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Conflict Management in Asia'

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Note

This review contains description from a non-exhaustive selection of material relevant to conflict management in Kashmir, Manipur and the rise of Naxalism. It aims to provide the reader with a broad overview of key points and is not intended to be a strict academic literature review.

I. Kashmir

Swami, Praveen (2007), *India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad*, Routledge, Oxford.

This book by a well known Indian journalist, traces the genesis of the armed jihad in Kashmir to events that long preceded Partition in 1947. The author argues that the intensity and longevity of the conflict cannot be explained through reasons of a failure in the modern state system or of failed nationhood, but rather that the conflict is the result of the successes of the modern states of India and Pakistan in terms of their geo-strategic and military planning.

Even though violence and terrorist activities escalated in Kashmir as late as 1989-1990, Swami argues that a series of covert operations backed by Pakistan immediately after 1947 continued till the mid-1960s to destabilize the political situation and to organise a mass rebellion in the state. Swami argues that till the 1950s, the informal war being fought on the soils of Kashmir by Pakistan was small-scale and had little in it that was new or radical. After the defeat of the 1965 war, Pakistan turned to Algeria and Palestine for inspiration. It was at this time in history that Pakistan realized that the war for Kashmir and the war against India had to collapse into one and that the warriors of the jihad in Jammu and Kashmir would be an integral part of its overall military structure. The recruitment policy of 'jihadis' by Pakistan for waging war in Kashmir, became more organised and religion became a strong metaphor of the ideology behind it.

The book not only provides a detailed account of the events of the four India-Pakistan wars of 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999 but also highlights incidents in the periods between the wars that were to shape and were in turn influenced by the ideology and role of Kashmiri political organisations such as the National Conference and the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), and the Islamists and jihadi groups in Kashmir including the Hizb ul Mujahideen, Harkat ul Mujahideen and Lashkar e Taiba.

The book looks at how religion was slowly but steadily entering the politics of Kashmir. General Zia's leadership in Pakistan in the 1970s placed Islam at the core of the functioning of the Pakistani army and its involvement in what it deemed Islamist causes became an ideological imperative. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the success of Pakistan's support to anti-Soviet elements gave it a further boost that the same method of warfare could be duplicated in Kashmir.

The proliferation of jihadi groups in the 1990s coincided with the nuclearisation of India and Pakistan. The book provides insight into why the jihadi groups launched a wave of pan-India terror attacks following the Kargil war of 1999 and its implications for peace. Swami attempts to answer whether peace can be foreseeable in the near future and outlines some of the key challenges that could threaten resolution of the conflict if left unaddressed.

This book is useful for those seeking to understand the Kashmir conflict post Partition and the evolution and ideology of 'jihadi' groups that have in recent years expanded their geographical scale of operations. Though it provides an in-depth description of the events

between 1947 and 2004 that have framed many pressing present-day issues arising out of the conflict, the reasons for the discontent among average Kashmiris are not adequately analysed.

Bose, Sumantra (2003), *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*, Vistaar Publications, New Delhi.

This book, by a professor of international and comparative politics at the London School of Economics offers an analysis of the roots of the Kashmir conflict and suggests ways to make peace. The author brings out the peculiarity of the conflict, which he terms as essentially about sovereignty, by uncovering the layers of differences in the social and political fabric of the state.

Laying particular emphasis on the post-1947 developments, the author argues that the contemporary dispute is related to the discontent of the majority people of Indian Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union and the transformation of the state into a draconian police state.

The book links the discontent of the Kashmiri youth, the trend of martyrdom and the surge in popularity of separatist political organisations in the early 1990s to authoritarian politics and repressive central control in the preceding decades. Bose shows how counter-insurgency operations by Indian security forces were ruthless and indiscriminate in their conduct and crackdowns, eyeing with suspicion and hostility the entire Kashmiri population, and thereby only instigating fear and alienation in the latter.

The book also provides insight into how this restive period of the early 1990s gave Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) a window of opportunity to create pro-Pakistan guerrilla organisations to challenge the separatist outfits.

It discusses at length the positions of the India and Pakistan over the issue of sovereignty and weighs the pros and cons of a plebiscitary formula for Kashmir by comparing it with the international experience of Bosnia and Northern Ireland. Bose concludes that neither simplistic plebiscitary nor partitionist models are likely to yield substantive peace dividends and suggests alternative measures.

Bose sees much similarity in the conflict in Northern Ireland and Kashmir and suggests picking clues from the peace process in the former. Due to the differences, however, he argues for certain prerequisites such as improving relations between India and Pakistan, New Delhi and Srinagar and the establishment of representative and accountable political frameworks in Indian Jammu and Kashmir. The book argues that inclusive and participatory dialogue preceding action is necessary for a peace process.

Dholakia, Amit (2005), *The Role of Mediation in Resolving India-Pakistan Conflict: Parameters and Possibilities*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi.

The focus of this book is on the potential that international mediation presents in conflict management and resolution in the case of India-Pakistan conflicts. It discusses the concept of mediation and its success and failures in the context of various international conflicts.

According to the author, who is a professor of political science at the University of Baroda in India, mediation has a long history rooted in the tradition of various cultures and has been used in modern times both for domestic issues as well as in the international context. He lays out chronologically the attempts at mediation between India and Pakistan, beginning in 1948 when India approached the United Nations (UN) over alleged Pakistani support in the invasion of Kashmir. Pakistan in turn appealed to the UN to look into the legality of the accession to India of the princely states of undivided India.

UN mediation to resolve the question of sovereignty of Kashmir met with limited success. It led to a ceasefire and establishment of the UN Military Observers Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). However, the suggestions of subsequent UN-appointed Special Representatives was uniformly rejected by either Pakistan or India, or both, to the effect that the Security Council recognised the futility of third-party mediation and directed both countries to directly negotiate a settlement. The book then discusses the role of the UN over the Kashmir dispute through the 1960s and 1970s and how since the late 1960s, India has rejected any UN intervention and mediation in Kashmir. The author argues that mediation by the Soviet Union after the 1965 India-Pakistan war met with success since all three parties had a stake in the outcome. The resulting Tashkent Declaration in 1966 was symbolic, Dholakia argues, for it was the first major agreement between the two states which committed them to peaceful resolution of conflict even though success proved short-lived. The author also discusses the World Bank-led mediation in the dispute over the sharing of the Indus river water and its success in the finalization of the Indus Water Treaty in 1960, and the use of international arbitration in the dispute over the Rann of Kutch between 1965 and 1968.

The book discusses at length the role of the United States as a mediator between India and Pakistan at various points of time in their tumultuous relationship. The author argues that post Cold War, America has taken an active interest in preventive diplomacy and the resolution of bilateral disputes and that the Agra summit in 2001 and the summit in Islamabad three years later were the result of pressure from America.

The book is useful for conflict resolution students and practitioners in understanding the role of mediation in conflict. It brings out the possibilities and stumbling blocks of mediation as applicable between India and Pakistan by drawing upon past instances and highlighting the positions that each country takes on various aspects of international mediation. He argues that resolving Kashmir, in particular, through international mediation is ridden by constraints, some of them being lack of political will and asymmetrical power relations.

The author also discusses to some extent the importance of Track II and III meetings as an accompaniment to official mediation and facilitation as a means to counter stereotyping and changing perceptions of each other.

Dasgupta, Chandrashekhar (2002), *War and Diplomacy in Kashmir 1947-48*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Dasgupta is a former Indian diplomat who explains the events that marked the genesis of the Kashmir conflict. The book studies the military and diplomatic developments during 1947-48 involving the three key actors—India, Pakistan and Britain and how these developments shaped their decision-making.

It talks of the initial problems over territory that the newly independent states of India and Pakistan had to face and how disputes were settled often at the behest of British leadership. It was Kashmir that proved the toughest to resolve. The delay over accession by the Maharaja of Kashmir and a spurt of Pakistan-sponsored raids into Kashmir are discussed in much detail as are the reactions and actions of the Indian authorities and Britain. The author discusses the halted reactions of the latter due to its reluctance of alienating one or the other side. He argues that Britain wanted to preserve her political and strategic position by negotiating alliances with both countries.

The book provides ample insight into the positions and concerns of the statesmen of the three countries; Nehru, Jinnah, Attlee and Mountbatten, as well as the defence chief commanders and personnel on the ground. It describes the conflicting views that London received from its men in Karachi and Delhi and the advice that was accepted.

The book gives a minute account of the military situation in Kashmir and the confrontation of the Indian and Pakistani sides in Poonch, Mirpur, Naoshera and other areas within Kashmir. It throws light on the role of Mountbatten as a mediator and how he succeeded in getting Nehru to agree to an involvement of the United Nations in conducting an impartial plebiscite. It also talks of India's and Pakistan's concerns over how the plebiscite would be held, in particular, over the issue of presence of raiders and troops.

The author discusses the various talks, proposals and plans that were suggested by each side to reach a consensus and how a failure in this regard was leading to an imminent threat of full-scale war between India and Pakistan. Britain approached the Security Council in 1948 for the establishment of a UN Commission to broker a truce agreement between the two countries.

Even as Pakistan sent in its army into Kashmir, Britain decided to withdraw from the region, for, as the author argues, Britain was keen to maintain its strategic interests and regarded a pro-Pakistan stance as one that would appeal to Muslim opinion in the Middle East.

The book discusses the mandate and actions of the UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) and how it led to the passing of a resolution in August 1948 that called for the Kashmir dispute to be settled according to the will of the people of Kashmir. However, it was not able to secure an immediate ceasefire and a limited military offensive continued right up till late 1948. Further proposals were worked out and clarified to by the UNCIP and it was on the eve of 1949 that a ceasefire finally came into effect.

This book provides an excellent and detailed description of the events that affected the first war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. It discusses at length the military and

diplomatic thinking and negotiations between India, Pakistan and Britain and is useful for students of strategic affairs and diplomacy in understanding how conflict can escalate or de-escalate. It shows how Britain and later the UN had to manoeuvre within limited political space to reach a settlement that would be acceptable to both India and Pakistan.

Schofield, Victoria (2004), *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War*, Viva Publications, New Delhi.

The British journalist has written a number of books on the region and provides a comprehensive account of the genesis and evolution of the Kashmir conflict up to 2001-2002. Schofield traces the political developments in Kashmir from the 16th century onwards when the Mughal rulers conquered the valley in undivided India. It gives a backdrop of the Sikh rule followed by the reign of the Dogras before moving into an in-depth account of Partition and its aftermath.

The book examines the delay in accession and the events leading to Maharaja Hari Singh's signing the Instrument of Accession. It highlights how the Indian government deliberately maintained in their official accounts that the signing took place before Indian troops were sent to Kashmir to give legitimacy to their intervention. The author brings out the differing versions of the 'truth' of accession as accepted by India and Pakistan and how these determine their respective positions to date.

The dubiousness of the accession was met with stiff Pakistani resistance and Indian and Pakistani armies came face to face in many parts of Kashmir. The failed attempts at mediation by Britain made it refer the dispute to the United Nations. The UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) succeeded in securing a ceasefire only in 1949.

The book throws light on the internal politics of Kashmir; the decline of the Dogras and the rise of Sheikh Abdullah as the 'Lion of Kashmir'. The latter grew from being known for his socialist ideals and loyalty to India to being accused of harbouring pro-independence ambitions and discriminating against the non-Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir through his reforms. By 1953 Nehru and Abdullah had fallen apart and the latter was dismissed as prime minister after five years in office.

