

National Formulas Are Not Answers To Global Problems Times Call For An Environment And Human-Friendly Agenda

I

1. Human community has entered a new era—the era of Globalisation. Today, everyone has come to accept it as a living fact—may he be having his own conception of it.

2. However, the flip side of this unprecedented historic development has been the present ruling circles peculiar silence over its significance. The UN and other international bodies have so far remained unconcerned with this momentous event. Though they have been often taking up less significant issues for analysis and disposal. The only superpower, the US, and the other 4 veto-wielding members of the security council have interpreted globalisation in national terms.

3. Neither, there has been any serious public debate about the nature of the new era—its whys and wherefores. Nor any attempt has been made to review the balance sheet of the by-gone era of nationalism—its pluses and minuses.

4. Obviously, without a realistic reappraisal of our past and a proper understanding of our present, we are destined to commit historic blunders in the days ahead.

5. Why there has been such a crucial lapse on our rulers' part when the entire human historical experience repeatedly underlines the rationale of learning from the past and acting in accordance with the present and also when we are rightly putting forth the claim that humankind has entered a new knowledge-epoch. This human slip does not seem to be fortuous. In fact, such a discussion is, and was, not to the liking of the still dominating national hawks. A public debate on the theory and practice of nationalism and the genesis and demands of the newly emerged

global order would have brought forth the irrelevance of the national prescriptions and their protagonists to deal with the new global realities. Obviously, the survival instinct of the on-going national rulers, sensing the risk of losing their influence in the emerging global order, sounded them to twist the real issue into an abstract topic by using the 3rd millennium as an occasion to call upon the people to face the new challenges by following the old national formulas. Accordingly, the UN immediately organised a 3rd millennium summit (September, 2000) of the heads of nation-states or national government leaders to echo the national solutions to deal with the global issues. The international financial institutions (like the IMF and the WB) and the world trade organisation (WTO) also highlighted the importance of the 3rd millennium in their own nation-oriented ways without linking it with the newly emerged historical process of globalisation and its demands. Clearly, all these forces (i.e., the national rulers and the existing international organisations) want humanity to continue pursuing the old national track, while responding to the new global agenda and its problems—thus preserving the domination of the old national forces over the new global order.

II

6. Now when the human community has started moving on the global path, it is first of all necessary that it looks back on its immediate national past and sorts out what has been its positive and negative heritage from that period. Here, the following points, in our view, deserve consideration.

A

7. On the positive side, the national epoch (beginning from the last quarter of the 18th century and lasting to-date) has made a number of contributions.

8. In the scientific-technological sector, it had an unbroken record of success stories in almost all the branches of science. Beginning with Newtonian Mechanics (scientific study of motion and force) and traversing through various phases to Plank's Quantum Mechanics, it did, stage by stage, bring a new understanding to the human community.

9. In the political field, it replaced the theory of the divine right of kings to rule by the theory of the peoples right to elect the government of their choice. In practice, the liberal democracy (mainly confined to the West European countries in the beginning)

granted the people the right to vote, with each individual having one vote. In its earlier phase, the women, slaves and poor were debarred from the right to vote, but later, in the first part of the 20th century, the principle of universal franchise was accepted by all national-states. It adopted the multi-party system wherein the different parties contended among themselves, with each trying to secure the maximum number of votes and seats.

10. In the first quarter of the 20th century, when the communist democracy appeared on the scene, it opted for one-party centralised rule.

11. In the economic domain, it has brought forth two development concepts and their respective models—i.e., (a) the Liberal development concept and model and (b) the Marxian development concept and model. The former originated in the later part of the 18th century and continues to work to-date, while the latter appeared in the mid-19th century and worked from the 1st to the last quarter of the 20th century. In our view, both these development concepts and models are marked by serious weaknesses.

12. Firstly, both of them present a one-aided understanding of human nature. While the Liberal economics makes human self interest as the only human incentive in every human faculty, Marxian economics considers social interest as the be-all and end-all of every human thought and action.

Both these concepts fail to perceive that Man, having been a bio-social phenomenon, is characterised by a dual, bio-social nature, and thus always bears a 2-sided motive, personal as well as social, with one side always constituting the primary position and the second in the complementary role. In short, the Liberal economics ignores the social aspect of human nature, while the Marxian economics refuses to notice the latter's biological aspect.

Both these concepts did work in the development process of their concerned nation-states, though their respective one-sidedness did restrict their full utility.

13. Secondly, both of them provide a one-sided perception of capital (i.e., accumulated wealth used in the process of producing more wealth in various economic endeavours). The Liberal economics regards that capital or profit is primarily the outcome of capital investment, with labour and technology in the subordinating role.

In contrast, the Marxian economics holds that capital is produced only by labour. That is why the Marxian economics

often calls capital as accumulated labour or surplus labour value.

Both these concepts fail to observe that capital is a product of a 2-sided inter-action, That is, the inter-action between the nature and the human forces (bringing into being new scientific theories and technologies), on the one hand, and inter-action between different human units in society (involving the factors of labour and capital-owners), on the other.

Thus, in simple terms, capital or profit is always created by three economic factors, i.e., technology, labour and capital, with each playing the primary role at a given time, with the other two in the complementary role. For instance, in the beginning of the production process, capital occupies the first place, but later on in that very process, the role of technology and labour, in turn, continues to come in the main position.

14. Thirdly, both the Liberal and the Marxian development (signifying social welfare, prosperity, progress and justice) models offer their respective one-sided goals or aims. While the Liberal development model opts for profitability or productivity as its sole aim, the Marxian development model singles out socialisation of the means of production or the economic equity or social justice as its only goal. The sustainability of a development model demands that it should aim at a 2-sided objective, i.e., to promote the environmental factor, on the one hand, and to develop the human factor, on the other. These two factors constitute the life-line of the human society and hence they be upheld as the two top priorities of any development model. These two priorities can be well served by practising and implementing a set of 5 principles, i.e., harmony between environmental and human factors, economic equity (or social justice), productivity, democracy and transparency, in carrying forward the development process. But, both these models reject the safeguarding of environment and upholding of the democratic and transparent norms in the development process. Further, while the Liberal development model totally rejects the principle of equity or social justice, the Marxian one fully ignores that of productivity.

15. Fourthly, both, the Liberal and the Marxian development models hold one-sided opinion about the state and the market institutions respectively. Liberal development model denies assigning any significant role to the state except that of regulating a fair competition among the owners of the capital and partial competition tilted in favour of the owner of capital between capital and labour (both mental and physical) and

between sellers and buyers. It holds that market is the only medium to correct all types of social distortions and thus to bring social welfare, prosperity, progress and justice in society.

In contrast, the Marxian development model allots the central role to the state in generating social welfare, prosperity, progress and justice and refuses to give any importance to the market. In fact, both the state and the market are highly essential social institutions. While the state upholds and enforces the social vision, objective and the law pertaining to social welfare, prosperity, progress and justice, the market constitutes the principal medium of exchange in society, extremely necessary for the success of the development model.

16. Fifthly, both the Liberal and the Marxian development models project one-sided theories to attain their respective development objectives of social welfare, prosperity, progress and justice. Whereas the 'trickle down' or economic equity or social justice theory of the Liberal development model has, while increasing the wealth of the rich and the upper layer of the middle class, very much resulted in continuously increasing the inequality between the rich and the poor, the Marxian theory of the socialisation of the means of production has, while improving the living standards of the poor and the deprived, caused serious downside in the quantity and the quality of production which have gone in creating new difficulties for all sections of the people, including the weaker sections.

17. In the sphere of culture, the national culture has been characterised by more humanist values and less confrontationist tendencies than its preceding feudal culture. However, it has still been sufficiently aggressive and ruthless.

B

18. On the negative side, the national record has been so much damaging as to neutralise its entire positive contribution.

The main national fault lay in causing serious ecological imbalance by the use of anti-environmental technologies and the production of greenhouse gases. The cost of environmental destruction alone may be much more in terms of capital than the total wealth created by the whole national spectrum during its entire production process. Now the spectre of environmental degradation looks the human community in the face.

19. In the case of national politics, nationalism has polluted its party-led democracy by popularising and practising money and

power-oriented political culture which has transformed its politics into a game of opportunist politicians. Human rights violations, minority discrimination, mafiaism, crime and lawlessness, etc., have remained the normal features in almost all nation-states.

20. In the matter of national economics, it has generated unprecedented inequality between the haves and the have-nots, widespread poverty and unemployment and rapid population increase in all nation-states in general and the developing countries in particular.

21. As to the national culture, it has bred a new type of consumerist or commercial culture which magnifies the self-interest and develops the love for money and power by fair means or foul. To attain its objective of money and power, it has pursued ruthless colonialism for nearly 200 years the world over and waged two aggressive world wars in the first half of the 20th century.

22. From a perusal of the above-stated facts, it can be seen that all the grave challenges facing the present-day world—i.e., environmental degradation, over-population, inequality, poverty, unemployment, gender inequality, human rights violations, minority discrimination, mafiaism, increasing crime, lawlessness, etc.—have been a product of our outgoing national order and later bequeathed to the newly-emerged global order. Obviously, the old national order lacked the capacity to deal with them. And even today they cannot be tackled through traditional national ways.

23. If we failed to observe the real nature and the exact cause of our existing problems, we will be unable to respond to them properly. This can, and will, lead us towards the misperceiving of the true character of the newly-emerged process of globalisation.

