Constitution and Human Rights, Natural Rights with reference to Universal Declarations etc. It also focuses on Terrorism and Law with reference to TADA, and analyses shortcomings of NHRC and crisis in Kashmir, Punjab and North East in the light of identity crisis. It highlights state and society crisis in post-independence era and projects methods of controlling terrorism and role of people, police, army and media.


The dissertation discusses theoretical orientation of values and social change with reference to classical thinkers like Durkheim, Parson, Marx and Weber. It highlights the plural character of Indian society with change of social institutions and how structural changes are taking place in a new kind of consumerism, material and globalisation culture, in the Indian society.

groups, and Amnesty international, Asia Watch etc. It analyses Amnesty International Organisation's structures and functions, and how Amnesty international works. Also its concern in India and its recommendations with final observation that if the people of the country were assured by the government, that any report of violation of Human Rights would be honestly and impartially examined, and guilty officials punished, it would lend much credibility to the government's claim of concern for Human Rights.

(5) **Global Politics: Globalization and the Nation-State by Anthony G. McGraw and Paul G. Lewis et.al.**

This study focuses upon globalisation of super power rivalry and rise and decline of cold war, super powers arm race and its global consequences. It critically analyses how globalization is posing threats to the Nation-state sovereignty and its autonomy. It also focuses on how far globalisation of economic relations is responsible for the globalization of political activity with interrelationship between modernisation, globalisation and future of the Nation-state in global politics, through examination of human rights issue.

(6) **Contemporary Crisis of the Nation-State? Edited by John Dunn:**

This book focuses on crisis of the Nation-state caused by the challenges of a turbulent global economy. The book also examines the challenge of ecological crisis, ongoing constitutional crisis in Canada and fate of Russia in contemporary modern politics.
(7) Globalization: India Nation, State and Democracy

C.P. Bhambhri's book focuses on how imperialist globalization had impact on ideological and intellectual thinking process of the third world ruling classes. The author substantiates his argument with examples on how global dictations can be resisted by the third world including India if popular classes are mobilized.

(8) Stephen S. Cohen and Gavin Boyd- edited book on “Corporate Governance and Globalisation” gives an understanding on corporate governance, primarily in USA, Japan and EU, and discusses how governance influences corporate strategies and cultures in response to the deepening integration in the world economy. The book tries to link studies on corporate governance with surveys on success and failures in international financial markets, and aspects of corporate governance system.

(9) The book on “The Free Trade Adventure: The WTO, the Uruguay, Round and Globalism – a critique by Graham Dunkley” provides historical analysis on trade agreements, Uruguay Round of Talks, which ultimately led to WTO Agreements and covers gains and losses specifically on Third world economies in terms of political sovereignty, labour standards and environmental protection.

(10) “Governance in a Globalizing World” by Joseph S. Nye, Jr., and John D. Donahue. The book comprises debate on how the patterns of globalization are evolving. And how they affect governance in nation-states and how globalism should be governed. Various contributors attempt to provide an answer to these vexed issues.
(11) Kenichi Ohmae’s book on “The End of the Nation-State (The Rise of Regional Economies) points out as to how nation-states are losing the ability to control exchange rates and protect their currencies in the world economy. This work brings into focus how four strong forces like capital, corporation, communication and consumer usurp the economic sovereignty once held by nation-states, and control the movement of capital and corporations. This work documents on how new affluent economic zones, arisen throughout the world, assure the quality of life, and how region-states like Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Hongkong, Silicon Valley etc. establish closer links with other region states in global economy.

(12) F.H. Hinsley’s book on Sovereignty offers a general survey of the history of the theory of Sovereignty in the light of changing social, political and economic frameworks in which it has developed. It also connects different intellectual aspects of the concept of sovereignty like philosophical, legal, historical and political. It is most learned stimulating and elegantly expressed analysis of most central political concepts.

(13) Globalization: Myth and Reality edited by Govind Prasad and Anil Dutta Mishra The work focuses on theoretical aspects, positive and negative aspects of globalization and its impacts on society particularly in developing countries. It also highlights on position of consumers in a globalized world and its impact on environment, human rights and gender issues.
(14) **Globalization and its Discontents by Joseph E. Stiglitz**  This book is based on his experience in world bank in 1997 where he saw first hand and devastating effect that globalization could have on developing countries, and especially on the poor countries. He believes that globalization – the removal of the barriers to free trade and the closer integration of national economies – can be a force for good and that it has the potential to enrich everyone in the world, particularly the poor. But he also believes that if this is to be the case, the way globalization has been managed, including the international trade agreements, need to be radically rethought.

(15) “**Interpreting Globalisation Perspectives in International Relations**” edited by Rajen Harshe. This work contains number of articles by renowned scholars focussing on different aspects of globalization like, security problem of evolving states in the developing world. How globalization poses as an opportunity or risk and changing notions, practices of boundaries in International Relations civil society activism, globalisation and the Indian Nation-state, role of state in the era of globalization are important sub-themes identified and analysed in this study.

(16) **The Intelligent Persons Guide to Liberalization by Amit Bhaduri and Deepak Nayyar**. This book brings out the essentiality to think about the complex set of economic, social and political issues associated with liberalization in a systematic manner, rather than be guided by simple faiths for and against it. Cutting through the euphoria and hype that prevent any serious appraisal of liberalization, the book highlights the advantages of a free market and grave dangers
of reliance on market forces. Authors argue for a flexible system that will adapt to changes in society and polity, and a system where both market and the state must play a significant role.