Under Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's governance, the state made some economic progress and in 1957 the state of Jammu and Kashmir approved its own constitution. However, Bakshi's government was not popular for it crushed all forms of political dissent. Schofield argues that his ten-year rule eroded the special status with which Kashmir had begun its relationship with India.

Arguing that the end of the 1950s saw the decline of the UN as the chief mediator between India and Pakistan, the author highlights the growing role of the US, and the strategic interests of China and Soviet Union in the region. The intricacies of diplomacy are brought out through the 1962-63 talks over the ceasefire line between India and Pakistan. The book documents the events of the next few years that led to escalation of conflict in 1965, in particular, Operation Gibraltar and Operation Grand Slam that once again saw the UN negotiating a ceasefire.

The book provides a thorough account of the internal politics in Kashmir through the 1970s when Sheikh Abdullah is alleged by Pakistan to have sold out to the Indian government by signing the 1975 accord. He was not popular in Jammu or Ladakh and neither with the Islamist groups that opposed the accord; and his death in 1982 coincided with a climate of renewed assertion of religious identity and the rise of communalist tendencies. The author argues that Farooq Abdullah's alliance with the Congress in a coalition government in 1986 further worsened the situation and created a political vacuum into which the extremists stepped. Insurgency and violence marked the end of the decade of the 1980s and she argues that the grievances of the Kashmiri people due to the erosion of the special status promised to them in 1947 and the neglect of the people by their political leaders were India's responsibility.

The tumultuous period of the 1990s began with a surge of anti-India rebellions and movements and the pouring in of Indian security forces. The Narasimha Rao government tried starting a political dialogue in 1994 after international concern was stepped up following Benazir Bhutto's speech in the (then) UN High Commission for Human Rights the previous year. The book charts the reactions of the Hurriyat conference, National Conference and the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) to the unfolding events and their changing nature and role over the next few years.

Even as Schofield discusses the latter half of the 1990s with regard to the strained relations between India and Pakistan, she argues that the 21st century is unlikely to see a resolution of the dispute without a change of heart in both countries and without the representative participation of the Kashmiri people.

This book is comprehensive in its attempts at understanding the long drawn out conflict in Kashmir and students of conflict analysis and resolution are likely to find much clarity in the complexities of the causes of the conflict and the intricacies involved in any long-term resolution.

Dixit, Jyotindra Nath (2002), *India-Pakistan in War and Peace*, Books Today, New Delhi.

This book, written by a former Indian foreign secretary and National Security Advisor, documents the history of relations between India and Pakistan, with a detailed account of many contemporary events such as the hijacking of an Indian airplane by Pakistani terrorists in 1999 Dixit provides evidence of Pakistani involvement in numerous subversive activities in India in an attempt to destabilise the latter. He argues that the objective has not just been to get control over Jammu and Kashmir but to weaken India strategically and fragment it territorially. Possession of Jammu and Kashmir has been, and remains, an internal objective of the Pakistani power structure. In May 1999, conflict broke out in the Kargil district of Kashmir following the infiltration of Pakistani soldiers and Kashmiri militants into positions on the Indian side of the LOC. Kargil, the author asserts, was the result of this unalterable ambition, and is discussed at length. Dixit argues that the reason for such a drastic step taken by Pakistan can be understood through geopolitical, operational and psychological reasons which are discussed in great detail. Even the military and tactical plans of the Pakistani army are made public in the book.

Being a former foreign secretary, the author has given considerable importance to a number of reports tabled by the Indian government in parliament over the Kargil war. He analyses these closely to give the official explanations of the conduct of affairs of the Indian army and critiques the reports where they have fallen short. The book highlights how Pakistan was unable to secure the backing of China or the United States in its justification of aggression and the process of 'losing face'. India, in fact, he argues, for the first time since the Bangladesh liberation war, succeeded in its political and diplomatic efforts due to consistent and clear policy objectives. These efforts, aimed primarily in establishing that Pakistan had crossed the Line of Control as an act of unprovoked aggression and under a clear military plan, are examined in the book. He also lists the lessons India can learn from Kargil.

The historical factors behind the Kashmir conflict are discussed and the author argues that in spite of the bloody aftermath of Partition and the war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir in 1948, the period between 1947 and 1959 was still one in which the political leadership on both sides tried to resolve their differences for the foundation of a normal relationship. The years from 1958-1972 saw military dictatorship in Pakistan and a change in its foreign and security policies; in particular, the growing military ties with the US.

The worsening of Sino-Indian relations and the war the two countries fought in 1962 was watched closely by the Pakistani establishment and under the Ayub and Bhutto governments, Pakistan and China became close allies. The book provides insight into the 1965 'Indo-Pak' war and the role of the international community, including the UN, in bringing the war to an end. Both India and Pakistan were unhappy with US policies and its unwillingness to act as a mediator. It fell on the Soviet Union, without any objection from the US, to take on that role and resulted in the Tashkent conference in 1966. Dixit argues that the Tashkent Declaration was meant only to defuse short-term tensions and was not the basis for a long-term cooperative relationship between India and Pakistan. Further, the results of the conference generated discontent in both countries.

The breakup of Pakistan in 1971 as a result of the Bangladesh liberation war is given considerable attention in the book. The positions of India, Pakistan, China, Soviet Union and the US to the war and to the recognition of Bangladesh are discussed in detail. India defended its involvement by citing political and socio-economic reasons relating to the influx of refugees.

The author discusses elaborately subsequent years of Indo-Pak relations under the different governments on both sides and argues that the Zia era was marked by comparative stability and absence of large-scale confrontation between the two countries.

The early 1990s saw relations getting tense due to the high level of violence in Jammu and Kashmir. By the middle of 1992, Pakistan changed its tactic of gaining international attention from demanding self-determination for Kashmir to highlighting grave human rights abuses by Indian security forces. The author argues that international concern was only roused in 1998 when both India and Pakistan declared nuclear capacity and the prospect of war between the two posed a threat not only to regional stability but to global peace and security.

All those interested in understanding the history of India-Pakistan relations from 1947-2001 will find this book extremely comprehensive in insight. It gives a thorough account of the thinking, foresight, political and military strategic planning of the two countries and their mostly hostile relations. Important events marking these relations are discussed in detail and the author provides considerable insight into the role of the international community in reaction to, and as a part of their relations.

Rizwan, Zeb & Chandran, Suba (2005), *Indo-Pak Conflicts: Ripe to Resolve?* Manohar Publishers, New Delhi.

This book applies the established conflict resolution theory of 'ripeness' to study whether the Indo-Pak conflict has reached a stage of a mutually hurting stalemate and analyses certain preconditions that would make the timing ripe for resolution. Zeb Rizwan is a security analysts based in Pakistan and Suba Chandran is Assistant Director at the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies in New Delhi.

The authors note the Kashmir status quo is at a mutually hurting stalemate and that a political understanding is crucial since none of the parties to the conflict (India, Pakistan, Kashmiris and militants) can alter the impasse through military means. They argue that in spite of twelve rounds of talks between 1989 and 1998, and the Lahore Summit in 1999 between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan which resulted in a statement pledging joint commitment to intensify efforts to resolve the Kashmir conflict, the outcomes fell short since the processes weren't sustained. The status quo over Kashmir could not be turned in Pakistan's favour during Kargil nor in India's favour during the military confrontation in 2002.

The book shows that there has been little or no agreement at the New Delhi-Srinagar level and in fact most of the population of the Kashmir Valley has been dissatisfied with the affairs of the state. They have little faith in the state political parties with the result that the status quo is hurting all three governments—of India, Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). The book also discusses the role of the separatists led by the Hurriyat and the militants led by the Harkat ul-Mujaheddin (HuM), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT). In effect, Rizwan and Chandran argue that all these actors, state and non-state, have tried every means possible to change the status quo in their favour, but to no avail.

The fact that both sides are facing an economic crisis due to a large part of the GDP of both India and Pakistan being diverted towards defence expenditure, and the huge human and material costs involved is only contributing to a mutually hurting stalemate.

Analysing the 2003-04 peace process, the authors show that while there were considerable achievements, the process wasn't sustainable since there were concerns on both sides over Kashmir. Pakistan felt that without resolution of the larger Kashmir question peace was impossible, while India was trying to circumvent the issue and concentrate on issues of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. The authors argue that for a middle ground to be achieved, certain conditions need to be created.

The book explores how these preconditions, which include prioritising the issues concerning Kashmir and agreement on the primary cause of their conflict, could be

achieved by India and Pakistan. The authors suggest improvement in trade, people-to-people contact and confidence-building over nuclear weapons concerns as simultaneous processes contributing to resolution of the conflict. Further, they recommend that Kashmiris must be involved in each of these processes.

What makes this book unique is its application of popular conflict resolution theories to the Kashmir conflict. Students of conflict and peace studies will find this book useful in learning about the way timing and ripeness of a conflict can make or break a peace process. By analysing past attempts of Indo-Pakistan peace processes over Kashmir, the book explains how future processes can meet with greater success in the presence of certain conditions.

Chari, P R, Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbal and Cohen, Stephen Philip (2003), *Perception, Politics and Security in South Asia: The Compound Crisis of 1990*, Routledge, London.

This book is an account of the events that took place in 1990 that, without blowing into a full-scale war, brought India and Pakistan to the brink of it. Pakistan-India relations were marred with heightened tensions due to the intensification of violence and militancy. P.R Chari is Research Professor at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies in New Delhi, Pervaiz Iqbal is Dean of the Faculty of Contemporary Studies at the National Defense University in Islamabad and Stephen Philip Cohen is a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institute.

The authors argue that the year 1990 is crucial to understand the simmering turmoil in Kashmir since it coincided with a number of international events such as the Palestinian Intifada, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and, most importantly, the defeat of a major superpower in Afghanistan. Regionally, both India and Pakistan were faced with weak central governments that had limited experience in handling Indo-Pak relations.

The book explains the genesis of the Kashmir conflict before highlighting the political climate that would lead to escalation of violence in 1990. Active central government meddling in Kashmiri politics had been going on for years and the growing class of educated professional Kashmiris, dissatisfied with the state of affairs, later became the separatist movement's core. The seesawing relationship between the Indian government and the National Conference (NC) and the rigging of the 1987 state elections in favour of the Congress/National Conference alliance was to be the undoing of the NC. It lost support of the Kashmiris who were left with no choice other than to join the extremists. Anti-India protests rocked the valley and the Pakistani flag was flown in Srinagar in 1988. Violence and strikes became common, and escalated over the next few years and led to a worsening of law and order.

The response of the Indian government was to change governors and pour in paramilitary troops into Kashmir. The authors argue that the way New Delhi handled the appointment of governors greatly reduced the possibility of a solution. The steady erosion of the special status enjoyed by Kashmir under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution further embittered its people. As the situation deteriorated, India and Pakistan engaged in a blame game, with the former accusing the latter of training militants on its soil.

The book details the war of words exchanged by the two governments that was to soon turn into military preparedness for war. The build up of troops along the border on both sides is discussed in detail. However, as the book shows, the lines of communication remained open between the two sides throughout the crisis and a meeting of the foreign ministers in New York in April 1990 saw the two rivals unanimously agreeing to reduce tension through confidence-building measures.