III

24. What is globalisation and what are its demands—this is the fundamental question facing the whole human community today. And the next move of humanity is entirely linked to the solution to this question. While a realistic answer will open the way forward, a wrong one will immobilise it.

25. Simply defined, globalisation denotes a phenomenon that spreads worldwide. Applied to human society, it means that human movement has become worldwide. Since movement implies a change in space and time, it follows that there has occurred a change in human spatial (of space) and temporal (of time) position.

26. The change in temporal position is obvious from the new telecommunications, internet and electronic media systems

which have made human mental interaction possible at the speed of light. This facility has become common today. Some three decades earlier, it was available to a privileged few and before 20th century, it took months to make a mental contact.

27. The change in human spatial position is evident from the fact that humans can now travel from one place to another at the supersonic speed which was impossible some 30 years ago.

28. Obviously, the above-mentioned changes are the direct outcome of the new scientific-technological inventions. Historical experience shows that all crucial scientific-technological changes have always been followed by the corresponding social changes—transforming the whole way of human life, i.e., its way of thinking, working and organising. This can be seen from a whole series of historical facts, i.e., the emergence of nation-states with their respective democratic politics, free market economy and consumerist culture accompanying the industrial scientific-technological revolution; the appearance of feudal states with their respective feudal politics of ‘the divine right of Kings to rule’, feudal economy and feudal culture following the agricultural scientific-technological changes; the origin of tribal society linked to the science and technology of pastoralism or animal husbandry and that of clannish formation to the science and technology of hunting and food-gathering.

29. A given science and technology is the result of human inter-action with nature. From this inter-action, humans get their understanding of the various processes of nature. This understanding helps humans to appropriate the resources of nature for their personal use. So, whatever the level of human understanding of nature, such is the level of humans thinking, doing and organising in order to maximise their appropriation of nature. To make a joint human effort in the process of appropriation, humankind builds his social system—an arrangement consisting of a set of rules related to the human appropriation, working and living or, in other words, a system of mutual human inter-action within society.

IV

30. Today, globalisation too represents a given stage of the human perception of certain processes of nature, like energy, materials, space, information, biology and so on. This new level of human understanding too demands the restructuring (or updating) of the old nation-state system.

31. The restructuring of the old nation-state system involves the following main points.

(a) A clear understanding of the present world reality, i.e., a world of inter-dependent nations or a world of quasi-national and quasi-international states.

(b) The need for a clear vision, i.e., the vision of one world.

(c) The fundamental principle of 'one world vision', to put the people and the environment at the centre of global activity. Approach towards people and environment be based on scientific realism.

(d) A democratic global order: UN to be based on the democratic principle of one nation-one vote; discarding of all privileges, like veto powers; ensuring of a stable peace by discarding the politics of super-powerism or hegemonism; and resolving of all conflicts through talks.

(e) Politics: based on peoples empowerment.

(f) People and environment friendly development: characterised by a 2-sided priority—people, on the one hand, and environment, on the other—and based on the five principles of environmental sustainability, equity, productivity, democracy and transparency.

(g) Economics: oriented to peoples development and environmental promotion instead of being geared to corporate fundamentalism and state determinism.

(h) Culture: based on rational humanist thinking and democratic behaviour.

(i) Security: to be ensured in all walks of life, especially the livelihood security.

To Conclude

The only way to a social change or to set things right at any social level resides in the awakening, involving and organising of the people.

A Pro-Nature And Pro-Human Agriculture Alone Can Serve Human Community

I. General Approach

The Front firmly upholds the outlook of scientific realism as its guide to thought, action and organisation. Scientific realism studies and interprets the universe and its various phenomena on the basis of scientific facts.

Taking into account the various types of natural knowledge known to science and understood by humankind so far, it can be said that there is nothing absolute, final or deterministic in nature. Everything is under constant change, even the law of change itself or some other fundamental law of the universe, if any. Obviously, scientific and social truths go on constantly changing.

On the basis of present available facts, we can say that nature is a general process comprising of a multitude of diverse processes which are in constant inter-action with one another through alternating mutual unity and mutual struggle—giving rise to continuous partial quantitative and qualitative changes in every process and, at a critical point, leading to the transformation of every process into another process (through mutual unity or mutual struggle).

Applied to human society, scientific realism views human society as one of the processes of nature which exists and develops on the basis of two inter-connected inter-actions, i.e., between nature (denoting every natural process) and human society (expressing both its collective and individual character), on the one hand, and between different human groups as well as individuals in human society, on the other. The understanding attained through the first inter-action determines the way of human thinking, working and organising, while that from the other sorts out the human society's collective response (i.e., the

given human social system) and individual human responsibility to uphold the parameters of the given human social system.

II. Nature Of Our Social Era And Its General Problems

Human Society, in terms of its history, has passed through various historical stages (or social eras or epochs). So far, there have been, as viewed from the angle of scientific realism, 5 such historical stages (those of human herd, clan, tribe, agricultural-religious community and nation). Now, humankind has entered its 6th social era, i.e., the era of globalisation. Globalisation denotes that the human relations have become global. Just a little time back, these relations were predominantly national. Though, the nation-states are still continuing, they are (whether through realistic perception or by the compulsion of reality) forced to pursue the global path.

Globalisation today is confronted with two basic problems, i.e., (i) environmental degradation as expressed by the qualitative and the quantitative degeneration of all environmental resources, such as, air (due to increase in greenhouse gases), water, land, forests, bio-diversity, etc., and (ii) wastage of human potential as is obvious from the increasing human inequality, poverty, unemployment, old and new diseases, one-sided literacy system (which emphasises only personality-cult and neglects social sensibility), inflation, black money, corruption, crime, lawlessness etc.

III. Basic Cause Of Two Existing Global Problems

Whatever basic global problems and their by-products exist today are the products of our continuing traditional development model or models. These models have not suddenly come up today but did, as shown by facts, emerge many decades ago when the epoch of nation-states prevailed the world over and when globalisation was an abstract notion.

The nation-state system has, during its about two centuries' life-span, brought forth two development models—the Western Liberal profit oriented development model and the Marxist State-led development model. Though both of these models have contributed in the social growth of human society, yet this growth has been actually achieved at a tremendous cost, i.e., the damage in terms of environmental and human decay. And,

perhaps the total loss out-weighs the total gain.

IV. A Realistic Answer To The Existing Global Problems

The preceding facts point out and the existing global reality of the inter-dependence of nations suggests that the solution to our ongoing basic problems (i.e., environmental degradation and the wastage of human potential) rests with the restructuring of the various nation-states into a new global system. Such a system should, and can, be the one that is pro-nature and pro-human. Or, in other words, it represents a model that is geared to two top priorities—environment and humankind. The social compulsion of this model is stable peace through the just resolution of all the outstanding conflicts. Its political requirement is the peoples' empowerment and the corresponding dilution of the party-centralised political power.

The economic necessity is sustainable, equitable, productive (or profitable), democratic, and transparent economic growth. The cultural need is a realistic thinking and behaviour. Ideologically, it should uphold scientific realism.

Obviously, the development model of a global system can be the one that is pro-nature and pro-human, characterised by two top priorities (i.e., environment and humankind) and 5 principles (i.e., environmental sustainability, democracy, productivity, equity or social justice and transparency).

Programme Of the Kheti Bari And Kisan Vikas Front, Punjab

CHAPTER ONE

I. Name

The name of the organisation shall be Kheti Bari And Kisan Vikas Front, Punjab (hereafter, the Front). It is the mass organisation of all those who are directly linked to the process of agricultural production.

The, Khet Mazdoors (agricultural labourers), having many specific concerns of their own, may organise themselves separately.

By the concept of agriculture is generally implied both a science as well as industry. As a science, it signifies a theory that brings forth the practical knowledge of raising different types of crops from the soil. As an industry, it indicates an economic system of production that manages the growing of various agricultural products for the use of society and develops all such socio-economic pursuits concerned with cultivation.

Agriculture has been a very important component of the Indian economy. This is because more than 65% of the Indian population is involved in agricultural activities; the largest part of India's workforce is engaged in this sector; and it provides nearly 30% of India's national income. Eighty percent of India's land consists of small holdings in contrast to 3 or 4% of population in the developed countries with huge land-holdings.

II. Aim Of The Front

Given its adherence to a pro-nature and pro-human agriculture, the Front firmly upholds a 2-sided objective. That is, to determinedly uphold and work for the economic welfare, cultural upliftment and political empowerment of all those who are directly linked to agriculture, on the one hand, and to

resolutely stand for and indulge in the promotion of agriculture by systematically organising it on the basis of five-fold principles, i.e., sustainability, productivity, equity, democracy and transparency.

CHAPTER TWO

III. Present Situation Of Punjab Agriculture

Today the state of affairs in Punjab agriculture is highly alarming. Despite its leading and exemplary role in India's food production, Punjab agriculture today is confronted with serious difficulties.

Its productivity of rice, wheat, cotton, sugarcane, maize, etc., is declining. Its environmental factors of production, soil, water, forests, bio-diversity, etc., are getting overstrained. Its rural economy is becoming more and more inequitable. There is no scope for expansion of the area under cultivation. Most of the crop-land has come under plough. The cropping intensity has risen to a very high level. The consumption of the major agricultural inputs is much above the national level—165 kg per hectare.