(17) States and Sovereignty in the Global Economy: edited by David A. Smith, Dorothy J. Solinger and Steven C. Topik The work focuses on how world is changing quickly with increasing flow of information and technology, trade and investment and the nature of changes and finds out whether the impact of globalization leads to change in the sovereignty of nation-states. The book proceeds with evolution of global system, state sovereignty, capital accumulation, relationship between states and global economy, changes in global technology and financial practices.

(18) Krasner, Stephen D. book on “Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy” provides information on how increasing role of globalization and financial institutions poses a challenge to the sovereign states. Here, the author argues that states have never been sovereign, and looks at various issues to base his arguments like – minority rights, human rights, sovereign leading, creations of states in 19th and 20th century and concludes with no international norms continue to be most powerful before the sovereign nation-states.

(19) “Nations Under Siege Globalization and Nationalism in Asia by Susan Strange”

It is a work of multidisciplinary collection of essays on social, political, economic and ideological impact of globalization and nationalistic response to this in major Asian nations such as India, Malaysia, Indonesia, China, Japan. The key issues dealt with are: The
globalization of Hindu Nationalism; The ideological struggle in East Asia between nationalists and advocates of a pan – Asian civilization; The repercussion for Asian nations of the recent pan – Asian financial crisis; the rise of neo-nationalism in late 20th century Japan, the Chinese nationalist response to western economic domination by exploring the successes and failure of Asian nationalism in the age of globalization.


Provides exhaustive literature on the concept of ‘state sovereignty’ discussed from both theoretical and empirical point of view, interpretative crisis – from modernity, modernism and crisis, within modernity and post modernism with reference to post structuralism, decentring the will of state, deconstruction and reconstruction, in world economy. The study also covers issues like state and process of internalization, changing nature and hegemony, and role of international organisations, diffusion of power and authority and how technological change pose challenge to the sovereignty and issue of security dilemma.

[21] **Jamal R. Nassar’s work on Globalization and Terrorism:**

**The Migration of Dreams and Nightmares** This study examines interlink between Globalization and Terrorism and identifies the root causes of terrorism and analyses the two concepts from regional conflicts in Palestine, Northern Ireland and Middle Eastern Islamic Terrorism. The book warns that the world has entered the 21st century
through gates of globalization and found the flames of terrorism flaring inside.

(22) **David Held and Anthony McGrew edited work on “The Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate”**

This study very exhaustively discusses the phenomenon of ‘Globalization’ and the contributors are George Modelski, Anthony Giddens, David Held and Anthony MacGrew, David Goldblatt Jonathan Perrator, Robert O Keohane Joseph S. Nye Jr. Jan Aart Scholte, Justin Rosenberg, Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson, Stanley, Hoffmann etc. The formation and role of modern state towards a global polity, are prominently highlighted. Fate of national culture and cultural globalization, new global economy, divided world divided nations, the world orders, normative choices, the ethically-bounded political community, are discussed in this study.

(23) **James H. Mittleman edited work on Globalization: Critical Reflections:** This study critically analyses the various dynamics and perspectives of globalisation with the spatial organization of Information Industries and implications for the role of the state and focuses on the quest for developed country status and politics of indifference from globalization to democratization and how it really works in the 21st century.

(24) **The Economist : Globalization** The book contains number of contributors projecting globalisation from different angles trying to focus on issues like – critical dimensions of globalization and popular
myths and economic facts, the spread of equity culture around the world and how industries go global from law to wine making. The book also focuses on uses of information technology, inequality, environmental aspects, and how to govern the global economy by reforming international financial structure.

(25) Susan Strange’s work on “The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy” analyses with prime focus on how authority of states are declining in the era of globalisation in terms of capital, technology and transnational organisations. The changed role of state from various paradigms and conceptual perceptions are discussed. The second part of the book provides useful insight into the empirical evidence of authority beyond the state.

(26) Ankie Hoogvelt’s work on Globalization and the Post Colonial World: The New Political Economy of Development Examines the phenomenon of globalization from post colonial and historical structures and discusses various theories like Neo-colonialism, modernisation and dependency, crisis and restructuring New International Division of Labour, shed the light on how gradual expansion of globalisation led to implosion in the world, with global regulatory mechanism, with the special focus on developmental states on East Asia.

(27) Globalization and Social Change: People and Places in a Divided World: by Perrons Diane. The book tries to combine a theoretical approach with comparative analyses on case studies on effects of globalisation in different places. She analyses how information and
communication leads to socio-economic change in working patterns and living conditions. It also examines how patterns of globalisation under new economy are materialised.

(28) "Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World" edited by Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington This study provides an useful analysis on unexpected consequences of globalization force, which characterised as American imperialism and as an economic solution of poor economies. This book focuses on how global culture is emerging. Though it is American in origin and content, it is far from a centrally directed forces, they analyse the process that carry this culture with reference to non-governmental organisations, resulting into sub-globalisations which binds regions together.

(29) The Consequences of Modernity – Anthony Giddens In this study the author offers a new and provocative interpretation of institutional transformations associated with modernity and the distinctive characteristics of our major social institutions in the closing years of 20th century suggest that, rather than entering into a period of political modernity, we are moving into period of “high modernity” in which consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalised and universalised than before. A post modern social universe may eventually come into being, but this is yet on the other side of forms of social and cultural organisation that currently dominate world history. The author concentrates on the themes of security versus danger and trust versus risk.
(30) **Terrorism Today: the Past, the Players, the Future** by Simonsen, Clifford

The study has made an attempt in comprehending the terrorist activity across the world in the historical sense. This study adopts a systems approach to analyse important elements of terrorism such as - origin, different motives and complex nature of terrorism.