War was also averted due to the intervention of the United States. A high level delegation, known as the Gates mission, was sent to ease tensions in the region. Its objective was to help both sides avoid violent conflict over Kashmir. The authors point out that the mission was effective in its preventive diplomacy efforts. The book also discusses the nuclear aspect of the 1990 crisis in detail. According to the authors, the US intervened due to its conviction that the crisis was primarily a nuclear crisis.

This book is indeed useful for those interested in Kashmir and Indo-Pak relations since it provides a comprehensive account of the lesser known 1990 crisis and the impact it had on diplomatic and military relations. It assesses in detail various factors that led to the crisis and the reasons why an outright war didn't break out. It explores the efficacy of dialogue and the importance of social and economic ties along with political acumen in any future settlement of conflict.

Kumar, Radha (2005), *Making Peace with Partition*, Penguin, New Delhi.

This book is a brief, but lucid, account of India-Pakistan relations and the possibilities of peace between the two nations. It highlights the important events in the history of their relations and analyses the failure and successes of past peace processes. Radha Kumar is the Director of the Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia University, New Delhi. As well, Kumar is a Trustee of the Delhi Policy Group.¹

It provides the simple, yet startling facts about the relations between the two that make the conflict unique. The Partition, for one, was not the result of a war and the leaders of both sides had no intention of encouraging violence. The author discusses the apparent positive aspects of Indo-Pak relations that she contrasts with the international experience of partition conflicts. Kumar argues that compared to other ethnic partitions, India's division had a greater potential for stability.

The author elucidates why the attempts at peace from 1999-2003 were a failure and why 2004 marked a watershed in the peace process. Dramatic breakthroughs were achieved at the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) summit in 2004 which included agreements on enhanced economic cooperation. The book highlights how the months preceding the 2004 summit were aimed at confidence-building measures through people to people contacts and direct talks between top security officials in both governments. Kumar argues that much of this was possible due to the growth of a public constituency for peace between 1999 and 2004 and their backing of the peace process.

¹ The Delhi Policy Group and the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue are partners on the project that has produced this literature review.

However, as the book shows, violence in Kashmir did not end. One of the chief reasons for this, says the author, has been the reluctance of the Indian government to talk to the Kashmiri separatists.

Suggesting ways to move forward and learning from past lessons, Kumar asserts that soft borders, easing movement of goods and people across divided Kashmir, are a key element of the solution to contested sovereignties. Devolution of power to the local governments on both sides is likewise essential to do away with the tussle over control and territory. Kumar also pushes for various confidence-building measures such as re-opening of routes, such as Srinagar-Muzaffarabad, Jammu-Sialkot and Kargil-Skardu; and opines that porous borders will help India and Pakistan to stabilise Kashmir.

Through a comparison with the European Union model, the author assesses the possibility of a similar union in South Asia. She highlights that while cooperation on economic matters has made headway, a security pact between the South Asian countries could also mean a guarantee of the India-Pakistan peace process.

The book is an optimistic roadmap of the possibility of a sustainable peace process between India and Pakistan. It shows that a number of barriers have already been overcome and that India and Pakistan are likely to emulate the international experience as has occurred in Ireland, Cyprus and the former Yugoslavia. The author shows how key elements of any successful peace process are already prevalent—local and international initiatives as well as the support of diaspora, and that the process for an enduring peace has achieved much from where it initially began.

Parthasarthy, Gopalapuram and Kumar, Radha (2006), *Frameworks for a Kashmir Settlement*, Delhi Policy Group, New Delhi.

The frameworks in this booklet, suggested by two leading analysts on Kashmir, offer comprehensive policy directions intended to settle the Kashmir dispute by mutual acceptance of all parties to the conflict. Parthasarthy is former Indian diplomat who also served as High Commissioner to Pakistan, while Radha Kumar is the Director of the Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia University, New Delhi. As well, Kumar is a Trustee of the Delhi Policy Group.

Parthasarthy puts forward a framework for cooperation in the fields of economy and education to spur the movement of people across boundaries in the hope that these borders would, in course of time, become irrelevant. He suggests simplification in the procedures for travel across the Line of Control (LOC) and the extension of these facilities to all residents of India and Pakistan, as well as foreign tourists.

Trade is another avenue that he suggests can foment ties of cooperation between India and Pakistan. He draws on a 1998 SAARC report that had advocated the establishment of a South Asia Economic Union by 2020 to argue that both countries must move in a committed and time-bound manner to implement the recommendations of the report which include a South Asia Free Trade Agreement and a Customs Union. Parthasarthy argues strongly in favour of educational and professional institutions that would admit students from both Pakistan administered Kashmir and Jammu and Kashmir, perhaps with funding from the governments of India and Pakistan. Likewise, the public and

private sector could set up world class medical facilities, facilitated by health ministers and officials in New Delhi and Islamabad. A Jammu and Kashmir Tourism Development Board, would, he suggests, be a useful mechanism to promote tourism in the entire region.

The argument is put forward that a high powered Council for Jammu and Kashmir, with officials from both India and Pakistan, is required to make and implement decisions taken by it. This would then enable joint cooperation between the two governments and increase the possibility of successful implementation of initiatives and projects of joint concern, for example, hydro-electricity and environmental protection

Radha Kumar dwells on the subject of governance in the whole of Jammu and Kashmir. A framework for self-governance would have to be jointly agreed by the leaders of India, Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir. Kumar argues in favour of a three-tier system of governance to encompass centre-state, state-region, and region-district-local unit relations. She briefly examines the 1952 Delhi Agreement and the 1949 Karachi Agreement to conclude that the former had the greatest provision for self-governance and has much to offer even today. In doing so, she argues that certain complexities need to be addressed with regard to Tier One relations, such as the role of organisations like the Supreme Court and Election Commission on both sides of the LOC. What is important to keep in mind is that any consensus would necessarily have to take into account the people in the Valley, Jammu, Kargil, Ladakh, Gilgit, Baltistan, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad.

In addition, there needs to be clarity on the powers of the Legislative Assembly for Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan administered “Azad Kashmir” and the powers of the presidents of both countries in the respective areas in case of a general emergency. The issue of refugees and displaced persons needs also to be addressed by the representatives of India, Pakistan and Kashmir.

With regard to internal devolution and Tier Two relations, Kumar suggests greater powers, especially fiscal, administrative and developmental, to each of the regions of Jammu, the Valley and Ladakh on one side, and the districts of Pakistan-administered Kashmir and the Northern Areas on the other. Ladakh, she argues, would have to have its status changed to a separate status within Jammu and Kashmir.

Tier Three is important since it would serve as an additional structure for planning and administration. Further, she suggests, district and local relations between Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan administered “Azad Kashmir” and the Northern Areas could be considered part of the devolution package.

Military arrangements are also discussed in some detail and Kumar advocates a commitment to a ceasefire and a time-bound programme of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) for all the armed groups in Jammu and Kashmir, “Azad Kashmir” and the Northern Areas. India and Pakistan could jointly monitor the DDR process.

This booklet is a must-read for policymakers and those interested in conflict resolution; it lays out a framework for settlement of the Kashmir dispute by addressing all those issues that have been stumbling blocks. It shows how political will, inclusive talks and consensus are crucial to any agreement and how mechanisms can be set up to foster

better relations through cooperation in governance, economy, education and military affairs. The frameworks suggested in this booklet merit a thorough look by people both in and outside the government, in India and outside, given the respect and standing the two co-authors enjoy in India and across the world.

Bose, Sumantra (1999), 'Kashmir: Sources of Conflict, Dimensions of Peace', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 13 (March 27 - April 2), pp. 762-768.

This article by an academic of Indian origin who is Professor of International and Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics, explores the approaches to peace in the case of the Kashmir conflict by taking into account the legitimate concerns of all parties to the conflict including territorial sovereignty, national security and the aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

The author uses examples from the international experience; namely Bosnia Herzegovina, Quebec and Northern Ireland to draw lessons learned and the possibility of applying these in Kashmir. He analyses the use of plebiscites in the settlement of these conflicts and concludes that there are great limitations and dangers of using plebiscitary-majoritarian mechanisms to decide highly sensitive issues of self-determination. Likewise, a partitionist model is impractical since it ignores the pro-independence groups in Kashmir.

Bose suggests a three-dimensional approach to resolve the dispute, analogous to the three strands of the Northern Ireland peace process. Dimension One would focus on the relations between New Delhi and Islamabad. Inter-governmental cooperation is priority for any peace process to succeed. In practical terms, this could mean the establishment of a permanent India-Pakistan intergovernmental conference to promote the harmonious and mutually beneficial development of the totality of relationships between the two countries and be represented by top officials. It should have a standing committee on Kashmir to be chaired by the respective prime ministers.

Dimension Two would focus on New Delhi-Srinagar and Islamabad-Muzaffarabad relations. This he says, is necessary for the normalization of politics within Kashmir (in both Indian and Pakistani-controlled zones), and the devising and implementation of political frameworks which can foster a working degree of internal accommodation and co-operation within Kashmir between representatives of communities holding radically different basic political allegiances. This would require change in the present policies of both governments in their respective territories to regain the confidence of the citizens. In particular, he says, the issues of human rights, policing arrangements and political prisoners must be addressed to soothe the deep-rooted grievances of the Kashmiri people.

Dimension Three would relate to the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad nexus with the objective of achieving cross-border cooperation. The author argues that this would serve as a mark of respect towards the historical integrity of the state as well as give both sides a stake in the benefits of such cooperation. This council would address issues of trade, commerce, transportation, intra-regional waterways, cultural matters, agriculture, and tourism. With time, the potential would exist for institutions of cross-border co-operation to be gradually developed in more robust directions.

This article is a prescriptive account of resolving the Kashmir dispute. By drawing heavily from the Northern Ireland experience, it shows how a three-pronged approach aimed at addressing the several layers of relationships can work to foster a long-term peace process in Kashmir.

Noorani, A.G (2000), 'Questions about the Kashmir Ceasefire', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 45 (November 4-10), pp. 3949-3958.

This article by an eminent Indian lawyer and constitutional expert, analyses the ceasefire declaration of the Hizb ul Mujahideen in 2000 and the implications for a peace process over the Kashmir dispute. Though it was short-lived, Noorani discusses the handling of the situation by the Indian government and the lessons that could be learned from it.

The author shows how the Government of India preferred a military victory over a political settlement and denied the demand of tripartite talks by the armed groups. The unilateral ceasefire was declared by the Hizb ul Mujahideen (HM) on the condition that the Indian government would initiate talks with the purpose of a political settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Noorani argues that two points in their declaration—participation of Pakistan, and dropping the insistence on plebiscite, were big gains for India. Immediately after the declaration, the Indian government invited the HM to discuss modalities of talks and the security forces on Kashmir were instructed not to take any action that would jeopardize the peace process. However, the turn around by the then principal secretary to the Prime Minister of India, imposing conditions to the dialogue process proved to be its undoing. By insisting that talks would be held within the framework of the Indian Constitution, with the exclusion of Pakistan, the HM retracted.

Noorani points out that the process could have succeeded had a political negotiation involving all sides followed the ceasefire. At this stage, he envisions the All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC), would have come in; as these talks made some progress, Indo-Pak negotiations would have followed, now that India's conditions of "cessation of cross-border terrorism" had been met. The two tracks, Indo-Pak and Indo- Kashmiri, could have proceeded in tandem. In the last decisive stage all parties would have to coordinate their positions.

The article briefly outlines the talks that were held between the Government of India (GOI) and the HM on July 3, 2000 and the poor handling of it by the former. The author argues that the GOI could have saved the situation by accepting that eventually Pakistan would come in but it did not, and its stand at the talks confirmed the impression that the surrender of HM was its key goal.