In view of the growing population, the fragmentation of land-holdings has made agriculture uneconomic for the marginal and small farmers. The increase in the price of inputs and labour wages has pushed the cost of production up. Data available from 1975-76 to 1996-97 shows that the cost of cultivation of wheat is up 6 times, cotton 7 times and paddy as much as 10 times (*Tribune*, 06.08.1998, P-9). The growing cost of farming has led to increased indebtedness among the agricultural community. The total agricultural debt calculated for Punjab stands at Rs 8,200 crore. The annual interest burden of debt has been worked out at Rs 1,103 crore, i.e., about 11%, the net value of crop production. The developing unviability of the Punjab agriculture has resulted in a number of farmer suicides. Very soon (i.e., after the lifting of quantitative restrictions by New Delhi under the WTO agreement to which the former is a signatory), it is going to face a serious challenge in the realm of price and quality from the world market.

IV. Main Reason Behind The Crisis In Punjab Agriculture

The main reason underlying the Punjab agricultural crisis lies in its exclusively productivity or profit-driven agriculture which is

only one of the five essential components of a pro-nature and pro-human agricultural development model.

V. A Realistic Option For Punjab Agriculture

From the foregoing account, it logically follows that the way out for Punjab agriculture lies in following the pro-nature and pro-human agricultural development model by promoting the 3-fold interests of the Punjab agricultural community, on the one hand, and the 5-fold basis of Punjab agriculture, on the other.

(A) For Promoting The 3-Fold Interests Of The Punjab Agricultural Community

(1) Peasants Economic Welfare

To work for peasants welfare implies the taking of all those steps which could bring prosperity and happiness to all agriculturists. These are: to secure remunerative prices for all agricultural products; to provide the needed credit to the peasants on easy terms; to start an effective crop insurance scheme; to promote an integrated technology with regard to the management of all inputs—seeds, fertilisers, insecticides, water, etc.; to set up a block-wise special information service which will provide regular, timely and proper information to the agriculturists in each village about the appropriate use of new technologies and the latest trend of prices of important agricultural products in the famous markets of Punjab, India and the world; to redress rural unemployment, poverty and houselessness by the starting of agro-industry and cottage industry; to attend to the problems of marginal farmers, agricultural labour, bonded-labour and rural beggars; to cancel all debts of agricultural workers and small and middle kisans (having a unit of less than 7 acres); to abolish the Arhtiya system; to solve all peasant problems relating to the market and finance; to provide relief to the families of suicide victims and sufferers of natural calamities, crop failures and crop diversification; to prepare a flood control programme for the flood-prone, water-logged and drought-affected areas; etc.

(2) Peasants' Cultural Upliftment

To work for peasants cultural upliftment implies the taking of all those steps which could make the prevalent ideas and customs in the rural areas more humane and rational. These are:

to uphold the principle of the brotherhood of mankind and oppose all caste, communal and racial discrimination; to follow gender equality; to give equal status to female and male children; to pay respect to the elderly and special care to the children; to avoid all social evils, like drinking, gambling, drug-taking, smoking, sati, infanticide, etc.; to protect environment and undertake planting of trees at all empty places; to develop educational institutions and activities; and to give special attention to health-care and rural sanitation; etc.

(3) Peoples' Political Empowerment

To work for the peoples' political empowerment implies the taking of all those steps which could raise peoples political awareness and ensure their maximum possible involvement in the political decision making process. These are: to inform the people about the basic principles of democracy and stress the need of upholding these principles at all places and times; to awaken the people about the danger of money-cum-power based politics by presenting its negative role in the day-to-day performance of their panchayats, practical deeds of MLAs and MPs and government's agricultural and other policies; to tell the people what fundamental rights the constitution promises and what they actually get; to defend human rights and oppose every violation of these rights; to oppose corruption, favouritism, criminalisation, communalism, cheating, fraud, lawlessness, violence, etc.; to mobilise peasants to take appropriate political decisions during the electoral process in accordance with the aim and principles of the Front; to demand special status for Punjab enabling this state to make its agriculture globally competitive; etc.

(B) For Promoting The 5-Fold Basis Of Punjab Agriculture

(1) Principle Of Environmental Sustainability

To work for organising agriculture on an environmentally sustainable basis implies the taking of all those steps which could lead to the restoration of a balanced relation between environment and humankind by regenerating the present degraded environmental resources, such as, land, water and forests, and then conserving these resources in order to continue the said balance. These are: to stop the over-stressing of land and the over-using of water (an effect, according to experts, of paddy-wheat

rotation cropping pattern) by adopting the method of diversification of crops. At least, 30% of the area is now under paddy-wheat cropping. Other profitable alternative crops, like fruits, vegetables, etc., should replace rotational cropping; to substitute 1/3rd of the inorganic inputs by the organic (green or farmyard) ones or by bio-fertilizers; to develop agro-forestry, i.e., growing crops in combination with trees—ensuring both short as well as long-term returns and benefiting soil with moisture; to increase forest cover, plant trees in every vacant space and make grey areas green; to launch state-wide or district-level projects for the reclamation of waste and degraded land; to develop scientific conjunctive-use systems in the use of water, involving river, rain, ground and sewage water and to initiate sustainable integrated development strategies at the micro-level of watersheds; to initiate integrated measures for the conservation of top-soil, water, forests and other natural resources; to improve environmental protection water conservation, bio-diversity, etc.; to adopt land, water, forests and other natural resources use-policies as one of the principal goals of the grassroot level organisations and the people in the rural areas; to liquidate all past loans of peasants owning 7 acres of land (including the landless), whether related to Arhtiyas, cooperative banks or commercial banks;

To integrate and pursue in every block a sustained land-use system based on the following points:

(a) Sustainable intensification: prime lands can be subjected to intensive farming only if the health of the soil permits or if proper attention is paid to all soil's health.

(b) Restoration areas: degraded lands be restored to good health through appropriate wasteland development schemes.

(c) Conservation areas: forest and other areas rich in bio-diversity should be maintained for their pristine purity.

(2) Principle Of Productivity

To work for organising agriculture on a productive basis implies the taking of all those steps which could bring a continuous growth in the rate of production and improvement in the quality of product. These are: to put the thrust on the creation and use of new sustainable technologies and inputs and spread and disseminate their knowledge in rural areas, particularly in the backward ones; to further promote integrated technology with regard to water, pest and nutrient managements for stepping up production, increasing efficiency and decreasing the production

wastes; to bring forth new technologies which help bringing productivity growth to coarse grains, pulses and seeds; to increase overall and crop-wise productivity of per unit of land, water and livestock through an effective resource and input use; to accelerate total factor productivity while conserving natural resources; to increase productivity through a better management of the agricultural process. For instance, a lot of value be added to state's annual agricultural income by stopping the post-harvest losses to fruits and vegetables by providing transport, cold-storage, market and processing units; to ensure a stable agricultural pricing policy for all main crops of the state; to enact an effective state-wide crop insurance scheme that is based on accurate estimates of risk for each crop. If the premiums are high, the small and middle farmers will not be able to afford them. To restructure the rural credit system enabling the flow of credit to agriculture and agro-industry and especially to the small and marginal farmers. In this regard, the centre should ask the banks and other lending agencies for increasing the supply of credit and investment in agriculture to 30% of their total credit and investment. To accord priority to investment and other assistance to agriculture by Punjab government; to provide adequate funds for developing infrastructure by improving transport network and upgrading storage (including cold storage) and handling facilities for food-grains, fruits and vegetables within a prescribed time to minimise post-harvest losses; to give industry status to agriculture; to complete the pending work of land reforms.

To develop agro-processing industries (big, medium and small) for value-addition to agricultural produce in and around villages. This is the most crucial matter for adopting the method of production of diverse crops in place of paddy-wheat rotational pattern in Punjab agriculture, the restoration and further development of Punjab agriculture and also for building a balanced and viable economy of Punjab. Punjab, with its food-grains surplus, is quite fit for food-processing industries of various types. It is also suited for growing most of the horticultural crops which, apart from their raw value, can be processed into various varieties of juices. This involves the creation of an adequate infrastructure for export of processed foodstuffs and fruit juices, including the availability of adequate power, setting up of cold-storages, starting of processing facilities, like packaging, canning and bottling, freezing and dehydration to attain value-addition for the food articles as well

as fruits. Fresh vegetables and fruits can be supplied even in various parts of the country, provided there is satisfactory arrangement of transport. They can also be sent to Europe through chartered flights. All this requires the dissemination of timely and proper information among the farmers. They would have to be informed about the prices of various types of fruits and vegetables prevailing in different markets in the country to enable them to choose the right selling point. Likewise, they would have to be supplied with the information about the prices of various outside markets in Europe through fax or phone. Here, the state government is required to play the desired role.

(3) Principle Of Equity

To work for organising agriculture on an equitable basis implies the taking of all those steps which could ensure a fair and reasonable treatment to everyone. These are: to develop agriculture on a productive, sustainable, equitable, democratic and transparent basis. Here, the most important task is to develop the rural human resources. Because, it is the people involved in agriculture, and they alone, who, by using natural resources and inputs of agricultural production, carry its process forward. Once the people involved in any process are awakened and motivated, any possible task can be realised. To develop the rural human resources, it is necessary to fulfil the following tasks.

A major constraint on agricultural equity and also productivity in Punjab is the continuously diminishing size of the land-holdings. This makes them incapable of producing an income to meet the average needs of an ordinary family, thus turning them non-viable.