(31) **"Terrorism World Under Siege: by S.K. Ghosh**

This work focuses on how terrorism became a worldwide phenomenon with transnational links for training, planning and exchange of weapons with administrative and logical support and how international terrorism is aided, financed and protected by various governments. And also how with the advancement of information technology the latest sophisticated weapons and explosives are possessed by terrorists and how the nexus of criminals and their gangs are changing the character from politically-motivated to criminally-motivated terrorism.

(32) **Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: by Brigitte. L. Nacos.**

The study analyses mass-mediated terrorism and political violence showing how bombers, “ecoterrorists” and hostage takers exploit global media networks and informational resources to carry news of their violence along with propaganda advancing or obstructing the policy goals of terrorists and their targets and how internet strengthens the hands of terrorists to organise, recruit and spread propaganda. The author examines the use of political violence for publicity, and how media coverage of counter terrorism affects political decision-making. She
advise having a constructive relationship between effective public information and media coverage during terrorism crisis.

(33) "Wilkinson Paul's book on Terrorism versus Democracy: the Liberal State Response: covers how terrorism has become a major problem in democratic countries and analyses the problem of liberal democratic response to it.

(34) Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century by Cindy C. Combs This work throws light on contemporary terrorism, how terrorist acts are committed by criminals, and analyses laws and special forces of different nations in international community to meet this challenge. It analyses terrorism in twenty-first century and its characteristics of what, why and how it shifts its dynamism from ideologies of extreme left wing of 1960s and 1970s towards fundamentalism of extreme right.

(35) Griset, Pamala's book on Terrorism in Perspective examines a comprehensive analysis on global and domestic terrorism, casts a wider net on acts of terrorism and their relationship to culture, religion, history, politics economics and ideology. It also covers female involvement in terrorism and establishes relationship between media and terrorism in conventional and non-conventional tactics.

and looks at how cyberspace deals with electronic criminal behaviour, and explains issues surrounding cyber crime and its impact on society.

(37) Mark E. Denham and Mark Owen Lombardi’s edited work on “Perspectives on Third World Sovereignty: The Post Modern Paradox”

The study examines the concept of ‘state sovereignty’ from Third World perspective from post-modern period. Third world sovereignty problem with [out] borders, space/time/sovereignty, state sovereignty, the politics of identity, geographies and ethics of post-sovereignty, community, recognition and normative aspects of sovereignty, nexus of sovereignty and regionalism in post apartheid South Africa, demise of sovereignty in south, new liberalism and decline of sovereignty.

(38) Book on State Sovereignty in the 21st Century Concept, Relevance and Limits. Proceedings of an international seminar held at New Delhi organised by IDSA and ICWA.

This work is a compilation of papers on issues like state sovereignty concepts, relevance and limits and analyses the dramatic changes in international system which are posing challenges to the traditional notions of sovereignty, international community’s obligations in the face of massive human suffering in a nation state. How should the world community intervene? Would such intervention help or hinder in the complex situation? Would there be a doctrine of the right of humanitarian intervention? and whether such doctrine damage the shield of sovereignty are the central issues focused in this book.
This study is the outcome of the proceedings of a lecture series on Terrorism sponsored by the Global Peace and conflict studies, at the University of California. All the contributors in this book are focussing on the causal background, the roots of terrorism and its impact on public institutions and suggest changes that they believe which should form the basis of public policy. The book focuses on 19th century history, Middle Eastern culture; political science and psychological aspects are dealt with special reference to insurgency – counterinsurgency and Terrorism during Mexican Independence from 1810 – 1821. Freedom of information v/s freedom from intimidation, low intensity conflict, Guerilla warfare and terrorism in coming decades and role of European community to develop a concerted policy on the issue.

Roots of Terrorism by Kanti P. Bajpai

The study analyses the phenomenon of Terrorism in India, Kashmir, Punjab, and North East. It is written with a thorough coverage on terrorism and secessionism in India which covers Liberal, Conservatives and Realists views on terrorism. The moral economy of violence, power sharing tactics and migration issues figure prominently.

Global Terrorism: Socio-Politico and Legal Dimensions by B.P. Singh Sehgal

This work essentially focuses on three main issues like genesis of terrorism, declining authority of Indian state and challenge of terrorism, terrorism and human rights. Nuclear terrorism and human
survival, state sponsored terrorism and 'human rights insurgency operations' violation of human rights, ethnicity and terrorism are discussed.

(42) N.S. Saksena's study on Terrorism, History and Facets in the World and in India: This study examines the concept of terrorism from multiple angles - like how totalitarian state, the media, the non state actors, and extra legal methods of states cause terrorism. The book presents historical evolution of terrorism in India and how it is used as a potent weapon in international politics. Terrorism in Assam, Punjab and the failure of state system to check terrorism are important issues covered with number of appendices.

(43) Terrorism by Walter Laqueur This book attempts to understand hitherto neglected areas and aspects which are of significant importance like the doctrine of systematic terrorism, the sociology of terrorist groups, current interpretations of terrorism, common patterns, aims and motives and efficacy of terrorism.

(44) Arnab Goswami's work on Combating Terrorism: The Legal Challenge The main purpose of this work is to put the process of framing laws against terrorism in India and in other countries, against the backdrop of events of post September 11 that led to the promulgation of the prevention of Terrorism Ordinance. The study finds problem in defining Terrorism and much of the ambiguity stems from the use of ideology to justify acts of terror with case studies on Hamas in Palestine. It also looks beyond an international convention against Terrorism to assess whether both US and India have been value
neutral. Finally the book covers some of the anti-terrorist laws in countries like Britain.