The termination of the ceasefire and the subsequent blaming of the failure of talks on Pakistan showed the lack of sophistication of the GOI in responding to a possible window of opportunity. Over the next few weeks, the HM showed interest in renewing negotiations if Pakistan were involved at a later stage but this was not to be. India's stand, the article shows, is an impossible one. It refuses to acknowledge fundamental truths. It refuses to negotiate with Pakistan or the people of Kashmir. It asserts that there exists no 'dispute'; it is a domestic matter, yet does not resolve the domestic matter either. It takes comfort from closer relations with the United States and relies on it and the other powers

to bring Pakistan to heel and to stop its intercessions on Kashmir. This policy, Noorani argues, is doomed to failure.

Drawing from this incidence, Noorani contrasts the scenario with the success of the Northern Ireland peace process to offer lessons that Indian government(s) can learn and apply in the case of Kashmir. The article shows just how difficult it is to resolve the deadlock over disputes is given the rigid positions of governments. It shows how, in the case of Kashmir, India must rethink its strategy and work towards tripartite political negotiations for a successful settlement of the dispute.

II. Manipur

Centre for Development and Peace Studies (no date), *Manipur: Overview: insurgency & peace efforts in Manipur.*

Available at: http://cdpsindia.org/manipur_insurgency.asp

The report gives an overview of the insurgency and peace efforts in Manipur which merged with the Indian Union on 15 October 1949. It was declared as a separate state in 1972. The beginning of militancy in Manipur can be traced to 24 November 1964 when the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) was founded. After that, many other outfits like the People's Liberation Army (PLA) (founded on September 25, 1978), the People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) (set up on October 9, 1977) and the Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) (founded in April, 1980), came into being. These groups have been operating in the valley areas of the state.

The hill areas of the state are however under the grip of other militant outfits. Violence by the Naga groups from Nagaland has also spilled over into the hill districts of Manipur, where the NSCN (IM) and the National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Khaplang (NSCN (K) are the main players. Several clashes have occurred between the NSCN-IM and the NSCN-K. Following ethnic clashes between the Nagas and Kukis in the early 1990s, a number of Kuki outfits were formed. Many other tribes, such as the Paite, Vaiphei and Hmars have also established their own armed groups. Similarly, Islamist outfits like the People's United Liberation Front (PULF) have been founded to protect the interests of the 'Pangals' (Manipuri Muslims).

Manipur had been declared a 'disturbed area' in its entirety in 1980 and the Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) 1958 was imposed in the state on 8 September, 1980, and remains in force. The implementation of this Act resulted massive protests by citizens, including the infamous "mothers' nude protest" in July 2004 after the discovery of the mutilated body of Thangjam Manorama, after she was picked up by the Assam Rifles.²

The report goes on to say that between 1992 and July 2009, at least 5,402 people were killed in insurgency related incidents in Manipur. In the first seven months of 2009, there were 281 insurgency-related killings in Manipur.

² On July 11 2004, Thangjam Manorama Devi was picked up from her home by the paramilitary Assam Rifles. Hours later, her bullet-riddled body was found by the roadside and she had apparently been raped. Though there were unprecedented protests in Manipur after Thangjam Manorama Devi's death, her killers are yet to be punished.

Arambam, Lokendra (2007), *Politics of ethnicity and armed violence in Manipur*, Manipur Research Forum.

Available at: www.manipurresearchforum.org/polethnicityarmed_violencmanipur.htm

This article, which is written by one of India's most respected theatre directors who also comes from Manipur, looks at the fault-lines between the three major communities in Manipur: the Meities, the Kukis and the Nagas. These fault-lines came to the fore when clashes erupted between the Meiteis and the Kukis in a town called Moreh in the Chandel district of Manipur where historically, the two tribes have co-existed in harmony. The Nagas claimed the district as part of Greater Nagalim, whilst the Kukis claim it falls within their perceived ancestral domain, known as Zale'n-gam. The rivalry between militant groups representing the Nagas and the Kukis and the Meitei's has continued since the clashes in Moreh.

In June 2001, 18 people in the Manipur valley lost their lives protesting against the central government's decision to extend the ceasefire to all Naga-inhabited areas. The National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Isak-Muivah (NSCN-IM) has stated over and over again that it does not believe in Manipur's integrity. On the other hand the issue of the Kuki Zale'n-gam movement, however, draws less attention in the Indian media than that of Nagalim. The Kuki-Chin communities are straddled across various regional habitats in Manipur, North Cachar Hills (Assam), Mizoram, Tripura, Myanmar and Bangladesh, etc. While the Chin tribes in Myanmar have envisaged freedom from the political domination of the Myanmarese, their brethren in India have sought a "Homeland" or Kuki state within the Indian Union.

Heavily politicised ethnic relations in the era of insurgency are therefore not perhaps the result of endogenous conflictual growth of vertical social boundaries alone, but rather an end product of intensification of networks of exogenous relationships able to create this effect. According to the author, the ethnic community of the Meiteis, who occupy major portions of the valley are under "siege" from aroused ambitions of ethnic assertion. This transformation of geographic space such as hills and plains into alienated political entities is the product of intense dynamics of Manipur's post-merger history.

Arambam writes that the overall militarisation of the Northeast as part of the objective of crushing Manipur's armed opposition groups and progressive increase in suffering of the civilian population, has so far failed to rivet attention in the public sphere. However, the setting up of a number of new counter-insurgency schools to train security forces, the presence of military camps in schools and colleges in rural areas, the occupation of churches or complexes of sacred deities, and deployment of security forces at the ratio of 1:16 over the Manipur population are all indicators of the magnitude of militarism in the state.

In recent years military engagements between the security forces and the Meitei armed groups has revealed a pattern of progressive linkages between armed conflict and politics of ethnicity. Since the end of 2003, the Indian state has focused on flushing out Meitei insurgents from the valley who had earlier entrenched themselves in the rugged mountain terrains, mingling with the "neglected" and "marginalised" hill people.

According to the author, the Indian state, showcased operations against the Manipur militants in Operation All Clear (2004), Operation Tornado (2005), Operation Dragnet

(2006), as an attempt to restore civil administration to the western ranges of the Manipur Hills and “the Meitei hegemony over the hill people.”

Das, Rani Pathak (2008), ‘Militancy in Manipur: Origin, Dynamics and Future’, *Asian Europe Journal*, Vol.6, No 3-4.

This article traces the origins of militancy in Manipur. It is written by a scholar based at the Centre for Development and Peace Studies in Guwahati, India who has written on militancy and other peace and security-related issues for leading Indian research institutions. Das explains the background of the conflict and points out that one of the major resentments of the people of Manipur was the alleged “forced” merger of Manipur with the Indian Union in 1949. Thereafter many other outfits emerged like the People’s Liberation Army (PLA), the People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) and the Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP). Manipur is also home to Kuki-militant outfits, besides the NSCN (IM) in the hill areas of Manipur and the People’s United Liberation Front (PULF), which professes to protect the interests of the ‘Pangals’ (Manipuri Muslims)

Besides, Das notes the media has also suffered due to the militants’ *diktats* at various points of time. The author brings out clearly the existing schism between the Meitei-dominated Valley areas and the tribes inhabiting the hills. One such incident was the rape of at least 25 women in the Churachandpur district of Manipur, mostly belonging to the minority Hmar tribe, by the United National Liberation Front (UNLF), and the KCP cadres.

Many militants have also been extorting with impunity including government officials. To strike fear among the populace, the militants have targeted people who have not paid up. One of the main issues in Manipur has been the demand for the repeal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), though the central government has steadfastly refused to do so. The author also examines the prospects for peace in the state given the popular disenchantment with militant violence. However she wonders if in the absence of the backing of the state, the victims of militant-violence will be able to stand up to the militants and start eroding their support base, though she says such a scenario in the longer run cannot be ruled out.

Gangte, T S (2007), *Struggle for identity and land among the hill people of Manipur*, Manipur Research Forum.

Available at: www.manipurresearchforum.org/struggleidentityhillpeoples.htm

This article analyses the struggle for identity generated by fragmented ethnic claims and counter claims among the hill peoples of Manipur. The Nagas and the Kukis, both tribes residing in the hills of Manipur, have exclusive territorial claims which have often led to violent and bloody fights, particularly in the 1990’s, between the two contending groups.

Thangkhomang S Gangte is an academic based in Manipur and is part of the Manipur Research Forum, a research body that critically examines social, political, economic and other key issues of Manipur, in particular, and Northeast India, in general.

The Nagas and the Kukis are known for their respective struggles for a separate state. However, the claims of one adversely affect the interest of the other. An equally important issue is the emergence of sub-tribes, clans, lineages within each of these tribes. The Kukis in particular, have undergone a process of fragmentation, resulting in the formation of a number of sub-groups which consist of only a few hundred members. Some of these small tribes have now sought merger into bigger viable groups in their struggle for identity, status and privilege.

Meanwhile, the Naga armed outfits have pursued their demand for 'self-determination' and integration of Naga-inhabited areas into a Greater Nagalim. They consider that the presence of the Kukis in the Greater Nagalim area to be a major hindrance to the Naga nationhood project. The author says that the NSCN (IM) has made attempts to wipe out the Kukis from their place of habitation through 'ethnic cleansing' to strengthen claims of sovereign Nagalim state based on 'Naga communalism'.

Hanjabam, Shukhdeba Sharma (2008), 'The Meitei Upsurge in Manipur', *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 6, No.1.

This article critically analyses the reasons for the rise of militancy in Manipur and looks at the effects the promulgation of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958 (AFSPA) on the people of Manipur. The author is young scholar who did his doctorate on nation-state formation and the self-determination movement in Manipur.

Hanjabam goes back to the history of the state and is of the view that not only do the Meities possess a distinct and territorial status, they also possess an advanced literary tradition which goes back thousands of years. Though the AFSPA had initially been enforced to tackle the Naga militancy, it had been enforced in the entire state of Manipur beginning 1980. This has led to a further deterioration of the situation. He is of the view that the government has been trying to hide the militancy in Manipur as a law and order problem. Hanjabam stresses that the problems in Manipur are political in nature and cannot therefore be solved by using military means.

Hassan, M Sajjad (2006), *Explaining Manipur's breakdown and Mizoram's peace: The state and identities in North East India*, Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics.

Available at: www.crisisstates.com/download/wp/wp79.pdf

The author, who is a member of the Indian Administrative Service, uses material from Northeast India to provide clues that explain both state breakdown as well as its avoidance. He analyses the particular historical trajectory of interaction between state-making leaders and other social forces in Manipur and the neighbouring state of Mizoram. He is of the opinion that in Manipur, where social forces retained their authority, the state's autonomy was compromised. This affected its capacity in many areas including the ability, to resolve group conflicts. In such a situation, powerful social forces politicised their narrow identities to capture state power, leading to competitive mobilisation and conflicts.

On the other hand, in Mizoram, the state-making leaders managed to incorporate other social forces within their authority structure and hence state autonomy was enhanced. This has helped enhance state capacity and its ability to resolve conflicts. Crucial to this dynamic in Mizoram was the role of state-making leaders in inventing and mobilising an overarching and inclusive identity to counter entrenched social forces. This has helped with social cohesion. The hills of Mizoram were once afire as a result of the conflict between the radical Mizo National Front and the Indian government. However, consequent to a peace treaty known as the Mizo Accord in 1986, it is one of the most peaceful states in India's restive Northeast.