At present, the total number of such holdings (with an area less than 4 acres) in the state is about 2/3rd of the total land-holdings. That is, 2/3rd of farmers in the state are marginal and small farmers, living on subsistence level. If agricultural workers (mostly living below the poverty line) are added to them, they all make up over 80% of the rural population in Punjab. Those owning between 5 and 7 acres of land fall under the middle category.

Given the above-stated 5 principle-based development model, it is necessary to remove this constraint in a way that, on the one hand, makes our land-holdings viable units (capable of using all modern means of production), and, on the other, safeguards the interests of the marginal and small farmers. This should, in our view, be achieved by preparing the marginal and

small and middle farmers in different regions to restructure their unviable units into three broad types of agrarian sub-structures.

(a) Private farms, with the productive capacity of 10 acres of irrigated, 2-crop land, varying according to the quality of land in different areas, may be formed by farmers having lands adjacent to one another; or even by one small or marginal farmer having his 10 acre unit formed by securing the land on contract or lease basis from the neighbouring small and marginal farmers. Such farms be given special farm subsidies on inputs used and investments made and low interest loans against mortgage of land as collateral. These units should be knitted into genuine marketing cooperatives to reduce their marketing costs and increase marketing gains.

(b) Cooperative farms, with the productive capacity of 100 acres of irrigated, 2-crop land, varying according to the quality of land in different areas may be formed by small and marginal farmers with adjoining lands. Such farms should engage themselves both in the farming as well as marketing operations. It should be legally laid down that no farmer with a unit larger than 7-acre size would be allowed to become its member for enjoying institutional benefits. Experience shows that rich farmers often become dominant in these bodies and exploit them for their own advantage. The labour for working on the cooperative farms will mainly be provided by members on hired basis. Outside labour will be employed only in special cases. Cooperative farming should be based on a new law which makes it a people-based movement and totally stops all sorts of bureaucratic interference.

(c) Contract cultivation should be promoted by the central and the state governments. By contract cultivation is meant cultivation of a specific crop by the small and marginal farmers under a contract with an industrialist (who needs a given raw material for his industry) or an exporter (who wants special quality agricultural commodities for exports) or an agro-industrial unit working in their vicinity (requiring particular agricultural products for processing). This arrangement, on the one hand, ensures the ownership and the control of small and marginal farmers over their lands, and, on the other, enables them to become nearly viable.

The underlying idea of contract cultivation is the integration of the factors of laboratory, factory, land and market. The objective is to arrange production of a given product in adequate

quantities. Farmers are identified in compact blocks, assigned contracts for areas and quantities at an agreed price and served for crucial inputs, like seed or nursery. The contract cultivation suits most to the cooperative farms and the 10 acre-irrigated farmers, formed by the small and marginal farmers. The contract cultivation can be operational in all crops, including medicinal plants, bio-diversity, agro-forestry and conservation. There are many areas where private and public sector industry can develop it. Already, sugarcane and tobacco industries in India are engaged in contract cultivation. China, Thailand and many other countries have developed industry-agriculture linkages in many of their regions. New Delhi should also try to learn from this experience and avail of it according to our own conditions.

(d) As regards the rich farm holdings, their owners should be allowed to continue with their farming operations in the usual manner.

(e) As regards the agricultural workers, their miserable conditions demand the taking of certain ameliorative measures to improve their lot. These are: fixation of a minimum wage and its strict implementation; resettlement of those landless who had earlier got lands under land reforms, like Bhoodan, Gramdan, etc., but not settled yet; vacant lands not earmarked for any public purpose should be allotted to the remaining landless who should be organised into cooperative farm groups; social security of drinking water, education and health services; implementation of a rural house site-cum-house construction scheme; each agricultural worker to be insured for Rs 50,000 with equal contribution from the concerned state and the centre; old age pension scheme for agricultural workers; etc.

The restructuring of the agrarian structure on the above lines will make the agricultural process more productive and equitable.

(4) Principle Of Democracy

To work for organising agriculture on a democratic basis implies the taking of all those steps which could bring about a system of agricultural management operated by and for the people. These are: to improve the quality of education, health services and infrastructure in rural areas; to develop the knowledge and skill of the rural masses; to better the living conditions of the agricultural workers and the marginal farmers; to provide subsidised inputs and cheap credit to the small farmers; to ensure a stable price policy, free national market,

long-term credit, expert facilities, etc., to the middle and rich farmers; to authorise the village elected committees to supervise the proper utilisation of funds earmarked and spent on their village development under various schemes—IRDP, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, Indira Awas Yojana, etc.; to fully democratise the cooperative movement by amending its bureaucratic law and changing the department's bureaucratic policy; to make women co-owners of their husbands belongings, including land, and give them 50% reservation in all elective bodies; to make every panchayat (i.e., all of its members) accountable to all of its village constituents by making the farmer liable to present his six monthly record before the electors general meeting for the latter's discussion and remarks.

(5) Principle Of Transparency

To work for organising agriculture on a democratic basis implies the taking of all those steps which could establish an agricultural system that is easily understandable, has no secrecy and open to inspection by everyone at any place and time. These are: to make all agriculture related departments and their officials accountable to the peasants, particularly in regard to providing information, and to entitle Kisans to get any information concerning agriculture related departments.

CHAPTER THREE

VI. Front's Approach Towards Other Agriculture Related Issues

As regards other agriculture related issues, the following matters need particular attention.

(A) Perspective, Agenda And Priorities Of WTO, IMF And World Bank

The first issue is the front's approach towards the international trade and financial institutions (i.e., WTO, IMF and WB).

The WTO is an organisation for regulating world trade. It works on the basis of the principle of one country-one vote.

It upholds multilateralism and consensus and discards unilateralism, protectionism and monopolisation.

The IMF and the World Bank are international financial institutions. The IMF gives loans to its member countries for tiding over their balance of payments difficulties. The World Bank

is a lending institution which provides loans to its member states for development projects. Working on the principle of financial weightage-voting, they are fully controlled by the US and other developed countries.

The main defect, in our view, of the above institutions is that their perspectives, agendas and priorities do not conform to the main concerns of the world's common people. While these institutions are oriented to free market economic philosophy, uphold money making and money makers as the engines of social growth and (as such) give top priority to wealth generation and accumulation, the world's common people want social welfare and prosperity with betterment in their day-to-day living and desire an early end to social inequality, poverty, unemployment, corruption, lawlessness, crime, environmental pollution, etc. Thus, the main focus of the two agendas (i.e., the agenda of global institutions and that of the world people) stands apart.

The central point of the money-owners' development strategy has been the chief role for the economic growth through profit-maximisation and a smaller role for human (including manual and mental labour) welfare, environmental promotion and infrastructural improvement. Obviously, the free-market philosophy over-emphasises self-interest based production (of productivity) of wealth, while giving a secondary position to its equitable distribution. That is why, the 200 year practice of the free market philosophy, party led politics, self-interest based economics and personality centred culture has, contrary to the claim of its welfare theory (i.e., percolation from the above), gone on pushing forth the process of the maximisation of wealth, on the one hand, and the increase in social inequalities (like privilege and deprivation; rich and poor; 5-stars and beggars; male-domination and female-subordination; urban and rural; etc.), on the other.

The absolutist protagonists of the state mechanism and the wholesale opponents of the market technique, i.e., left parties, a few of the human rights groups and environmental bodies, etc., present the above-said institutions as totally negative social phenomena. Their chief concern has been the removal of inequality and injustice, with little care for wealth generation. Without proposing any alternative to the existing 55 year old global institutions (joined by overwhelming number of countries, with the rest standing in the queue for joining them), they demand their total liquidation (without ever pressurising their respective countries to terminate the membership of these

institutions). Their only prescription for social justice centred growth is the national government-led development model which had since proved tragic in the former Soviet Union and other states of the erstwhile socialist camp, as well as some other countries, like India.

Our standpoint, as derived from historical experience, is that both the afore-mentioned development models—i.e., (i) the free market philosophy-based development model as now being upheld by all the developed and the overwhelming number of the developing countries, and (ii) the government-led development model as today projected by some leftist groups and their like who still dream of bringing back the 19th century patterned communist model—are one-sided. While the former makes the wealth generation as its lifeline, the latter considers an equitable distribution of wealth as the be-all and end-all of social life. The former ignores a fair distribution of social wealth, while the latter does not care for social wealth generation. Both desperately centralise political power and shirk peoples direct involvement in managing social affairs. Today, both have become irrelevant to the social demands of a global society. Their irrelevancy is, firstly, obvious from their decades long total disregard of natural environment—thus creating environmental degradation and pushing humankind to the brink of a serious danger. Individually, while the free market philosophy-led development model has created an intolerable level of poverty and unemployment in the world (thus leading to the wastage of human capital), the government-based model has failed to generate even an average rate of growth to enable its citizens to lead a normal life (thus resulting in the collapse of its own state and the disintegration of the social community).

We hold that today the only socially just and viable development model can be the one that bears a pro-nature and pro-human character. It stands for two top priorities, i.e., environment and humankind. Its social need depends on a stable peace wherein all social conflicts are resolved through a dialogue. Its politics is based on the maximum possible empowerment of the people in decision making and the corresponding dilution of the party centralised power. Its economics is concerned with a sustainable, productive, equitable, democratic and transparent development. Its culture is embedded in human and environmental values, while its ideology is guided by scientific realism.