(45) **Terrorism, Security and Nationality: An Introductory Study in Applied Political Philosophy by Paul Gilbert**  
The study starts with an inquiry into a form of political behaviour which epitomises an unsettling phenomenon of terrorism and how it tends to war? And how the state treats it merely as a crime. A similar question posed is on security operations of the state. And how they serve to protect communal relations, or do they undermine them in pursuit of sectional interests. This study also covers the problem of national identity in a world of nation states.

(46) **Terrorism: An Instrument of Foreign Policy by Kshitij Prabha**  
The work focuses on efforts towards understanding the conceptual framework of terrorism and insurgency both regional and international types and causes of terror. It also proceeds further to understand its impact on foreign policy with special reference to Pak-sponsored Terrorism in India and Jammu and Kashmir.

(47) **Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in Eurasia by V.D. Chopra**  
This study critically examines terrorism, secessionism and ethnic conflicts. It focuses on how terrorism is leading to the erosion of state power, the role of UN and international terrorism in South Asia, and how Islam is posing fundamentalist threat in Central Asia, cross border terrorism, militancy in Kashmir, Islamist extremism in Kashmir, Intra-state conflicts. The rise of terrorism and secessionism in 21st century and
how Pakistan and Afghanistan are acting as sources of terrorism is the focus of the book.

(48) **Terrorism, Insurgencies and Counterinsurgency Operations by N.C.Asthana and Anjali Nirmal**  This is a scholarly work, wherein the authors present an exhaustive theoretical analysis of insurgencies and terrorism. Illustrating the main features accountable for intrinsic strengths of irregular warfare it discusses the successive phases of a classical insurgency and presents how the problem has been complicated in the Indian context. The study also analyses the various factors, which explain the effectivity of terrorism and how its strong sway affects 'soft state'. It also correlates the present and past insurgencies in the country giving the most complete historical and analytical account of terrorism and insurgency in the country ranging from Kashmir, Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura Mizoram, Meghalaya and Punjab.

(49) **Kashmir : The Troubled Frontiers edited by Bharat Verma and Manvendra Singh**  The work examines the strategic and geo-political importance of Jammu and Kashmir State and Indo-Pak confrontation over Jammu and Kashmir, its causes, effects, and solutions. It analyses the present state of alienation of the people of the Kashmir valley and the current political turbulence and the status of proxy war now being waged in the valley and methods to control it. It also analyses socio-economic, demographic and plan statistics of Kashmir as a whole and its various regions.
Towards Understanding the Kashmir Crisis edited by Prakash Ghulam Mohammad Shah

The study analyses the Kashmir issue from geographical setting of Kashmir valley and provides information on Kashmir nationalism its crisis and how Human Rights are violated by Terrorists and security personal, the democratic decentralization in Kashmir in past, present and future, and also covers the peace process through autonomy and reconciliation from National Conference perspective.

Beyond Terrorism: New Hope for Kashmir by Salman Khurshid

This work deals with a wide range of issues on Human Rights aspects in Kashmir how human rights are violated by terrorists, though India being the cradle of human rights protection in democratic way. Historical analysis of Jammu & Kashmir and how the valley is affected by the terrorism and terrorists hit lists are particularly covered.

Human Rights: Fifty Years of India's Independence edited by K.P. Saksena

The analysis of the book begins with genesis and reasons behind lack of progress and emphasizes awareness of human rights among the people, lack of political culture of human rights, fundamental rights, the role and participation of the civil society in India. Rights of child, social welfare programme, how NGO's and governmental agencies involved to eradicate child labour with Supreme Court judgements are also examined. The book covers Human rights and law enforcement with reference to the functioning of NHRC and overall assessment of the state of human rights in India.
(53) Implementation of Basic Human Rights by Manoj Kumar Sinha

This book exhaustively covers the issue of Human Rights, its development in India and International Law with theoretical analysis and focuses on UN conventions specially the American Convention, the European Convention etc. It covers non-derogable rights at regional and international level.

(54) Human Rights: Problems and Prospects edited by B.S. Waghmore

The work examines the Human Rights ethos, the politics involved in human rights, the state of human rights in India, how terrorism leads to violation of human rights, as its protection system in Asia.


Analyses conceptual issues as to what are human rights. Who are rights-holders and duty-bearers, how the idea of human rights emerged as a powerful force in the contemporary world.

(56) Falk Richard's Book on Human Rights Horizons: The Pursuit of Justice in a Globalizing World examines continuing promotion of human rights as integral part of global politics and law. This work confronts a series of problematic and controversial issues in changing roles of state of global setting.

(57) C.J. Nirmal's edited Book on Human Rights in India: Historical, Social and Political perspectives: Analyses new inputs and direction in understanding human rights, its values, awareness and practice, relating to Human rights, provides list of international instruments and particularly list of legislation in India.
(58) **Darren J. O' Byrne's work on Human Rights: An Introduction** The work covers comprehensive overviews on human rights and other related issues from social science perspective—with theoretical research on human rights and suggests how the ideologies of contemporary thinkers are relevant to the understanding of human rights under the impact of globalisation.

(59) **M.A. Thomas's study on “The Struggle for Human Rights”** The main issues focused in this book are how to have communal harmony, how unemployment is a problem, the question of environment and human survival, the popular response to rise and claim for rights, the role of responsible citizenship to agitate for protection of rights.

(60) **Kurt Mill’s, Book on Human Rights in the Emerging Global Order: A New Sovereignty?** The focus of the study is on the evolution of the new sovereignty, interdependence and a reconceptualization of sovereignty with varying degrees, incorporating human rights as a legitimate factor in the emerging global order. It covers three themes: one is on normative – traditional state centric sovereignty. The second theme analyses empirical issue – how state sovereignty has been and continues to be undermined through increasing interdependence and changing perspectives on humanitarian issues. The third issue is policy oriented, examining recent and possible future international institutional developments in the area of human rights.