Bhagat, Oinam (2003), 'Patterns of ethnic conflict in the North East: A study of Manipur', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 21 (May 24-30), pp. 2031-2037.

Bhagat Oinam is from Manipur and is currently an associate professor of philosophy at Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi. He asserts that Manipur has not only been wrecked by violence between the various militant outfits and the security forces, but also by clashes between the various ethnic communities in the state. It has not helped that there are at least 30 distinct communities in the state who seek exclusivity, integration and dominance over other groups. One of the main factors has been the question of land. The majority Meities, who constitute 56.9 per cent of the population of the state are confined to the Manipur valley, which is only one-tenth of the total geographical area of the state. On the other hand, nine-tenth of the area of Manipur has been reserved for the scheduled castes and tribes. Besides the Nagas and the Kukis, there are other tribes like the Hmars and the Koms who have retained their distinct identities.

The author points out that Manipur has witnessed clashes between the Nagas and the Kukis, followed by the clashes between the Kukis and the Paites and those between the Meites and the Kukis. Many of the different tribal identities were mainly creations of political necessity and administrative convenience. While land, immigration and settlement have been some of the major causal factors, the fear of loss of identity has also led to many of these tribes and communities to clash with each other. It is to be noted that some of the communities number only in the hundreds and have a constant fear that they may be wiped out. These tribes and communities live in isolation from each other for fear of being wiped out. The author says that this insecurity breeds fear which in turn breeds violence. The author is a highly respected authority on Manipur and Northeast India and therefore this article of his is a must-read for policy makers who want to understand the reasons for the state of affairs in Manipur.

Parratt, John (2003), 'A new beginning? Manipur's State Elections: 2002', *South Asia Research*, Vol.23, No 1, pp.99-109.

The article analyses the elections held in the year 2002 in Manipur in the light of the protests in Manipur over the extension of the ceasefire with the NSCN(IM) to all Naga-inhabited areas. According to the author, the election results made it amply clear that the people were dissatisfied with corruption, underdevelopment and self-serving politicians.

The elections resulted in a crushing defeat for the previous Samata Party- Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) coalition and brought to power the Secular Progressive Front (SPF), consisting of the Indian National Congress, and a few other smaller parties. The new government listed a number of measures which it promised that it would take. Though in the course of time, the new government failed to deliver like many of its predecessors and successors.

The outcry in Manipur over the extension of the ceasefire with the NSCN (I-M) had left the state burning and the people of Manipur crying for a change. Parratt contends that successive governments in Manipur have failed to tackle the issue of militancy and address the basic aspirations of the people. Manipur has a long history of democracy. Along with Travancore, Manipur has the distinction of being the first state in the Indian sub-continent to have free elections with full adult franchise. Militants make use of the general disenchantment of ordinary citizens with governments and therein lies the important message of the article for policymakers.

Shimray, U A (2001), 'Ethnicity and Social-Political Assertion: The Manipur Experience', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.36, No. 39 (September 29-October 5), pp. 3674-3677.

This article was written by a young Manipuri intellectual working as an assistant professor at the Institute of Social and Economic Change, Bangalore University and it elucidates the assertion that ethnic identity and the accompanying political unrest is often rooted in fears among minority groups of losing their historical and culturally acquired identities. However, according to the author, in the case of Manipur, there may be several other dimensions, where several groups have been agitating against the centre and state government's perceived neglect of their needs. While many of the Meitei militant groups have their own axe to grind with the central government, many of the tribes residing in the hills of Manipur say they have been short-changed by the government in Imphal and the majority Meitei community. Regrettably Shimray died in early 2009, and his potential contributions in this area will not be fully realised.

Shimray was of the view that such ethnic-based social manifestations capture the overall socio-political processes in Manipur. The current popularity of the principle of 'self-determination' based on ethnicity has arrived at centre stage in the state's socio-cultural scenario. He goes on to say that even the elected people's representatives are compelled to incline towards their ethnic bases. This article reveals clearly how the various tribes in Manipur have their own definitions of self-determination, which has often led to bitter and violent clashes in the recent past.

Suan, H Kham Khan (2009) *Hills-valley divide as a site of conflict-emerging dialogic space in Manipur*, In Baruah, Sanjib (Editor), *Beyond counter-insurgency: breaking the impasse in North East India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

H Kham Khan Suan is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, and focuses on federal empowerment and autonomy in Northeast

India. In this article, he looks at the troubled ethnic relations between the people living in the hills and those in the plains of Manipur. He asserts that the demand of the Naga and the Zo (Chin/Kuki/Lusei) peoples for separate homelands sits uneasily with the Meitei aspirations. Suan further notes that the hill-valley divide in Manipur is embedded in a socio-cultural and historical contingency which informs the trajectory of the state-democracy continuum. He argues that one way of solving the problem would be to incorporate an indigenous constitutional framework which will allow an expansive sharing of powers like the Yehzabo, which allows for an innovative Naga supranational institution in the form of a modern parliament which draws representatives from disparate Naga groups. It has a parallel model in the form of the Zomi Council among the Zo people.

The author feels that it is implausible to have democracy without a minimum threshold of law and order (via a centralised state), independent judiciary and legitimacy. Given the nature of state-nation building which is often conducted in the majority language and which is more often than not prone to bundling diverse ethnic communities within its totalising projects, there will always be times when its efficacy will be questioned.

Suan brings out clearly the lines of demarcation between the people of the hills and the plains in Manipur. This article is an important read for policymakers since it is important to understand that there cannot be a one-single solution to the problems afflicting Manipur.

Hussain, Monirul (Editor) (2005), *Coming out of violence: Essays on ethnicity, conflict resolution and peace process in North East India*, Regency publications, New Delhi.

According to Monirul Hussain, a professor in the Department of Political Science, Gauhati, ever since India's independence in 1947 the Northeast has been reeling under some sort of violence. Land, inter and intra-ethnic feuds, armed conflicts between the militants and the security forces, fighting between the different militant groups are some of the main reasons for the current state of turmoil in this otherwise beautiful region. The 'development' undertaken by the different state agencies has also led to conflict in the region. He says that the civil society can play a vital role in helping bring peace to this restive region. However, outsiders, mostly politicians, policymakers and to some extent academics have been trying to malign these bodies, linking them up to the various militant groups. The book analyses the major issues in the Northeast with contributions from scholars both from within and outside the region, through a myriad of papers, focussing on these important themes, with contributors strongly pleading for a lasting peace in the region. The uniqueness of the book lies in its being a collective endeavour by scholars and activists of different communities from the region as well as from outside.

Imtiaz Ahmad provides a theoretical outline on the proliferation of conflict in the third world countries. According to him, incomplete modernisation is one of the major cause of conflict in such countries. He is of the view that greater sensitivity to the concerns of ethnic minorities, and decentralisation can bring lasting solution to such conflicts.

Gurudas Das argues that conflicts arise out of non-fulfilment of the democratic aspirations of the ethnic minorities. Anuradha Dutta analyses the role of women and says that women's participation, not only as peacemakers, would expand and consolidate democratic politics in the region. Wasbir Hussain and Gautam Chakma analyse the nuances of different aspects of conflict in Arunachal Pradesh while Sajal Nag analyses the tensions between the tribal and the non-tribal population in Meghalaya.

Haokip offers a critical analysis of the Kuki-Naga conflict while Subir Bhaumik lays bare the issue of conflict emanating out of development projects in Tripura. Besides, a host of other well-known scholars analyse in detail the various causal factors of the strife in the region.

Phanjoubam, Pradip (2009), 'Northeast problems as a subject and object', In Baruah, Sanjib (Editor), *Beyond counter-insurgency: Breaking the impasse in Northeast India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Pradip Phanjoubam is an eminent newspaper editor based in Manipur. In this book he proposes that a convergence is needed while solving the myriad problems of the Northeast in general and Manipur in particular. He is of the opinion that many of the problems in the Northeast are due to, among other reasons, the inability to strike a balance between the subjective and objective visions of the world and the inadequacy of the responses to the changing realities. He contends that in the turbulent Northeast, today's wars are being fought on what he terms as "yesterday's slogans". He says that issues like 'homeland, ethnic identity, tradition' will need to be reassessed against this understanding.

Phanjoubam further observes that the "carrot-and-stick policy" employed by the state and the central government has not worked in the case of Manipur. This is only illustrated in the statement of the Chief Minister Okram Ibobi Singh, in the State Assembly in September 2006, that in the sixteen years that the state government had introduced a surrender policy for the militants, only 377 of them had laid down arms.

Phanjoubam is of the view that there are many contributory causes to the insurgency problem. These include inconsistencies in history, economic structures, development and identity alienation, among others. In this essay, he says that the Chicken Neck Syndrome—the Northeast being connected to the rest of the Indian mainland by a narrow 22km corridor—conveys a stark sense of lack of contact, both spiritual and physical.

The author asserts that the state, realising the diminishing prospects of a comprehensive solution of the problems, may have shifted its focus to keeping the challenge to equilibrium rather than trying to devise a permanent solution. But the danger of such a strategy is that it may be ultimately transformed into a trap, otherwise as the author says the "house will be perpetually on fire".

Parratt, John (2005), *Wounded land: Politics and identity in modern Manipur*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

The author, a professor of theology at Birmingham University, traces the history of Manipur from the ascension of Maharajah Chura Chand in 1907 to the present day. He analyses the religious and ethnic heterogeneity in the state, its remarkable contribution to South Asian culture, its significant role in the international politics of region since it had relations with various states within Burma and China as well as with the other kingdoms that are now part of India. Manipur has the distinction of being the first state on the Indian sub-continent to have held free elections under adult franchise. It also established a constitutional monarchy with elected legislatures much before any other part of India.

The author argues that the Northeast was historically never a part of India and it was accentuated by its geographical isolation. He is of the view that a 'them and us' mentality on both side, that is, the mainstream Indians and the Northeasterners has been a significant contributory factor to civil unrest and armed conflict.

Parratt takes a careful look at the oppression arising out of the British colonial control over the state and the subsequent loss of its independence. In the author's view, several elements formed a highly inflammable mix of social discontent. The resentment at the foreign control resulted to sporadic popular unrest in the valley and outright rebellion in the hills. Feudalism gave ample opportunities for rampant corruption in high places from the king downwards and the divisions between the rich and the poor, the elite and the peasants increased.

Parratt also deals with the political awakening, which took place in the 1930s and the reaction to the colonial oppression in Manipur hills in the form of Kuki rebellion and the Zadonang movement. He also analyses how the advent of Christianity provided the tribal population with a new sense of identity and describes the periodic grassroots protest against oppression by the feudal elements.

The final chapter of the book describes the infamous Manorama rape case in 2004 when a woman suspected of helping separatists was allegedly raped and killed by Assam Rifles paramilitaries, and the popular protests against the Armed Forces Special Powers' Act.

The author together with his wife Saroj Arambam Parratt bring with them a deep knowledge and understanding about the past and the present-day issues in Manipur. Both of them have published several scholarly papers and two books on Manipur, *Queen Empress vs. Tikendrajit: The Anglo-Manipur Conflict of 1891* and the *Pleasing of the Gods: Meitei Lai Haraoba*.

Sanajoaba, Naorem (1988), *Manipur past and present*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Naorem Sanajoaba is a professor of law at the University of Gauhati University, Assam and examines the history of Manipur in the form of two chronicles; the Cheitharol Kumbaba (33 AD onwards till the 20th century) and the Ningthoural Lambuba, followed by other books written by historians over the 20th century.