(B) New Delhi's Lifting Of QRs

The second issue is the Front's approach towards New Delhi's lifting of quantitative restrictions on certain goods affecting agriculture. The front is of the opinion that the central government has, since 1995 (when it agreed to the lifting of QRs with WTO), failed to prepare the agricultural community, both mentally and materially, to face a very tough competition in the global market, particularly coming from the agriculture of the developed countries. The existing competitive capacity of the Indian agriculture lags far behind to face such a competition. Hence the present situation demands that the Indian agriculture and its allied activities be ensured protection from foreign competition for 5 years either through negotiating new terms with the WTO or by imposing necessary high tariff rates on agricultural imports for which the centre continues to hold necessary powers. In the meanwhile, Indian agriculture be prepared to face every type of global agricultural competition.

(C) International Institutions Tilt Towards Developed Countries

The third issue is with regard to the international institutions tilt in favour of the developed countries. Here, the main reason rests with the weaknesses within the group of the developing countries. Firstly, they follow the same free market philosophy-based development model (or the corporate-led development model) as is being upheld by the developed countries. Secondly, each developing country has its own national priority, i.e., to get maximum economic concessions from the developed countries for its own country, without caring for the unity of action among developing countries on matters relating to agriculture or any other economic issue. Thirdly, the international institutions tilt in favour of the developed countries lies in their free market philosophy-based outlook and policy.

(D) New Delhi's New Agricultural Policy

The fourth issue is the government's recently announced agricultural policy. Its principal feature is the corporatisation of agriculture. Other points include: to achieve 4% annual growth rate, introduction of contract farming, price protection to farmers, launching of national agricultural insurance scheme and dismantling of restrictions on the movement of agriculture commodities throughout the country.

Corporatisation of agriculture implies that the Indian agriculture would be run by the big business companies, each controlled by a group of tycoons. In such an undertaking, a handful of big business companies manage the whole show. In our case, these companies will either directly purchase the land or get it on lease. That is why the new agricultural policy includes contract farming as one of its essentials. The workers will do the actual farming work. And the middle class will perform the rest of the job either as an employee, agent of the company or on commercial basis. Such an agricultural policy has no need for landless workers or peasants who constitute about 25% of India's rural population. That is why there is absolutely no mention of land reforms in the proposed policy. It has no concern for marginal and small farmers who constitute about 67% of India's rural population. That is why there is nothing for transforming the marginal and small-scale farming into viable farming or for bettering the condition of the marginal and small farmers. Even it does not contain anything for the middle peasant. The rich peasant only gets the indirect assurance for price protection which too is actually meant to benefit the corporations.

Totally relying on the corporate capital, the new agricultural policy does not even refer to the creating of institutions (like agricultural market cooperative societies of agricultural cooperative financial societies), which are necessary for helping India's farming community to overcome market and financial problems.

(E) Genetically Modified Foods

The fifth issue is related to the question of genetically modified foods. There is no consensus on this matter within the scientific community. Some experts consider it as a positive development, while others regard it as harmful to humankind. The WHO has called upon its member states to carefully assess its advantageous and disadvantageous implications for human health.

(F) Gathering Storm Clouds Over India's Farm Sector

Reports from all parts of India show that things are not going well in the Indian agriculture.

To begin with, the growth rate of food-grains (the main crops of India) in 1990s has been half of what it was in 1980s. Next, a

state of stagnation has continued to prevail in this sector since 1991. Then, while 500 million people in India are under-nourished and many more vulnerable to food insecurity, there has been a cutback in domestic demand. More, there has been a fall in the prices of nearly all the agricultural commodities when the cost of production has gone up. Further, while half of India goes to bed with a quarter empty stomachs, about 53 million tonnes food-stocks are rotting in government godowns. Furthermore, the worsening situation in agriculture and the reduction in the institutional credit have intensified peasant indebtedness at the hands of private creditors (informal credit market) who charge exorbitant rates of interest. The seriousness of the agricultural debt problem is evident from the rising number of suicides among the agricultural community, especially the rich and middle farmers. Though millions of farmers are not taking this extreme step, yet their position has definitely worsened to the extent that they have mortgaged their lands and other assets and their family members are forced to do daily wage labour.

Obviously, the agriculture as an economic activity has become unproductive. Unless it is pulled out of this crisis, Indian economy will soon become unsustainable.

(G) India's Agricultural Crisis—A Product Of Its Corporate-Led Development Model

India's agricultural crisis, in general, may be briefly stated as an outcome of its present industrial corporate-led development model. This model was designed by the nation-states and grew during their 200 year rule. It gives top priority to the attainment of maximum productivity (or the highest profit) which is only one of the human priorities. It does not address to the two biggest challenges (created by it) now facing the world, i.e., the worsening environment (which can lead to the destruction of whole bio-life on our earth) and the deepening social inequality (which disrupts the social stability and cohesion in human society).

In particular, India's agricultural crisis is a product of India's inappropriate management. This is evident from the fact that, while agriculture is a state subject, its (agriculture's) basic policies are decided by Krishi Bhavan, New Delhi. Agriculture has remained under tight central control. Right from farming inputs (like seeds, fertilisers, insecticides, pesticides, diesel, etc.), the prices and supplies of which were controlled by the centre, to the minimum support price and the procurement and storage of the

produce, it is the centre that decides everything. There is little for the state government to do. The farming community has no role in the framing of agricultural policies.

Today the newly-emerged global system, in general, develops and flourishes only if it updates itself on the basis of the principles of a socially-needed new development model, i.e., an environment and human-friendly model which, with its two priorities (i.e., environment and humankind), works on the basis of 5 principles (i.e., sustainability, productivity, equity, democracy and transparency) to promote environment, on the one hand, and humankind, on the other. Such a model alone can show us the way to develop a pro-nature and pro-human agriculture.

In particular, the agricultural policy needs to be decided by the concerned state. Because Indian agriculture today requires a region-specific planning and not a centralised one in order to answer both its internal and external challenges.

Hence, given its particular features, Punjab demands a special status to handle its complicated agricultural problems.

CONSTITUTION OF THE KHETI BARI AND KISAN VIKAS FRONT, PUNJAB

I

(A) Membership of the Kheti Bari And Kisan Vikas Front, Punjab, is open to any person, irrespective of sex, religion, caste, language, social views, etc., who is of 16 years of age, accepts Front's programme, constitution and policy and pays the membership fee. Membership is renewed every year. Member has the right to resign if he so desires at any time.

(B) Members are entitled: (a) to elect Front's different bodies and its office-holders and be elected to them, (b) to participate in discussions to their respective units, (c) to send their suggestions, complaints, criticisms and appeals to the higher committees, and (d) to explain their conduct when any charge is labelled against them.

(C) Members have the duty: (a) to popularise the Front's programme and policies, (b) to implement the Front's constitution, and (c) to strive for the strengthening of its organisation.

(D) Any present organisation functioning in any part of India may affiliate itself to the Front, provided that organisation accepts the programme, constitution and policy of the Front.

II

The basic organisational principle of the Front is democracy which implies full democracy in regard to expression of opinion, criticism and self-criticism and regular reporting from top to bottom and bottom to top, on the one hand, and the observance of the standards of decent behaviour in every activity, on the other.

III

(A) The organisational structure of the Front consists of 5 layers:

(i) State committee elected after every two years by the state conference, represented by delegates elected at the conference of various districts and affiliated organisations;

(ii) District committees elected after every two years by the District Conferences with delegates coming from the Block conferences;

(iii) Block committees elected after every two years by the Block conferences with delegates coming from the Panchayat conferences;

(iv) Panchayat committees elected after every two years by the Panchayat conferences with delegates coming from the Village conferences.

(v) Village committees elected after every two years by the Village conferences comprising the entire village membership.

(Note: In urban peasant areas, a Ward committee has the status of a Panchayat committee and the Town committee that of a Block committee.)

(B) The basis of representation in the State, District, Block, Panchayat and Village conferences respectively is decided by the concerned convening committee, while the number of members of the various committees to be elected at any conference is fixed by that conference itself.

(C) The office-bearers in any committee include: President, Vice-President, Secretary, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer. The number of Vice-Presidents and Assistant Secretaries may vary according to the opinion of concerned electors; the leading functionary in any unit is its President, followed by the Secretary.

(D) (i) All units hold their respective meetings regularly. The duration between two meetings of the State, District, Block, Panchayat and Village committees is not to exceed 2, 1, 1/2, 1/4 and 1/8 months respectively.

(ii) The quorum for a normal meeting of every unit is 2/3rd, while for an emergency meeting is 1/3rd of the total strength of the concerned unit.

(iii) Matters are generally decided through a rational discussion, resulting in a consensus. The decision is taken on the majority basis only when the dissenter insists on voting.

(iv) All the organs of the Front are constituted through elections. The elections are held by show of hands, voice-vote or

secret ballot (if so demanded) for each candidate separately. The candidate getting the majority of votes is considered elected.

(v) The funds of the Front are mainly composed of the membership fee and donations from members, sympathisers and other well-wishers. These are divided in an equal ratio among the 5 organisational tiers, (i.e., 20% for each). For special campaigns or needs, funds are collected through mass and individual collections on proper receipt books under the signatures of the secretary and the treasurer. Every unit of the Front places an account of its income and expenditure before its respective conference.