(61) **Abdulrahim P. Vijapur’s edited Book on 'Perspectives on Human Rights':** It examines the fundamental question of how human rights are violated from different paradigms. All the contributors in this book
focus on various aspects like role of judiciary in protection and promotion of the rights of the minorities, how political violence in India leads to violation of rights, dowry-related crimes and violation of Human Rights. Societal violation of human rights, development induced displacements – leading to violation of human rights are among important issues covered in this book.

(62) **Hillel Steiner's Book on An Essay on Rights**  The book makes an inquiry into two fundamental issues what is justice? And what is it for? A principal theme of the book is that, insofar as the first question has an answer, the second issue does not.

(63) **Devika Paul and Z.A. Nizani's work on Human Rights in the Third World Countries:** It makes an analysis of the problem of Human Rights violations in the third world countries in general and India in particular with particular emphasis on Tribal women's rights, child labour, terrorism and Human rights violation in Punjab and Kashmir states and violation of human rights in South Africa.

(64) **Peter Jones book on 'Rights'**  This book attempts a comprehensive examination of the idea of rights and issues surrounding that idea by explaining the nature and significance, the strengths and weakness of rights, moral rights and moral thinking, natural and human rights issues, justificatory theories of rights by contemporary thinkers, the rights and its relationship to freedom socio-economic rights.

(65) **The Theory and Practice of Human Rights by L.J. Macfarlane.**  The study opens with an analysis of the problems inherent in using the
accepted characteristics of human rights that any claimed right should be accorded human rights status.

(66) **Peter R Baehr's work on The Role of Human Rights in Foreign Policy**

(67) The author has meticulously analysed multiple factors, which determine foreign policy in the human rights field. Along with this, he also discusses other factors like how do they play a dominant role in foreign policy issues in a world of new challenges. It also analyses the reasons for serious concern about the relationship between human rights and foreign policy focusing on blend of realism and optimism.

(68) **Scott Davidson's book on “Human Rights”** focuses on historical development of human rights at global level and points out various theories involved in human rights discourse and covers historical, political and philosophical components and institutional aspects. The historical and political basis of the book provides the contextual dimension of human rights and the philosophical and legal dimensions of this book cover meaning and mechanics of their application to European, American and Africa systems for protecting human and people's rights.

(69) **A.H. Robertson's study on Human Rights in the World.** The study tries to make an attempt to examine and analyse the UN Covenants, The European Convention, The American Convention, The Arab Convention and African Commission on human rights. The book also tries to interrelate between human rights and humanitarian law.
(70) **Human Rights: A Judge's Miscellany** – by V.R. Krishna Iyer
The book analyses important core issues like juristic manifesto of human person, jurisprudence of the preamble to the constitution, TADA syndrome, childhood, Right to Shelter, Prison bars and human rights. Dr. Ambedkar's vision and the Dalit issue, women's exploitation, victimology and Indian Justice, Gender Justice, democracy and judicial remedies are central issue of the book.

(71) **H.O. Agarwal's study on Human Rights** opens with a brief introduction on historical survey for promotion and protection of rights, Implementation procedure in protocol to the covenant on civil and political rights, suggestions are also made to make them relevant and effective. The role of regional agencies is focused. Also focused upon are efforts of African and Asian states for the creation of such machinery, the steps taken by state for the cause of human rights to curb the violations of human rights. The role of Supreme Court in providing rights to human beings are issues covered in this book.

(72) **Human Rights: A source Book – N.C.E.R.T.**

The book contains all the important historical documents on human rights, major international documents, declarations, covenants, conventions, human rights in Indian constitution and law. This book acts like a bare act providing all the useful information on Human Rights.

The review of literature relating to the theme of this study clearly indicates that there is no systematic work explaining inter linkage of globalisation with terrorism and human rights. In this context our
assumption is that any attempt to understand this linkage helps significantly to understand the complex issues and problems of globalisation, terrorism and human rights. Therefore, it is regarded as research gap in this area of study. In view of this, it is pertinent, to understand inter linkage and ultimately that contributes to fill the research gap to a considerable extent. It is found that there is a research gap, as the interrelationship between Globalization, Terrorism and Human Rights has not been analysed. Hence, there is a great need to study and analyse how globalization has impact on Terrorism and how Terrorism in turn leads to violation of Human rights in India, in general, and Kashmir in particular. Therefore, from this view point, inter linkage of the three concepts acquires a great importance, because it contributes to the theory building in international relations and Political Science. Some of the works reviewed deal with globalization and terrorism, some focus on globalization and human rights, some analyse terrorism and human rights still others highlight on globalization and sovereignty of Nation-states, but there is no systematic work on interlinking the globalisation Terrorism and human rights from Indian perspective, with special reference to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

**Conceptual Framework:**

An examination of various definitions of important key concepts is essential to explain how their interpretations carry significance to the present study, because if a reader is not very clear as to the meaning; if,
as frequently happens, the senses of a word shade off into each other, above all, if he is in a hurry; then his search will be a tedious one.38

**Globalisation:**

1) According to **Dictionary of Social Sciences** "Globalisation is a catch-all term for the expansion of diverse forms of economic, political and cultural activity beyond national borders. At the economic level globalization involves the emergence of a complex system of multinational capitalism, in which corporations conduct business and locate production at locations world wide".39

2) **Anthony Giddens** defines Globalisation as "The intensification of world wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa"40

3) **Anthony McGrew** has defined globalisation as "a structural shift in the spatial organisation of socio economic and political activity towards transcontinental or inter-regional patterns of relations, interactions and the exercise of power".41