The book is divided into four volumes- While the first volume (History, Polity and Law) defines Manipur's close affinity with the people and culture of Southeast Asia, the second volume (Philosophy, Culture and Literature) records Manipur's cultural performances and achievements in its history. The third volume (Nagas and Kuki-Chins) is dedicated to the tribes living in the hills of Manipur—almost nine-tenths of the total area of Manipur—the rest being the valley areas where the majority Meitei's dwell. The fourth volume (Pan Manipuris in Asia and Autochthones) details the Manipuris living in Assam, Tripura, Bangladesh and Myanmar.

The four volumes are spread into 120 chapters contributed by 112 scholars, the vast majority of whom are native scholars and are therefore experts on the subject.

The book provides detailed historical background on Manipur. While it does not address the present-day burning issues in Manipur, it enlightens the reader about the historical roots of the Manipuris and Manipur, which helps the reader to understand many of the present-day problems of the state as their origins lie in the past. Since Manipuris have been living in various parts of Northeast India besides Manipur and in some of the neighbouring countries, it is imperative that a solution to the Manipur imbroglio must involve these Manipuris as well. Anyone who is involved with peacemaking in Manipur must know and understand the root causes of the present-day disaffection among sections of the populace in Manipur and the spread of the Manipuri Diaspora. This book offers the reader a thorough understanding of the history of Manipur and the Manipuris and hence its relevance.

Singh, N Joykumar (2005), *Revolutionary movements in Manipur*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.

This book by a Professor of Regional History at Manipur University makes an attempt to understand the post-merger political movements in Manipur. There were two distinct trends. One was the peaceful agitations started by the various organisations in the state to establish a representative form of democracy in Manipur and statehood for Manipur within the framework of the Indian union. The other was the armed movement for the "liberation" of Manipur from so-called "Indian colonial rule. This book deals with these militant movements in Manipur. The author analyses five aspects of the themes: a theoretical exposition on revolutions, the origin of these militant movements in Manipur, the nature and character of the movement, the leadership pattern and the impact of the movements.

The author gives a well-researched background of six of the main militant outfits: the Meitei State Committee (MSC); the United National Liberation Front (UNLF); Revolutionary Government of Manipur (RGM); Peoples Liberation Army (PLA); People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK); and, the Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP).

Singh posits that Manipur has witnessed different political movement's right from the days of British colonial rule. There have been women's movements, tribal movements, student's movements, peasant's movements and religious movements even prior to the merger of Manipur with the Indian Union.

The book also analyses the leadership and the pattern of leadership of these organisations and draws upon original sources in government as well as militant groups. It is a useful book to gain an appreciation of the various rebel groups, and chart the birth and the growth of the main Meitei militants. However the author fails to explain the reasons for the disenchantment of a section of the populace of Manipur with India and the role of the militant movements in neighbouring states like Nagaland in stoking the fires of militancy in Manipur.

Centre for Organization Research and Education (2007), *India: Manipur - Persistence of impunity in Northeast region*, Report to the universal periodic review of the UN Human Rights Council, November.

Available at:

http://lib.ohchr.org/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/Session1/IN/CORE_IND_UPR_S1_2008_CentreforOrganizationResearchandEducation_uprsubmission.pdf

This entry is included to illustrate the level and scope of civil society opposition to the militarisation of Manipur. The Centre for Organization Research and Education is an indigenous peoples' organization based in Manipur. It documents alleged human rights violations perpetrated in the Northeastern region, particularly in Manipur, by the Indian armed forces (including paramilitary forces and the Central Reserved Police Force) under cover of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act of 1958 and similar draconian legislation which effectively confers *de jure* and *de facto* impunity for all actions taken by state security forces.

According to this report, the antecedents of the long-standing armed conflict lies in the history and political economy of the indigenous peoples and communities of Manipur. The armed conflict situation and the direct and indirect consequences of counter-insurgency military options, human rights violations including impunity are all rooted in the interpretation and expression of the fundamental right to self-determination, a right protected and promoted by the United Nations Charter and core human rights treaties. The report contends there are approximately 350 military installations across the region, and estimates there is one troop for every 15 citizens. The report asserts that over the last 40 years, in attempts to eliminate armed opposition groups, government military forces have been committing gross human rights violations; massacre, extrajudicial execution, enforced disappearance, rape, torture, human shields, arson, plunder, forced labour and forced displacement, while human rights activists, defenders and organisations are regularly victimised.

The Centre for Organization Research and Education cautions that indigenous Meitei institutions such as the Maibi, Pena and Pandit Loisangs have become covered by legislation that hands over control to a dominant religious board, viz., the Manipur Govindaji Temple Board Act. The Gauhati High Court routinely identifies indigenous Meitei deities as Hindu deities and thereby alters the identity of the deity and its cultural context and ownership. The freedom to practice the indigenous religion is violated. Sacred sites including sacred groves and water bodies are routinely taken over by development projects and privatised, by infrastructure installations and by the military.

The report provides a number of recommendations which provide those engaged in peacemaking and conflict resolution with clear information on civil society expectations and aspirations.

Centre for Development and Peace Studies (no date), *Manipur: militant groups profile*.

Available at: http://cdpsindia.org/manipur_mgp.asp

The Centre for Development and Peace Studies is an independent research centre based in Assam, engaged in research on development and peace in India's Northeast.

This document provides useful detail on the major militant groups operating in Manipur, including: the United National Liberation Front (UNLF); the People's Liberation Army (PLA); People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK); Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL); Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA); Kuki National Army (KNA); People's United Liberation Front (PULF); United Naga People's Council (UNPC); and, the UPPK (United People's Party of Kangleipak). It gives the history of these various groups, their leaders, objectives and cadre strength. It is useful to get an overall picture of the major militant groups operating in Manipur.

Human Rights Watch (2008), *"These fellows must be eliminated": Relentless violence and impunity in Manipur*, New York, September.

Available at: www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/india0908web_0.pdf

This report explores the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA), the 1958 emergency law, currently in force in Manipur allows armed forces broad powers to arrest, search, and shoot to kill. This law also provides security forces immunity from prosecution and has protected members of the security forces in Jammu and Kashmir, and other states in India's Northeast from being brought before a civilian judge to be prosecuted for murder and other offences.

Human Rights Watch investigated several cases of alleged extrajudicial killings committed by the security forces since 2006. They assert that the culture of violence has become so deep-rooted that the police have in recent years committed the same abuses as the army and paramilitary forces. According to Human Rights Watch, in several documented cases, the perpetrators were Manipur police.

On the other hand, many Indian officials and Manipuri people point out that the armed groups also commit serious human rights abuses.

Some of these underground outfits have imposed a variety of diktats, including a ban on some television channels, on women wearing western clothes, the use of drugs, tobacco, or alcohol etc. Some groups have been responsible for attacks on ethnic minorities. According to the report, while most of the people of Manipur do not dispute the need for strong law enforcement to end the violence perpetrated by militants, almost all the people of Manipur, want the AFSPA to be repealed because of the open license it provides for abuses. The report adds that Manipuris want the culture of impunity to end. Not only has the failure to punish Manorama's killers shattered any existing faith in the justice system,

many Manipuris feel it has also emboldened security officials to take the law into their own hands and to believe they can get away with murder.

Similar policies have since been adopted to stamp out armed separatist movements in various other parts of India. Many of the security force personnel believe it is easier to kill suspects than to gather evidence to secure convictions, while others kill for money or promotions, as they are often rewarded for their actions. The report says that the problems are systemic and require systemic changes in law, policy, and practice.

The report goes on to say that the Indian government has also ignored concerns and recommendations by United Nations human rights bodies. For example, in 1997 the UN Human Rights Committee said that the continued use of the AFSPA in Manipur was tantamount to using emergency powers and recommended that the application of these powers be monitored to ensure compliance with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

The UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Philip Alston, reported to the UN Human Rights Council in 2007 that despite the government of Manipur ordering “numerous inquiries into the alleged extrajudicial executions, none of them ultimately reached any meaningful conclusions.” In 2007, the Committee on the International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination called for India to repeal the AFSPA and to replace it “by a more humane Act” in accordance with the recommendation contained in the leaked Jeevan Reddy committee report.

The report makes several detailed recommendations which provide policymakers and practitioners with food for thought, and clear guidance as to underlying conflict drivers and potential options for action.

Since there is an ongoing dialogue between the government and some of the Kuki groups operating in the hill districts of Manipur, counter-insurgency operations have been scaled down. The investigations conducted by Human Rights Watch were limited to the valley areas.

III. Naxalites/Maoists

Mohanty, Manoranjan (2005), 'The Course Of Naxalism', *Counter Currents*, 22 September.

Available at: www.countercurrents.org/india-mohanty220905.htm

Written by a professor of political science at the University of Delhi, this article explores the current trends and pressures within the Naxalite movement, in particular the banning of organisations associated with the Communist Party of India-Maoists (CPI-Maoist) in Andhra Pradesh. The current ban represents the start of a new phase in the confrontation between the Naxalite movement and the Indian state.

Mohanty writes that after an experiment with a ceasefire and abrogated talks in 2004, an effective ban on the CPI-Maoist was re-imposed by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. This followed the killing two days earlier of provincial lawmaker C Narsi Reddy, a leader of the ruling Congress party, and eight others in Narayanpet in Mehboobnagar district. The ban was said to have had the support of the central government, even though its spokesperson described law and order as a "state subject" under the Constitution of India. Some might have welcomed this reference to the constitution, however opportunistically it might have been used.

Mohanty catalogues the organisations that were banned under the Public Security Act of 1992, including seven mass organisations associated with the Maoist party: the Radical Youth League (RYL); the Radical Students Union (RSU); the All India Revolutionary Students Federation (AIRSF); the Rythu Coolie Sangham (agricultural workers' organisation); the Singareni Karmika Sangham (a powerful trade union in the collieries); the Viplava Karmika Sangham (another trade union); and, the Revolutionary Writers Association popularly known by its Telugu acronym Virasam.

The poet P Vara Vara Rao and writer G Kalyan Rao, leaders of Virasam who together with legendary poet-singer Gaddar were the Maoist party emissaries to the peace negotiations, were arrested. They had quit their roles in April 2005, expressing futility with the task in view of the growing repression by the state. Interestingly, the women's organisation affiliated to the rebels was not banned. Similarly, the Jana Natya Mandali people's theatre group led by Gaddar was not included in the list, though the expectation is it might be entered subsequently.

The ban per se would not have been all that significant because the CPI-Maoist, like its former avatars, the People's War group (PWG) and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC), was already functioning as an underground party. The leaders of CPI-Maoists and the CPI- Marxist-Leninist Janashakthi who had come to Hyderabad for the peace talks in October 2004 had emerged from the forests and returned there after ten days of open presence, including four days of peace talks.

The outlawing came after the chances of resumption of peace talks had effectively disappeared. Police and paramilitary forces had intensified operations to kill Maoist leaders and cadre, and capture and harass sympathisers. The Maoists, too, had resumed retaliatory action of kidnappings and killings. Above all, the approaches by the mediators in the Committee of Concerned Citizens (CCC) received little response in recent months.

The civil society in Andhra Pradesh had pinned great hope on the CCC's initiative to organise a second round of talks to reverse the intensifying climate of violence.