(vi) Violation of the programme, constitution, policy and other decisions of the Front constitute a breach of discipline which, in its grave form, may be liable to disciplinary action by the concerned unit or the higher one. Everyone subjected to disciplinary action is given the right of defence, and, in case of conviction, the right to appeal.

(vii) The vacancies, occurring in any committee, are filled through co-option of members by the concerned committee subject to the condition that each co-option is supported by 2/3rd of its members and does not exceed 1/5th of its total membership. A special session of the Front's State conference may be called by the State committee on any important question or on a requisition from 1/3rd of State committee members or 1/3rd of District committees. Any amendment to Front's programme and constitution is made by the State conference.

Situation Of Electric Power Sector With Particular Reference To Punjab Needed An Environment And Human-Friendly Development Model, Both Government-Led And Market-Directed Development Models Have Become Irrelevant

The importance of electric power in our social life hardly needs any mentioning. Suffice it to say that it has become a compulsory common resource in almost every human activity and endeavour. Obviously, such a significant thing needs a continuous appraisal from time to time.

Looking at the present situation of the electric power sector, one finds a highly unsatisfactory picture everywhere.

(A) At the global level, while the 20% of the global population in the developed countries uses 80% of the globally produced power, the rest 80% of the world people have to pull on only the remaining 20%. The per capita availability of power in the USA is about 30 times greater than India.

(B) At the Indian level, there is a huge gap between the demand and supply of electric power. Supply (97,000 MW) is much less than demand (1,40,000 MW). There is acute power shortage in the country. Power shortage impedes the production both in industry and agriculture, besides unprecedented blackouts for the consumers. The loss to the country due to power supply works out to be around 2 to 2.5% of GDP. This year alone the power shortage is estimated to cost the economy about Rs 18,000 crores in terms of production loss. The loss would be around Rs 45,000 crores over the next 5 years and Rs 1.8 lakh crores over the next 10 years on the assumption of a 6% growth rate in GDP.

(C) As per 1998-99 figures, the cost of production was Rs 2.43 per unit, while it was sold at Rs 1.84 per unit. The transmission

and distribution losses were 22.1%, while the loss due to power theft is over 1/3rd of the total production.

Seen in the global context, the electric power is very costly in India. In some states and for certain categories of consumers, it is 5 times the international rates (Tribune, 28.01.2000, P-10). Even so, power is not regularly available and often is of uneven quality (i.e., voltage fluctuations). Obviously, this hinders the development of all sectors.

At the state level, all SEBs have become loss-making bodies. The average annual loss runs into crores of rupees. It stands around Rs 20,000 crores in these days. Taking into account such a huge loss, this vital resource has financially become unsustainable. The amount of loss differs from state to state, but every SEB is in the grip of a crisis.

(D) At the Punjab level, the government boasts of a record increase in over-all power generation during the last 52 years, with its generational capacity rising from 614 MW in 1967-68 to 5,179 MW in 1999-2000. But the position becomes quite depressing when one looks at the details.

In the generation sector, all sources of generation are working below their respective capacity and need restructuring.

In the area of transmission and distribution, the technical losses stand at about 33%, while the loss due to power theft is even higher than this figure.

The most worrisome aspect of the power sector in Punjab is that it has financially become an unviable entity at a time when this state is already on the verge of financial bankruptcy. If an immediate change is not brought about in the state of power sector, this can destabilise the whole financial structure of Punjab.

Everyone feels that there is a need for restructuring of the power sector in Punjab. But views vary on what to do and how to do it.

At the present moment, two traditional economic theories—i.e., (a) the state-led theory (public sector) and (b) the market-directed theory (private sector)—are competing with one another, with each claiming for itself as the only panacea to restore the ill-health of Punjab's power sector.

The protagonists (mainly the trade unions of engineers, employees and workers) of the state-led theory (which has formed the bed-rock of the power sector in Punjab for the past 52 years) claim that the present crisis of the power sector is the result of Punjab government's 52 year wrong power policy and the employees and the workers had nothing to do with it. Specifically,

it identifies 4 reasons for the trouble in the power sector—i.e., (a) free power to the farming sector (which takes away more than 1/5th of the total value of the available power), (b) the low tariff rates as compared with the cost of production, (c) transmission losses, and (d) the thefts in distribution. Now they are accusing the government for scheming to hand over the power sector to the private enterprise under pressure from the World Bank; for undermining the concurrent constitutional character of the power industry, without issuing any white paper or conducting an informal debate; and for issuing the Electricity Bill 2000 whose sole purpose is the dismemberment of the SEBs and stopping of the subsidies.

Despite, its above analysis, the advocates of the public sector propose the same old prescription to cure the disease. They demand that the defects of the public sector be removed and the sector be run as usual—with its ownership, control and regulation vesting in the state. They do not propose even a single structural change in the management and operation of the sector. This means that its basic defect, i.e., its political-bureaucratic nature, would continue to run havoc in the state sector as usual.

The supporters of the market-directed theory (mainly New Delhi and the corporate sector) argue that the basis of the power sector crisis in Punjab lies in the theory and practice of the state sector. Their only argument is that in order to set matters right in the power sector, the state-led control should be replaced by the market-directed model. At the moment, the market-oriented forces have acquired an edge over their rivals due to a shift in the centre's policy in favour of market philosophy. However, the recent privatisation experience of Orissa (1996-2000) and Andhra SEBs (1999-2000) shows the hollowness of the claim made by the market ideologues.

Our Union holds that, while both the market mechanism (as a medium of exchange) and the state apparatus (as a political medium) are socially imperative institutions even today, the two (i.e., the state-led and the market-directed) as development models are becoming irrelevant in the new era of globalisation and a new relevant development model is the need of our times.

As regards the two old development models, both did emerge in the era of industrial capitalism when human population organised itself in the form of sovereign nation-states. These models did work in the age of sovereign nations which was characterised by the domination of the powerful over the weak and of the rich over the poor.

Now when the world of sovereign nations has changed into a world of inter-dependent nations and when the latter world is heading towards a global human society (as a result of the new scientific-technological and social changes in human thinking, working and doing), a new set of problems and challenges faces the newly emerging world. Some of these are: the degrading environment, burgeoning population, increasing inequality, existing level of violence and unscrupulous politics (which justifies every under-hand means for getting money and power). All these problems and challenges are the product of the state-led and the market-oriented development models. Even today, the globalisation process is being managed by the US and other developed countries-controlled market-directed development model. The result is the increasing all-round inequality and poverty in the world. They are emerging not out of the process of globalisation but of the old market-directed and the state-led development models.

The main fault of the two old development models has been their monopolistic control—wielded by the ruling politicians and the serving bureaucrats in the case of government sector and by the board of directors (mainly comprising the concerned company's promoters holding block shares) in relation to private sector.

What the human society (or the world of inter-dependent nations) needs today is a fully democratic development model. Such a development model can only be a people-friendly and nature-friendly model, having a two-sided priority, i.e., the people, on the one hand, and the environment, on the other. Based on the 5 principles, i.e., sustainability, democracy, productivity, equity (social justice) and transparency, it does not fit within the frame-work of two old national models—one of which (i.e., the market-directed) makes self interest and profit as its lifeline, while the other considers power (by fair means or foul) as its sole existential purpose.

Proceeding from the above perspective and learning from the past and the present experience, we propose that the power sector in Punjab be restructured on the following lines.

(A) The PSEB be designated as Punjab Electricity Management Board, having a statutory autonomous status, with no political-administrative interference.

(B) It should be democratised by disinvesting 50% of its shares to two sections of people—i.e., 30% to consumers and 20% to its workers. The total share-capital will be in the following

order: 50% Punjab state share-capital, 30% consumers' share-capital and 20% workers share-capital.

(C) Following the financial weightage, the management board should comprise 40% state nominees, 30% share-holding consumers elected representatives, 20% share-holding workers elected representative and 10% trade unions elected representatives.

(D) Till this arrangement takes a practical shape, the present Punjab Electricity Board should undertake the following measures with immediate effect.

(i) To immediately start a dialogue with the workers and convince them by giving a solemn undertaking that the reforms will not be at their cost, that the reforms will not be foreign-driven and are based on India's social need—finally benefiting the public, the employees and the state.

(ii) To stop the free supply of power to agriculture and to ask the state government for payment of outstanding amounts and taking responsibility regarding future payments concerning the power consumption. The state may ask the centre for increasing procurement prices.

(iii) To allow 50 units free power monthly to all those falling below the poverty line.

(iv) To crack down on the power thieves and the abettors in this crime.

(v) To revise tariffs ensuring the minimum 3% rate of return on the invested capital after providing for depreciation and interest charges.

(vi) To take up the question of introducing the renewable sources of energy—i.e., solar, wind, bio-mass at the priority basis.

(vii) To get the political interference stopped altogether, particularly in postings and transfers.

(viii) To motivate workers for serving the consumers interests and upholding the cause of PSEB by increasing their productivity and efficiency.

(ix) To strengthen energy conservation and energy audit at every level.

(x) To arrange adequate investment in strengthening T and D system and reduce losses.

(xi) To negotiate with government that its loans would be returned in half-yearly instalments within a specified time.