4) According to **James Rosenau** "Globalisation (is) a label that is presently in vogue to account for people's activities, norms, ideas, goods, services, and currencies that are decreasingly confined to a particular geographic space and its local and established practices"42

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38 Norman Lewis, *The New Roget's Thesaurus*, Goyal SasB Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2003, P-VII.
39 Supra no. 14, p.192.
5) **Thomas L. Friedman** opines it is in fact, the international system that has replaced the cold war system. Globalisation, like the cold war system, has its own rules, logic, pressures, and incentives.\(^{43}\)

6) **Kym Anderson** says, "For the present purposes, globalization is defined as the decline in transactions costs or barriers to doing business or otherwise interacting with people of other nations around the world. Its effect is to enhance the integration of markets for goods, services, technology, ideas, capital and labour, reducing the differences in prices for those products and factors across space."\(^{44}\)

Globalization therefore, involves flows of goods, capital, people, information, ideas, images and risks across national borders by which the world is becoming a highly interconnected through socio, economic, political and cultural contacts in new time space combination with full of movement, mixture, contact and linkages making the world smaller and distances shorter.

**Liberalisation:**

1) **Oxford Dictionary of Economics** defines Liberalisation as "A Programme of changes in the direction of moving towards a free market economy. This normally includes the reduction of direct controls on both internal and international transactions and a shift towards relying on the price mechanism to coordinate economic activities."\(^{45}\)

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2) According to Joseph Stiglitz, “Liberalisation means the removal of government interference in financial markets, capital markets and barriers to trade”.46

3) Encyclopaedia Dictionary of Economics defines “Economic liberalisation is that system of economic organisation in which free enterprises, competition and private ownership of the property prevails”47

4) According to Atul Kohli “liberalisation is an easing of state control over many of the activities of national firms (such as entry into production, production decisions, and expansion in size) a lowering of corporate and personal income taxes, a long-term fiscal policy that would substitute tariffs for import restrictions and would reassure business groups regarding future patterns of taxation, some currency devaluation, and a lowering of import barriers against selected items.”48

5) In the words of T. Satyanarayan, “Liberalisation as a process of freeing the economy from various governmental regulations such as industrial licensing controls on pricing and distribution of products and services, import licensing foreign exchange regulations, control on capital, issues of companies credit controls, restriction on investment etc, so that the development and operation of economy is increasingly guided by freely operating market forces”.49

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“It means that the countries on the globe must provide facilities by removing restrictions and conditions for the economic activities to be carried out by multi-national corporations and transnational corporations”.

Privatisation:

1) According to International Encyclopaedia of Economics, the term “privatisation” has two meanings the use of private companies for the provision of such public service as urban mass transit, garbage collection, electricity and water supply; and the denationalisation of state owned enterprises. Thus, privatisation is the shifting into non-governmental hands of some or all roles in producing a good or service that has been publicly produced.50

2) Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics defines privatisation as “The transfer of Public assets to the private sector, by sale, or contracting out”.51

3) According to Oxford Dictionary of Law privatisation is “A programme of denationalisation – removing the provision of public utility services from public sector into the private sector under the auspices of public companies with public shareholders.52

4) Dictionary of Economics defines privatisation refers to the selling back to the private sector of government assets, like nationalised industries share stake owned or in private companies, publicly owned shopping centres and bus service”53

5) **The Hutchinson Encyclopaedic Dictionary** opines privatisation as

"The policy or process of selling or transferring state owned or public assets and services (nationalised industries) to private investors"\(^{54}\)

Privatisation thus means "It is a process of transferring all public assets and sectors to private sector enterprises who own, control and manage without government interference in their affairs"

**Nation-State:**

1) According to **dictionary of social sciences** nation-state refers to "The conjoining of political institution and collective identity in a single sovereign unit"\(^{55}\)

2) **The Dictionary of political thought** defines nation-state as a state organised for the government of a nation (or perhaps of two or more closely related nations) whose territory is determined by national boundaries and whose law is determined by at least in part, by national customs and expectations\(^{56}\)

3) **The oxford concise Dictionary of politics** explains: "Its meaning is found in the coincidence of its two parent terms 'state' and 'nation'. 'State' refers to the political organisation that displays 'sovereignty' both within geographical borders and in relation to other sovereign entities. A world of nation-state implies on international system of pure sovereign entities relating to each other legally as equals. 'Nation' refers to the population within sharing a common culture, language and ethnicity, with a strong historical continuity"\(^{57}\)


\(^{57}\) Supra no. 51, p.331.
4) **Michael Mann**, opines, “nation-state is a state claiming formal political sovereignty over its territories and a legitimacy based on the ‘people’ or ‘nation’ inhabiting them”\(^5\)

5) **Andrew Heywood** defines the nation-state as a form of political organisation and a political ideal. In the first case it is an autonomous political community bound together by the overlapping bonds of citizenship and nationality.\(^5\)

   Nation and state therefore, may seem identical, but they are not, state governs people within a definite territory with law, taxes, officials, currencies, police, it can declare war and conclude treaties by sovereignty. But nation is a group of people claiming common bonds like language, culture and identity.

**Sovereignty:**

The word Sovereign comes from a Latin terminology ‘Superanus’ which means supreme.