The re-imposition of the ban indicated the determination of the Hyderabad government to withstand civil society pressures and to resume its armed operations to suppress the Naxalite movement. This decision condemned by most of the political parties including the allies of the Congress, the TRS (Telengana Rajya Samithi), Mazlis, the CPI and the CPI-M. Only the Telugu Desham Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) supported it, maintaining that it had been a mistake on the part of the Congress government to have let the ban lapse in July 2004 in the first place.

Mohanty observes that human rights activists have also challenged the Maoists, questioning democracy and civil liberties within the movement. Factionalism and splits have characterised the Naxalite movement, which is why there are over two dozen groups in existence at any given time. And so the natural question is, are the comrades guilty of sectarian politics when they should be developing a united front? There was a time the intolerance of divergent opinion within the party was so stark that it led to killings – a tendency that seems to have subsided in recent years. Mohanty argues that communist groups seem to resort all too easily to the mechanical understanding of revisionism and dogmatism. The revolutionary tradition of inner-party democracy – the minority accepting the decision of the majority while the majority respects the point of view of the minority – seems a fragile heritage.

This article gives a useful overview of Naxalite ideology and the movement's spread in India. It also gives details on the peace talks between the Naxalites and the Government of Andhra Pradesh in 2004.

Balagopal, K (no date), *Beyond violence and non-violence.*

Available at: <http://www.altlawforum.org/grassroots-democracy/civil-and-political-rights/balagopalviolenceart.pdf>

K Balagopal was a noted civil liberties activist who was on the monitoring committee of the peace talks between the Government of Andhra Pradesh and the CPI (ML) in 2004. He died in October 2009, and was a well known left wing intellectual.

In this article he argued that the public arena is witness to dispirited discussion of the ineffectiveness of people's movements, which are at the most only able to slow down things, and nothing more. The discussion often hinges on violence and non-violence, not as moral alternatives but as strategic options.

Balagopal was of the view that while all strategies have been effective in curbing some injustice, none has succeeded in forcing the government to take back a single major policy in any sphere. And none has been able to reverse the trends inherent in the structures of society and economy. Yet, as he asserts, no serious political movement or social struggle seeks the mere softening of oppression or improving relief. The general understanding is that governance of the country—and may be the systemic infrastructure of society—is fundamentally wrong and needs remedying, maybe overturning. The struggle may be built around class or caste or any other social combination. It may in the

end seek reform or the upturning of the polity. It may operate mainly or in part within the polity or keep out of it altogether.

Balagopal observed that the Naxalites—in particular the largest of them, the Maoists—are generally credited with having used strategies of violent struggle to great effect. That they have had substantial effect on the local social and political structures is beyond doubt. From Telangana to Bihar, local society would not be what it is but for their effect in turning much of it upside down.

Balagopal contends that since Indian democracy has not learned to respect reasoned criticism unless it is armed with the strength to physically prevent the execution of the policies criticised, ways of achieving such strength must be sought by agitation movements. In principle the best method is to mobilise the people likely to be affected in large numbers and physically sit in the path of the state and capital. Balagopal then articulates a key paradox; that the 'people' are in fact highly diverse in interest and identity, often insular in their sense of community, crushed by poverty and misery, weakened by the disease of opportunism even at the lowest levels which has been the greatest contribution of the Congress Party to Indian political culture, enfeebled by attachment to their political patrons, and disillusioned with empty rhetoric and moral corruption of agitations and movements.

Ramakrishnan, Venkitesh (2005), 'The Naxalite challenge', *Frontline magazine*, Volume 22, Issue 21, October.

Available at: www.flonnet.com/fl2221/stories/20051021006700400.htm

This article examines the ramifications of the Union Home Ministry's September 19, 2005 decision to "facilitate coordinated and synergised anti-naxalite operations across State boundaries" and "strengthen intelligence networks". This was the result of a process between officials of 12 states, who agreed to establish an inter-state task force, coordinated by the Union Home Ministry. Even as the "historic", albeit somewhat contentious, decision was being circulated and officials were working out implementation details, Home Departments of various states received reports about scores of Naxalite conventions across large tracts of forest land, stretching from Andhra Pradesh in south India to Orissa and Bihar in the east.

Ramakrishnan argues that the peace process in Andhra Pradesh made some progress before collapsing over two issues. The first was the Naxalite position that the "carrying arms and conducting armed struggle were non-negotiable". This position was asserted in response to the state government position that the situation would be more conducive to talks if the Naxalites gave up armed struggle. The second issue was the inability and hesitation of the government to take up land reforms on the scale and in the manner sought by the Naxalites who had demanded agricultural land, some 30,000 acres (12,000 hectares)—including land on the outskirts of the state capital, Hyderabad, allegedly acquisitioned by powerful industrial entities—be redistributed among the landless. This was rejected by the state government.

This article posits that a practical level, the Andhra Pradesh government, through the talks, sought to get some relief from the violence perpetrated by Naxalites against the state apparatus, while the CPI (Maoist) made apparent an urge to spread its ideological

and organisational influence by advocating land reforms and getting them implemented in various states, starting with Andhra Pradesh.

Ramakrishnan notes that in the context of these developments, the central government naturally assessed that Naxalites had increased their strike power and influence. In theoretical terms, Naxalites justify their actions as the political programme to overthrow the Indian state, comprising the big landlord-*comprador*, bureaucratic and bourgeois classes as well as the imperialism that backs them.

One view put forward in the article observes that the multi-pronged initiative against the Naxalites is linked to the efforts to "ensure safe passage" of policies of liberalisation and globalisation in rural India. If that is the case, the author contends the battle between Naxalites and the state will become more intense in the period ahead.

Asia Pacific Human Rights Network (2008), 'Chhattisgarh: State opts out as private army steps in', *Human Rights Features*, 9 February.

Available at: www.hrdc.net/sahrdc/hrfeatures/HRF181.htm

The Asia Pacific Human Rights Network explores the effects of the setting up of the anti-Naxalite militia Salwa Judum in the central Indian state of Chhattisgarh, rich in minerals and resources, and home to a large proportion of India's indigenous tribal peoples. When Chhattisgarh was created in 2000, the People's War Group, a Maoist group declared the tribal forest region as a zone in which state officials and institutions would not be allowed to function.

The report notes while all parties to the conflict have perpetrated atrocities in Dantewada, violence by the Salwa Judum has been widespread and particularly vicious. According to a public interest litigation petition filed by a group of citizens in the Supreme Court in 2007, some 540 people have been killed by the Salwa Judum and security forces since June 2005.

While national media coverage of the conflict in Dantewada has been piecemeal, in 2005 a coalition of independent non-governmental organisations reported that the attacks and killings of villagers by the Salwa Judum were frequent and brutal, and that the impact of these attacks on the daily life of the people was devastating. A further independent inquiry in 2006 found evidence of mass killings, burning of homes, and frequent attacks on women, including gang-rape.

The report alleges that the looting campaigns of the Salwa Judum have led to the forcible displacement of many thousands of people. As well as creating severe humanitarian problems, this large-scale forced displacement has also severely threatened the cultural viability of the indigenous peoples of the region, who depend on their local land for sustenance and survival.

Since 2005 the Government of Chhattisgarh has set up a number of 'relief camps' in Dantewada district for those displaced by the conflict, but has struggled to ensure they are properly resourced. The report states the health related infrastructure in the majority of camps is extremely poor.

Against this backdrop, the report laments that government agencies have so far failed to take action to disarm and disband the Salwa Judum. Of even more concern is the

substantial evidence that suggests that central and state governments have in fact supported Salwa Judum campaigns against non-combatant villagers in Dantewada under the pretext of counter-terrorism measures.

A number of facts appear to negate the government's claim that the Salwa Judum has been operating independently. For example, the Government of India's Ministry of Home Affairs' Annual Report in 2005-2006 acknowledge central government support for the creation of "Local Resistance Groups" such as the Salwa Judum through lump sum funding for "security related expenditure".³ Further, as of 2006, the Government of Chhattisgarh had officially appointed 3,500 "Special Police Officers" to support the Salwa Judum. These "officers", generally unemployed youths, have been given military and weapons training in order to set up a paramilitary vigilante structure parallel to the Naxalite movement.

The spectre of armed attacks by Naxalites raises legitimate security concerns in Chhattisgarh. However, both the state and central governments and their agencies have the power to take security measures against Naxalism that are lawful and consistent with the fundamental rights principles of the Indian Constitution and with international human rights and humanitarian law. In contrast, the large-scale evictions of village-dwellers from their homes in Dantewada have been conducted arbitrarily and with disastrous effects on livelihoods.

Given the relatively poor socioeconomic indicators found among scheduled tribes in Chhattisgarh, government fear that the collectivist ideas broadly espoused by Naxalites may have some appeal to villagers in Dantewada is not without basis. The Network argues that rather than supporting the Salwa Judum's programme of forced evictions, the government should address the current appeal of Naxalite policies in the region by improving indigenous people's access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities, as well as improved security of tenure and property rights. In contrast, the ongoing violence by the Salwa Judum can only lead to an escalation of political tensions in the region.

Sen, Iliana (2008), 'An appeal for peace in south Bastar', *The Hindu*, 21 October. Available at: www.thehindu.com/2008/10/21/stories/2008102155340900.htm

This article is written by Dr. Iliana Sen, the wife of Dr. Binayak Sen, whose arrest by the Government of Chhattisgarh on charges of links with Maoists led to widespread national and international protest. It is based on conversations Sen had with her husband when he was lodged in Raipur Jail. On May 25, 2009, Dr Binayak Sen was granted bail by the Supreme Court.

Sen points out that South Bastar is characterised by chronic deprivation and military engagement between state forces and the Maoists as a proxy to a political discourse. She argues that any quest for a resolution of the situation cannot start by addressing the humanitarian problem on the ground given the total breakdown of societal mechanisms in the area. Rather, she advocates as a priority, the establishment of an institutional forum for political engagement without preconditions. The purpose of this forum will not be to

³ Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Annual Report 2005-2006, p. 28.

search for solutions, but rather to work out the modalities and parameters of talks. Participation in this forum needs to be broad based and apart from the government and the Maoists, representatives of political parties as well as civil society in the area of South Bastar should be included.

According to Sen, once the institutional mechanism for political engagement is in place, it should undertake a specific series of measures directed at relieving the humanitarian situation on the ground. As an immediate priority, the problems to be addressed will include Food and Water, Shelter and Livelihood, Health Care, and Transport and Infrastructure.

Sen concludes by stating her belief that significant progress towards a ceasefire and eventual demilitarisation can only take place when the ordinary people have a stake in the maintenance of the peace.

This article is important reading as Dr. Binayak and Iina Sen have been working for lengthy periods in violence affected areas. They bring with them a thorough knowledge of the core issues in this region. It is also illustrative of the problems of ordinary citizens in the region who are caught between the Maoists and the government, both out to assert their supremacy.

Thapaliya, Bhuwan (2007), 'Rising Maoists insurgency in India', *The Global Politician*.

Available at: <http://globalpolitician.com/22790-india>

Bhuwan Thapaliya is Nepal-based political analyst who argues that while India is divided in many ways—caste, religion, language, and region—recently it has become to look as though the most visible divide in the days ahead will be marked by the Maoists movement, which has spread to nearly 40 per cent of the country's geographical area and is a major political force in economically marginal states such as Chhattisgarh, Jharkand and Orissa.