State Of The Telecom Sector In India

Both Corporate And Government-Led Sectors Have Lost Their Validity, Needed An Environment And Human-Based Model

I

1. The Telecom Sector in India has completed 150 years of its life. Making its first appearance, in the form of telegraph technology, it has, since then, made rapid strides forward (e.g., inventions of telephone in 1876, of wireless telegraphy in 1892, satellite telephony in 1970s, internet in 1983 and the World Wide Web in 1990), developing to the present state of cellular telephony.

2. The first 97 years of its working happened to be under the British colonial regime, while the latter 53 years are related to the post-1947 native rule.

3. Taking into account its whole practice, it can be safely said that the telecom sector has, on the whole, played a positive role in the development process of India. However, its negative side too needs an appraisal in order to learn from its past weaknesses so as to avoid them in future,

4. Briefly stated, two major weaknesses have constantly characterised this sector. One has been its bureaucratic approach in viewing and dealing with things, while the other has been its selfish conduct, often expressing in corrupt practices in performing duty. Both these weaknesses have resulted in a high degree of inefficiency in the fulfilment of its declared objectives and fixed targets, on the one hand, and an unsatisfactory service to the consumers and the people, on the other.

5. Even today, the telecom sector has been the victim of inefficiency and poor public service. This can be seen from the fact that the fixed targets of 1994-Telecom Policy remain

unfulfilled to this day when the new 1999-Telecom Policy has become operational with renewed objectives and targets. The 1994-Telecom Policy laid down that the DOT would cover all the 6 lakh villages, provide the universal availability of basic telecom services to all areas and render world class services at reasonable prices. But by mid-2001, the rural telephone coverage has remained confined to only 4 lakh villages and the foreign service rates stand still higher than other countries. As regards the financial performance of the sector, it has hardly ever reached an average. As to its legal foundation, it still continues to be governed by the provisions of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885, and the Indian Wireless Act, 1933, although the telecommunications today have changed beyond recognition.

II

6. Every one feels that there is the need for reforming the Indian Telecom Sector. But the views vary on what to do and how to do it.

7. At the present moment, two traditional theories (which have remained dominant under various nation-states)—i.e., (a) the government-led (so-called public sector) theory, and (b) the corporate-directed (called the private sector) theory—are competing with one another with each claiming to be the only panacea to revitalise the inefficient telecom sector.

8. The protagonists (mainly the trade unions of engineers, employees and workers) of the government-owned sector (which had remained the only model of the telecom sector throughout its existence) claim that all the weaknesses of this sector are an outcome of the department's various wrong policies and the workers had nothing to do with them. Specifically, they ascribe different reasons to varying policy stages. Now they are accusing the government for scheming to hand over the telecom sector to the private enterprise under pressure from the US, the World Bank and the IMF for undermining the national importance of this sector without any consultation with its workers.

9. However, despite their above-stated critical arguments, the advocates of the government-sector propose the same old prescriptions to cure the disease. They demand that the malfunctioning of the government sector be rectified by running it as usual—with its ownership, control and regulation vesting in the government. They do not propose even a single change in the approach, management and functioning of this sector. This

means that its basic defect, i.e., its political-bureaucratic nature and its (i.e., political bureaucratic nature's) resultant policies, would continue to run havoc in the telecom sector.

10. The supporters of the corporate-directed theory (mainly the Indian government and the corporate houses) argue that the basis of the telecom sector's weakness lies in the theory and practice of the government sector. Their only argument is that, in order to set matters right in the telecom sector, the government-led control be replaced by the corporate-directed establishment. At the moment, the corporate forces have acquired an edge over their rivals due to a shift in the centre's policy in favour of the corporate philosophy. However, the recent corporatisation (also called the privatisation) experience of the power sector in Bombay (i.e., Enron), Andhra and Orissa show the hollowness of the claim made by the corporate crusaders.

11. Our Union holds that both the government-led and the corporate-directed development models are becoming irrelevant in the new era of globalisation and a new relevant development model is the need of our times.

12. As regards the two traditional development models, both did emerge in the era of industrial capitalism when humankind organised itself in the form of various sovereign nations which were characterised by the norm of the domination of the powerful over the weak and of the rich over the poor.

13. The historical experience of the nation-states shows that their respective corporate-directed and government-led development models had, while making a number of specific scientific-technological and social contributions, also done a great harm to humankind. By causing a grave ecological imbalance through the use of anti-environment technologies and the unprecedented production of greenhouse gases, they had created a serious threat to the entire bio-life on this planet. In the social domain, they had generated unprecedented inequality between the privileged few and the overwhelming deprived masses by bringing in widespread poverty and unemployment, particularly in the developing countries.

14. The unviability of the government-led sector can be seen from the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the discarding of this model by the erstwhile socialist countries in the world. The ineffectiveness of the corporate sector can also be seen from the continuously rising graph of inequality, poverty, hunger, unemployment, houselessness and, above all, the continuing

unsustainable crisis (now occurring, hither and then thither) of the corporate model the world over.

The increasing demand and role of the community (or public) control or management over the environmental and human issues shows the direction in which the human society is heading.

The corporate sector's newly-adopted stance of the philosophy of social accountability and ethical behaviour too reflects the unworkability of the corporate sector's fundamental theory of Laissez-Faire, which despises every social consideration in the economic development process (whose sole purpose is to maximise profit).

15. Now when the world of sovereign nations has changed into a world of inter-dependent nations and when the newly-emerged world needs to organise itself as a single human society on the planet earth (as a result of the new science and technology and their consequent social changes in the human thinking, working and doing), a new set of problems and challenges faces the inter-dependent nations. Some of these are: the degrading environment, burgeoning population, increasing inequality, growing level of violence and crime, an unscrupulous and mafia-based politics (whose only aim is money-making and power-grabbing). All these problems and challenges are the products of the government-led and the corporate-directed development models. Even today, the globalisation process is being managed by the US and the other developed countries-controlled corporate-directed development model, with the developing countries forming its (i.e., the corporate model's) appendage. The result has been the increasing all round inequality and its offshoots, the unemployment, poverty, starvation, etc. It is a great lie and deception to say that the foregoing social evils are emerging out of the process of globalisation. They have ever been pounding all the nation-states, having been the product of their respective government-led and the corporate-directed models. Even today they are being generated by the same national forces who still stay in dominance in the nation-states.

If we failed to observe the real nature and the exact cause of our existing problems, we will be unable to respond to them properly. This can and will, lead us towards the misperceiving of the true character off the newly-emerged process of globalisation.

16. The main fault of the two traditional development models has been their monopolistic control, wielded by the ruling

politicians and the serving bureaucrats in the case of government sector and by the same boards of directors (mainly comprising of the concerned company's promoters, holding block-shares or their descendants) in relation to the private sector.

What the human society (or the present-day world of inter-dependent nations) needs today is an environment and human-friendly development model, led by 2 priorities (i.e., environment and humankind) and based on 5 principles (i.e., environmental sustainability, democracy, productivity, equity or social justice and transparency). It does not fit within the framework of the two traditional national models—one of which (i.e., the corporate-directed) makes self-interest, profit, money and money-owners as its lifeline, while the other (i.e., government-led) considers power (by fair means or foul) as its sole existential purpose.

III

17. Proceeding from the above perspective, our union proposes that the telecom sector in India be restructured on the following lines:

(A) The BSNL be designated as the Bhartiya Sanchar Management Board, having statutory autonomous status, with no political-administrative interference in its policies and working.

(B) It should be de-monopolised by disinvesting one-half of its shares to the general public (including the telecom employees and workers), with half shares remaining with government.

(C) It should be de-monopolised by co-opting labour in the management process by giving it 1/3rd representation (elected by both the blue and white collar workers) in the Management Board (with its members having the same rights as enjoyed by the members coming from the government side and the ordinary share-holders). Thus the management board's membership should comprise: 1/3rd government representatives, 1/3rd representatives of the share-holders and 1/3rd coming from the labour, the biggest stake-holder in the telecom sector.

(D) The Management Board should conscientiously observe the below-noted principles during the process of decision-making and practical-organisational work.

(i) To stop any anti-environmental technology and activity now prevalent in the telecom sector.

(ii) To establish the public control over the capital by ending its monopolistic control by the government or the corporate sector.

(iii) To develop the human resources by raising their mental and physical competencies.

(iv) To bind the Management Board to get its decisions and policies approved by the yearly general meetings of the shareholders and the employees.

(v) To make its decisions and actions transparent and open.

(vi) To try to reduce the economic disparity between the high and low salaries (including all perks), with the maximum limit not exceeding 1:7.

(vii) Our Union is of the opinion that the HQ should organise a discussion within the federation of telecom employees on the following facts in order to enhance our collective understanding about the social reality and its demands.

* The basic reason behind the weakening of the labour movement or its various trade unions in the world and each country.

* The nature of the new era that had emerged after the end of cold war.

* Is our old strategy of social development and labour welfare movement workable in the new era or a new strategy is required?

Basic Declaration Of The Front For Trilateral Resolution Of JK Problem Problem's Evolutionary Process And Its Future

I

Everything (or process) which emerges, exists or develops in the universe gets resolved in its given course of evolution. Nothing is insoluble, however impossible or intractable it may look at a specific moment. Similar is the case with Jammu-Kashmir (JK) Problem. However, every problem, whether natural or human, gets settled (whether positively or negatively) on the basis of its evolutionary process, comprising four basic ingredients. That is, (a) the quality of its species (or cause of its origin, or existential distinction or source of its beginning, parentage, etc.), (b) its past growth, (c) its present state, and (d) future direction. In human society, experimental knowledge reveals that, given a realistic approach and relevant handling, even a negative development can be transformed into a positive one through a change in the then existing balance of forces.