1) **Frederick H. Hartman** says, “sovereignty may be defined operationally as the ability of state to make independent decisions.”\(^6\)

2) According to **Hinsley F.H.**, one of the foremost contemporary exponents of the principle of sovereignty defines “Sovereignty is the concept which maintains no more – if also no less – than that there must be an ultimate authority within the political society if the society is to exist at all”\(^6\)

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3) Jean Bodin defines Sovereignty as "The most high, absolute and perpetual power over the citizens and subjects in a commonweale .. the greatest power to command"\textsuperscript{62}

4) In the opinion of Harold J. Laski, "Sovereignty is internally supreme over the territory that it controls. It issues orders to all men and all associations within that area; it receives orders from none of them. Its will is subject to no legal limitation of any kind what it proposes is right by the mere announcement of intention"\textsuperscript{63}

5) International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences defines that the concept of "sovereignty" implies a theory of politics which claims that in every system of government there must be some absolute power of final decision exercised by some person or body recognised both as competent to decide and as able to enforce the decision. This person or body is called sovereign.\textsuperscript{64}

Thus sovereignty denotes supremacy or supreme power of state in both internal and external spheres. Internally, it establishes the supremacy of the state over all individuals and associations; externally it establishes the quality of independence in the conduct of its international relations.

**Human Rights:**

1) According to Human Development Report, 2000 Human Rights are the rights possessed by all persons, by virtue of their common humanity, to live a life of freedom and dignity.\textsuperscript{65}


\textsuperscript{63} Harold J. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, S. Chand and Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1992, p.44.


2) **The New Encyclopaedia Britannica** defines Human Rights refers to a wide continuum of values that are universal in character and in some sense equally claimed for all human beings. Human rights are understood to represent individual and group demands for the shaping and sharing of respect, tolerance and forbearance in the pursuit of other values.\(^{66}\)

3) In the words of the United Nations Secretary General **Kofi A. Annan**, “Human rights are the foundation of human existence and co-existence.\(^{67}\)

4) According to **office of the UN High commissioner**, “Human Rights are universal legal guarantees protecting individuals and groups against actions by governments that interfere with fundamental freedom and human dignity. Human rights law obliges governments to do some things and prevents them from doing others.\(^{68}\)

5) According to **Rhoda E. Howard**, “Human Rights are rights possessed by all biological human beings, merely by virtue of being human. They are equal for all; all human beings are of equal mortal worth and deserve the same protections.\(^{69}\)

   “Human rights could be generally defined as those rights which are inherent in our nature and without which we cannot live as human beings in the civilised existence.”

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Terrorism:

The word ‘terrorism’ is derived from the Latin verb, ‘terrere’ which means to tremble or to cause tremble and deter, to frighten from.

1) According to Walter Laqueur, Terrorism, interpreted here as the use of covert violence by a group for political ends, is usually directed against a government, less frequently against another group, class or party.\textsuperscript{70}

2) In the words of Paul Gilbert, Terrorism is thought of as ‘any method of war which consists in intentionally attacking those who ought not to be attacked’ it is the lack of just in bello that is being picked out as its defining characteristic.\textsuperscript{71}

3) Paul Wilkinson defines, “Terrorism as the systematic use of coercive intimidation, usually to serve political ends.”\textsuperscript{72}

4) Former Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, held Terrorism as “The deliberate and systematic assault on civilians to inspire fear for political ends.”\textsuperscript{73}

5) A dictionary for diplomats defines Terrorism as the “use of violence against non-combatants, civilians or other persons normally considered to be illegitimate targets of military actions for the purpose of attacking attention to a political cause, forcing those aloof from the struggle to join it, or intimidating opponents into concessions.”\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{71} Paul Gilbert, Terrorism, Security and Nationality, An Introductory Study in Applied Political Philosophy, Routledge, London and New York, 1994, p.11.
Hence, Terrorism is the organised use of violence for political ends and is directed at non-combatants organised by non-state actors like nationalist, anarchists, leftists, rightist, secessionists etc. by creating terror to meet out their set goals and objectives.

**Inter-relation among Concepts:**

According to Dictionary of political thought, linkage means “In the theory of systems analysis or cybernetics a recurrent sequence of behaviour which originates in one system and causes effects in another”\(^{75}\)

According to James Rosenau linkage means “those current sequences of behaviour that originate on one side of the boundary between the two types of systems and that become linked to a phenomenon on the other side in the process of unfolding”\(^{76}\)

Rapid changes in the world force people to think about and interpret world politics in fresh ways. Of all the many changes, perhaps none has been more profound and far reaching than the post world war II phenomenon known as globalization, the increasingly close international integration of markets both for goods and services, and for capital. Therefore, globalisation has led to theoretical rediscovery of political economy as an approach to understanding contemporary world affairs.\(^{77}\)

Globalisation with its accompanying trend of liberalisation and privatisation in India is impinging upon the state system to windup public sector and to open up opportunities for private sector with least

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\(^{75}\) Supra no. 56, p.273.


interference and least taxation and duties. So if the state resources of revenues are shrinking, the objective of people's welfare and social justice will be difficult to realise and it will pose new challenges to social unrest upheavals in different forms in different parts of the world. Therefore, the deregulation of financial markets, the creation of large international trading blocks, the easing of trade barriers and tariffs, the development of new communications and transportation technologies. The operation of United Nations, and growing influence of International specialised agencies such as WTO, the World Bank, IMF under the US pressure often dictated liberalisation and democratisation policies to supposedly autonomous national governments. The institution which has come under the most critical scrutiny is the Indian state, on the one hand, its autonomy is being seriously eroded by the integration processes accompanying globalisation. On the other, its authority is continually under challenge from sub-national forces notably the ethnic movements seeking autonomy or independence. As states lose their capability and autonomy for the regulation of the domestic realm is externalised, i.e. to an increasing degree. The rules applicable to their respective societies are shaped from the outside by agreements among states. Inevitably, a few relatively strong states determine these rules.