Thapaliya notes that Maoist violence in India is never far from the surface and has taken on a sinister new aspect with the magnitude and the frequency of attacks growing. The Maoists have made their presence felt in as many as half of India's 28 states with the movement providing various forms of support in rural villages, making curbing its activities difficult for various levels of Indian governments to diminish their support.

State and central governments believe the heart of the Naxalite problem is to be found in poverty, unemployment and poor public services. In addition to the wide development disparities between the eastern and the western parts of India. The east has trailed behind the west for decades. Ironically, its problems stem from its natural wealth: since it was rich in iron and coal, the government set up heavy, state owned industries there.

The west, with its lighter industries, became the home of private enterprise. Despite subsidies, the state sector stagnated. These days the west is richer and more literate, and possesses more detailed infrastructure (e.g. roads, electricity, telephones). Thapaliya concludes that what is most disturbing is the implications for India's energy security since the Naxalite movement is strongest in states that have reserves of the natural resources, especially coal.

Thapaliya advocates patience. The Naxalites may not be heavily armed or sophisticated, but they have the upper hand with knowledge of some of India's most difficult terrain, and vital support from ordinary people blighted by poverty. Engaging the Maoists requires a "sensible head" and no doubt influenced by the United Nations peace process in Nepal, argues that the UN could play a role in conflict resolution in India. The author is quick to note that India would be unwilling to involve the UN, since it regards the violence as an internal problem that can be dealt with effectively by the Government of India. Hence, in various ways, the author argues, these policies are likely become self-defeating for India.

Chakravarti, Sudeep, (2008), *Red Sun: Travels in Naxalite Country*, Penguin Viking, London.

In this book about the 'other India', journalist Sudeep Chakravarti, employs political history, extensive interviews and individual case studies as he travels to India's Maoist heartland. Over his journey he meets Maoist leaders and sympathisers, police officers, bureaucrats, politicians, development workers, farmers, security analysts and tribal people to gain a first-hand account of the war raging in India's heartland.

Chakravarti warns of the dangers that lie ahead for India as a whole. The media reportage from this region has been piecemeal and has largely ignored the lot of the tribal people, who experienced significant underdevelopment by almost all established indicators. The author warns of the perils of the State ignoring the reality of life for those experiencing systematic deprivation. This is an extremely accessible book which brings in focus the extent to which the Naxalite movement had spread across India and why. The mainstream media has been primarily absorbed with India's booming economy, while the harsh life of the people in India's hinterland has been largely ignored, which is what makes this book such compelling reading.

Giri, Saroj (2009), 'Lalgarh and the radicalisation of resistance: from 'ordinary civilians' to political subjects?', *The Monthly Review*, July.

Available at: <http://ajadhind.wordpress.com/2009/08/24/lalgarh-and-the-radicalisation-of-resistance-from-%e2%80%98ordinary-civilians%e2%80%99-to-political-subjects/>

On 16 June 2009, the Naxalites, claiming the support of the local population, proclaimed the Lalgarh area of West Midnapore district in Bengal, with its 44 villages, a "liberated zone". In response state and national security personnel were sent to flush out the Naxals and bring Lalgarh and its adjoining areas under the government's control. These security operations continue till date.

Saroj Giri is a lecturer in political science at the University of Delhi and assesses that the resistance in Lalgarh has not only rattled local power relations and state forces but challenged accepted ideas and practices of resistance movements, and opened up radical possibilities for mass initiatives. Crucially, the Lalgarh resistance undermines conventional ideas about the relationship between 'peaceful' and 'violent' forms of

struggle and inaugurates possibilities of resistance unfettered by given notions of political subjectivity or by subservience to the 'rule of law'.

Giri contends that the Lalgarh resistance has defied the long-standing shackles on social movements in India that usually restrict their forms of struggle since they accept the Indian state's monopoly over the use of violence. Giri theorises that this resistance has demonstrated that when the democratic struggle of the masses runs into conflict with the repressive apparatus of the state which has lost all democratic legitimacy, the struggle assumes the form of a violent mass movement.

The author raises interesting questions, particularly for those concerned with conflict resolution: Are activists for the rights of tribal people morphing into Maoists? Is the groundswell of support for the Maoists such that the Adivasis or tribals will mostly be Maoists? In today's situation, is it possible to be anything other than Maoist and still assert the kind of political resistance and autonomy that the masses of Lalgarh are presenting today?

Giri asserts that it needs to be pointed out that the 'violent Maoist' is actually an emergent quality of the democratic struggle and autonomous political practices of the 'ordinary villager' or Adivasi in Lalgarh.

The author is of the view that trying to defend the human rights of 'ordinary civilians' by arguing that they are not with the Maoists allows the state to justify repression of the Maoists in the name of defending the rights of these civilians. Far from this separation being something which the state must be forced to adopt, in fact the state was seen in Lalgarh to enforce it. This movement showed that when the 'ordinary civilians' rejected the state even at its welfarist best and made it difficult to separate them from the Maoists, the state chose a technical solution involving a dye mark on the body of Maoists (a significant human rights breach in its own right). This however did not work.

Those on the left who support the democratic struggle in Lalgarh but deplore its supposed Maoist takeover, vociferously uphold the artificial separation between the Maoists and civilians. Giri concludes that the Lalgarh resistance demonstrated that the Maoist movement represents a democratic struggle which refuses to give up even when it comes face to the face with the state exercising its perceived monopoly of violence.

Marwah, Ved (2009), *India in Turmoil: Jammu and Kashmir, the Northeast and Left Extremism*, Rupa & Co, New Delhi.

Ved Marwah, a former police officer and governor of Manipur and Jharkhand, argues that vacillation and 'ad hocism' have been the hallmarks of the central government's counter-terrorism policy. This has led to a situation where Prime Minister Manmohan Singh remarked that left-wing extremism "poses the most serious threat to India's security today".

Marwah is of the view that the policy of appeasement, to buy temporary peace, could have disastrous consequences in the long run. He argues that the willingness to engage left-wing extremists in peace talks under pressure and without their willingness to give up violence would be counter-productive and encourage more violence.

The book examines the internal security scene in India with insights into the functioning of government at the highest level and how casually “vital decisions concerning national security are taken”. It elucidates the flaws in the administrative and political system in the context of the growth of terror and insurgency across the country; with observations, analysis and possible solutions to the problem.

He talks of targeting the extremist top leadership, who have remained safe in their hideouts as an essential part of the anti-Maoist strategy. Marwah contends that forty percent of the country and over 30 percent of its population is influenced by Naxalism. In terms of geography and demography, it is more than four times in area and eight times in population of Jammu and Kashmir, the Northeast and Punjab put together.

This book is an important read since Marwah has served in an official capacity in the violence affected areas. Though he puts forward his views on how to tackle the Maoist challenge, there is nothing particularly ground-breaking, which is a disappointment, given his experience at the highest echelons of governance in India. His argument in the book is that terrorism could not have raised its ugly head but for New Delhi’s short-sighted policies.

He notes that sitting in Delhi, it is easy to blame police officers functioning in a harsh and hostile environment of using excessive force. The sacrifice of police and armed forces personnel does not find a place in national consciousness and separatists exploit this weakness to the hilt.

Nandini, Sundar (2007), *Subalterns and sovereigns: An anthropological history of Bastar (1854-2006)*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Whilst primarily directed at an academic audience, this book provides conflict resolution practitioners and policymakers with useful analysis to better understand the expansion of the colonial and the post-colonial state in Bastar, an area of India with strong Maoist support. The author is a professor of sociology at the Delhi School of Economics. The book focuses on include the growing restriction of popular access to land and forest, and the changing notions of kinship and polity, which act as the matrix through which structures of resistance are defined.

The book is divided into three parts: The first section, ‘Recreated Pasts’ portrays the pre-colonial economy and polity. It dispels notions of dominant versions of history that see Bastar and other such places as untouched and isolated prior to colonialism, showing instead, the degree of social and political fluidity in the region.

The second section, ‘Rebellious Pasts’, presents accounts of both "major" and "minor" resistance to the colonising process. It throws light on the play of multiple histories, differently constructed and understood by the actors involved. The third and last section, ‘Uncertain Futures’, highlights the contradictions faced by tribal or indigenous people and society today and the processes of cultural redefinition engendered by these contradictions.

Human Rights Watch (1999), *Broken people: Caste violence against India's 'untouchables'*, New York, March.

Available at: www.hrw.org/reports/1999/india/

Whilst dated this report provides a detailed analysis through a human rights 'lens' of the precarious existence of more than one-sixth of India's population: the "untouchables" or Dalits—literally meaning "broken" people. Situated at the bottom of India's caste system, Dalits are discriminated against, denied access to land, forced to work in degrading conditions, and routinely abused at the hands of the police and of higher-caste groups that enjoy the state's protection. In what has been called India's "hidden apartheid," entire villages remain completely segregated by caste. National legislation and constitutional protections serve only to mask the social realities of discrimination and violence faced by those living below the "pollution line."

Despite the fact that the practice of "untouchability"—the imposition of social disabilities on persons by virtue of their birth in certain castes—, was abolished under India's constitution in 1950, it remains very much a part of rural India. "Untouchables" may not cross the line dividing their part of the village from that occupied by higher castes. They may not use the same wells, visit the same temples, drink from the same cups in tea stalls, or lay claim to land that is legally theirs. Dalit children are frequently made to sit in the back of classrooms, and communities as a whole are made to perform degrading rituals in the name of caste. Most Dalits continue to live in extreme poverty, without land or opportunities for better employment or education. With the exception of a minority who have benefited from India's policy of quotas in education and government jobs, Dalits are relegated to the most menial of tasks, as manual scavengers, removers of human waste and dead animals, leather workers, street sweepers, and cobblers. Dalit children make up the majority of those sold into bondage to pay off debts to upper-caste creditors.

Human Rights Watch cogently argues that Dalit women face the triple burden of caste, class, and gender. Dalit girls have been forced to become prostitutes for upper-caste patrons and village priests. Sexual abuse and other forms of violence against women are used by landlords and the police to inflict political "lessons" and crush dissent within the community. According to a Tamil Nadu state government official, the raping of Dalit women exposes the hypocrisy of the caste system as "no one practices untouchability when it comes to sex." Like other Indian women whose relatives are sought by the police, Dalit women have also been arrested and tortured in custody as a means of punishing their male relatives who are hiding from the authorities.

The plight of India's "untouchables" elicits only sporadic attention within the country. Public outrage over large-scale incidents of violence or particularly egregious examples of discrimination fades quickly, and the State is under little pressure to undertake more meaningful reforms. Laws granting Dalits special consideration for government jobs and education reach only a small percentage of those they are meant to benefit. Laws designed to ensure that Dalits enjoy equal rights and protection, are seldom enforced. Instead, police refuse to register complaints about violations of the law and rarely prosecute those responsible for abuses that range from murder and rape to exploitative labour practices and forced displacement from Dalit lands and homes.

Lacking access to mainstream political organisations and increasingly frustrated with the pace of reforms, Dalits have begun to resist subjugation and discrimination in two ways: peaceful protest and armed struggle. Particularly since the early 1990s, Dalit organisations have sought to mobilise Dalits to protest peacefully against the human rights violations suffered by their community. These movements have quickly grown in membership and visibility and have provoked a backlash from the higher-caste groups most threatened—both economically and politically—by Dalit assertiveness. Police, many of whom belong to these higher-caste groups or who enjoy their patronage, have arrested Dalit activists, including social workers and lawyers, for activity that is legal and on charges that show the police's political motivation.