The imposition on the developing countries like India of what is called Neo-liberal economic reforms through World Bank, the W.T.O and IMF has drawn serious attention and concern. Such reforms include

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78 Supra no.18, p.111.
79 Supra no. 27, p.6.
privatisation. The dismantling of public welfare programmes and the shredding of safety net for the poor resulting into a huge gap between rich and poor which leads to social unrest, poverty unemployment, hunger, in turn leads to rise of terrorism in the country.\textsuperscript{81} The reduced power of national government combined with the spread of worldwide free markets and technological innovation without a corresponding authority to regulate them and hold them accountable has contributed to the marginalisation of large regions and groups of people. Unemployment, poverty, inequality and alienation are increasing. As a result of this process, crime, drugs, terrorism, violence, civil wars are becoming globalized.\textsuperscript{82} Thus the globalization of terrorism to pressuring nation-states to surrender some of their sovereignty and from supra national alliance and institutions in order to combat it.\textsuperscript{83}

Therefore, the quality of state sovereignty in India in the contemporary world, both in internal and external relations, has fundamentally changed. State sovereignty is no longer absolute.\textsuperscript{84}

Globalization, therefore, is imposing limits on the exercise of state autonomy on a range of policy issues. Thus, the nation-state autonomy can be defined in terms of the states capacity to act independently in pursuit of domestic and international policy objectives, within its parameters. The state autonomy can be seen with respect to its scope and domain within which it can exercise powers. By scope is meant the level

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  \item Supra no.30, p.4.
  \item Supra no. 27, p.2.
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of intensity of constraints on state action, while domain refers to the areas of state activity or policy areas within which such constraints operate. “This conceptual refinement not only allows an important distinction to be made between sovereignty. The dejure use of power through supreme legal authority or competence within a defined territory – and autonomy, but also offers pathways towards a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between globalization and the nation-state.”

Thus, the emergence of a highly interconnected global system means that many of the nation-states traditional functions like defence, economic, security health etc. cannot be performed effectively without some forms of international co-operation and coordination. Hence, there are two obvious dangers threatening nation-state, either they cannot preserve their territorial integrity or they cannot provide the people within their territory with adequate welfare and comfort. It is a frequently advanced convention that free international markets, and particularly their recent expansion necessarily undermine the foundations of the nation-state.

Globalization therefore, is not destined, it is chosen. It is a choice made to enhance a nation’s economic well-being but the use of information technologies like internet, mobile and instant messages has extended the global reach of many terrorist groups. Thus, the tools of globalisation have led to enhanced efficiency in many terrorist related activities in the country, including administrative tasks, coordination of

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operations, recruitment of potential members and communication. Thus, globalisation has enabled terrorist organisations to reach across international borders. Therefore, “Globalisation does not necessarily require the use of high technology but it often takes the form of traditional practices used in innovative ways across increasingly permeable physical and commercial borders”.87 Hence, modern terrorism is dangerous because of the power that it potentially derives from globalisation.

At the heart of anti terrorism efforts is the recognition that all human beings have a right to security and to life. “All governments have responsibility to respect, ensure and fulfil these rights and to that end to employ effective strategies to prevent and to punish acts of murder and destruction. The human rights framework is built on this recognition, but the right to security must be fulfilled within the framework of human rights protection, not at the expense of human rights”.88 Human rights violations in Kashmir or India is an interlinked to terrorist acts. Hence, globalisation weakens the power of the Indian state, and it disrupts the world map by challenging the presumed legitimacy of borders. Human rights research must respond to the challenges posed by globalisation. “Human rights research is meaningless unless it is located within economic, social, political and cultural contexts”.89 The reality of globalisation suggests that the content of ‘human rights’ and the ‘rights debate’ will need to be constantly re-examined.

Globalisation challenges the institutions that have been established for the protection of human rights. The decline of welfarism and the challenges of states sovereignty have impact on the abilities of states to promote social and economic rights. Hence, the very notion of rights is being contested on 'normative' practical and political grounds".90

**Methodology:**

The methodology adopted in this study is based on both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources of data includes the original UN Documents and Declarations since 1948 on Human Rights, UN Documents on GATT/WTO, World Bank, I.M.F. and UNCTD and IBRD and parliamentary debates. Besides, secondary sources of information like published and unpublished research papers in national and international journals and books, articles published in newspapers, weekly, fortnightly and monthly magazines, other sources like websites and research reports have been used in this study.

**Hypothesis:**

The study intends to examine the following important hypothesis:

(1) Globalisation has tended to the decline of sovereignty of the Indian nation state.

(2) Globalization leads to change in the Nature and dynamism of Terrorism in India.

(3) Weakening capability of Indian Nation-state by globalisation has had an impact on Terrorism and violation of human rights.

Objectives of the Study:

Following are the objectives of the present study:

1. To understand the globalisation and its effect on sovereignty of Indian Nation-state.
2. To understand the problem of terrorism and protection and promotion of Human Rights in India with special reference to Kashmir.
3. To evaluate the effects of decline of sovereignty of Indian nation state on the way of dealing with the problem of terrorism and the protection and promotion of Human Rights.

Structure of the Present Study:

The present study is divided into Six chapters:

1. **Chapter One**: It begins with Introduction, Statement of the problem, Review of the literature, conceptual framework, interrelationship among concepts, hypothesis, objectives and research methodology of the study.
2. **Chapter Two**: This examines genesis of globalization, terrorism and Human Rights.
3. **Chapter Three**: This focuses on Sovereignty in the age of Globalization.
4. **Chapter Four**: An attempt is made to analyse the inter linkage between globalization and Terrorism in India.
5. **Chapter Five**: It gives an account of linkage between globalization and protection and promotion of Human rights in India.
6. **Chapter Six**: Findings of the study and conclusion.