II

Proceeding from the above premise, it is highly essential that, in order to sort out a humanly positive solution to JK problem, we should try to find out its four evolutionary features, i.e., its species particularity, past growth, present state and future direction.

A

Turning to the question of JK problem's species' quality, its human particularity demands that JK people should always give top priority to human and environmental interests. In this two-sided priority, the human aspect at the present juncture occupies the first place.

B

Taking up the question of JK problem's past growth (1947-1989), it consists of three features. Firstly, the ideological cause of JK problem's origin rests with the two sectarian and chauvinistic nationalist concepts—Gandhian majoritarian (or liberal *Hindutva*) nationalism and Muslim League's pan-Islamic (or Muslim fundamentalist) nationalism—each of which harmed the cause of Indian peoples national and territorial unity. Both these varieties of nationalism represented the interests of the colonial and dominant sections of Indian society and not of its people.

Secondly, the socio-political cause of JK problem's beginning lies in the 1947-partition of India into two parts, India and Pakistan. This partition constitutes the starting point of Indo-Pak contention and confrontation in all walks of life.

Thirdly, both India and Pakistan maltreated the people of the part of JK state under their respective control. India's so-called secularism was at its worst in Kashmir valley where its undemocratic and unjust practice, first, totally alienated the Kashmiris and then, following its repressive and coercive measures, generated the Kashmiri militant movement which, devoid of any human perspective, sometimes deviates to Muslim fundamentalism, sometimes to secular Kashmiriat and sometimes to US modelled independence. Pakistan did no better with the JK people on its side. But it did this under the signboard of Islam and so was saved from a violent mass reaction.

C

Coming to the present state of JK problem (1989-2000), it reveals the development of a highly dangerous situation in JK. On the one hand, a deadly confrontation has been going on in JK for the last 11 years between militancy and the Indian security forces, and, on the other, a surcharged atmosphere remains on JK's Line of Control which has been occasionally turning into exchange of fire between the Indian and the Pakistani army. This eleven year old troublesome state of affairs has brought forth many lessons not only for JK residents and the Indian and the Pakistani nations but also the world people.

(i) The chief lesson is that the gun cannot be a proper and lasting solution to any problem in the contemporary world. The shattering of India's boast that it will not talk to the militants unless they lay down their arms; the recent declaration of its unilateral ceasefire; the outgoing and the incoming Indian army chieftains' statements

that the army can only contain but not eliminate the militancy and that JK problem has to be got resolved through a political solution; the miserable about-turn of the Pakistani regime from its Kargil misadventure; Musharraf's one-year persistent appeal to New Delhi for the resumption of stalled Indo-Pak dialogue and Musharraf and other Pakistani generals' statements that Pak is no match with India militarily; and the newly-generated overwhelming desire of the Kashmiri people (including the Kashmiri militants) for a genuine and honourable peace—provide an irrefutable evidence of a shift in their respective military perceptions. True, their respective chauvinistic nationalisms and their respective military-oriented states still remain mired in confrontationist and conflictual politics.

(ii) The second lesson is that, given the present world balance of forces, no one (including the UN) is in a position to impose its decision (however relevant it may be) on India and even Pakistan or JK people. It has not been even able to make China accept the reasonable demand of Dalai Lama for a dialogue on the Tibetan autonomy under the Chinese sovereignty.

(iii) The third lesson is that JK problem cannot be wished away by sleeping over its central issue. The passage of time has not made it obsolete. It has only complicated the matters further. No unilateral solution, e.g., India's option of turning the present LOC into an international border, Pakistani agenda of making JK as a constituent unit of Pakistan, Kashmir's overwhelming desire for independence and Jammu's upper sections demand for a trifurcation solution to JK problem within India or any other unilateral or bilateral proposal can be a viable and rational solution to JK problem.

(iv) The fourth lesson is that 53 year endless Indo-Pak confrontation, interceded by three Indo-Pak wars, had produced very damaging results not only for the people of India, Pakistan and JK, but also those of the South Asian region. This is obvious from the fact that the South Asian people today remain the poorest lot of the present-day world. This confrontationist path has even proved counter-productive to the world as well.

(v) The fifth lesson is that only a joint Indo-Pak and JK agenda of peace, cooperation and friendship can benefit their respective people, nay even those of the whole world.

D

Looking at the future direction of JK problem, it is highly essential to proceed from the realities of its 3-dimensional process.

That is, (i) the dimension of its past experience which shows the futility of military solution, (ii) The dimension of its present state which demonstrates the possibility and effectiveness of dialogue and discussion as a medium to resolve all contentious issues, whether old or new, and (iii) The dimension of its future direction which is observable from the new global reality of the inter-dependence of nations, the declining trend of inter-county disputes, the rising general tendency of cooperation and friendship among various nations of the world and continuously emerging regional trade zones ensuring free movement of capital, goods, labour, etc., and the formation of ethno-regional communities on humanistic-environmental basis, like the European Community.

This 3-dimensional view suggests that a realistic, fair and logical way out for the JK problem lies in harmonising the aspirations and interests of its three parties concerned and that no unilateral or bilateral method favourable to one side or the other can be a relevant and proper option.

III

In our view, the following 3 point formula provides a realistic, viable, fair and rational basis for satisfying the urges of the three parties involved in JK dispute, i.e., India, Pakistan and JK people.

(i) The respective national aspirations and interests of India and Pakistan be balanced by jointly entrusting to them JK's sovereignty in the constitutional form of Indo-Pak Condominium over JK's defence and foreign affairs.

(ii) The regional aspirations and interests of JK people, especially the Kashmiris be met by constitutionally accepting JK as an independent federal state, with its sovereignty, except defence and foreign affairs, vesting in the JK people.

(iii) The ethnic aspirations and the interests of JK's different ethno-regional communities be accommodated by giving maximum possible constitutional autonomy to each of them.

Apart from satisfying the urges of the three concerned parties, the above formula further delivers to them as well as the world community in many other ways.

It suits the world community by defusing the most dangerous global flash-point.

It benefits the South Asian community by removing the blockade to the development of its free trade market.

It further serves India, Pakistan and JK people by making them

equal partners in economic development in which each India and Pakistan provides an equal amount of finance, while JK state contributes its share in the form of natural resources. Also, JK people get additional advantages by virtue of their becoming the citizens of two countries and obtaining the facility of trading with them.

Further a peaceful road to JK problem necessitates that, while seeking a political solution to JK problem, we should also demand the restoration of a normal atmosphere in the state, on the one hand, and the reduction in Indo-Pak tension, on the other.

Here, public pressure should be built for the adoption of the following measures which can help ease tensions and create a feeling of involvement among the masses in the peace process.

- (a) The restoration of the stalled Indo-Pak dialogue.
- (b) The release of all those who have been detained without any charge for years together.
- (c) An Indo-Pak declaration that they would resolve JK problem through peaceful means.
- (d) The acceptability of the trilateral nature of JK problem by India.
- (e) An early conclusion of Siachen, Wular Barrage and Sir Creek agreements by India and Pakistan.
- (f) Working out of a viable ceasefire in JK.
- (g) Disengagement of Indo-Pak forces on the LOC by withdrawing the forces of each country one kilometre behind the said line.
- (h) Patrolling of the disengaged area by the joint forces of the two countries.
- (i) To work for strengthening the political and emotional unity of the state.
- (j) And, above all, to tell and convince the people that the future of India, Pakistan and JK people lies together.
- (k) Establishment of joint Indo-Pak friendship parks and trade centres at selected places in the disengaged area.
- (l) Power supply by Pakistan to the valley at reasonable rates.
- (m) Training and scholarship facilities to about 100 students from the Pakistani part of JK by India in its technological institutions, especially the IT sector.

IV

Proceeding from the afore-mentioned facts, it naturally follows that, in order to facilitate and stabilise the movement towards the

peaceful resolution of JK problem, a 2-sided fundamental task be immediately fulfilled. That is, to evolve a consensus based political solution to JK problem among all the political forces in JK, on the one hand, and to awaken and mobilise JK people, on the other. This necessitates the taking of the following steps:

The process of the evolving of a consensus based political solution to JK Problem will require an inter-party and inter-ethnic dialogue at the state-level (including JK's two divided parts), while the process of awakening and mobilising JK people will demand the raising of peoples consciousness about a practicable and judicious solution to JK problem and an active public involvement in mass activity. Also, this will necessitate the mobilising of the sympathy and support of all peace-loving and rational people in India, Pakistan and the world in favour of an appropriate solution to JK Problem. November, 2000

Tripartite Dialogue—A Realistic Way To Solve JK Problem; Tripartite Solution—The Most Appropriate Answer To JK Problem; Shared Development—The Only Future of JK, Pak And India

I. JK Problem

1. Hardly anyone can contend the fact that JK problem constitutes one of the most intricate questions facing the world today. This is obvious from its 3-dimensional disposition. One, it is this problem that has brought total disorder and complete instability in the state. Next, it is this problem that is today (and has for decades) been setting up the respective confrontationist agendas of India and Pakistan, thus throttling the stability and development of not only these two countries, but the entire South Asian region (involving the fate of 1,300 million people). Again, it is this question that has, after acquiring a nuclear dimension, become a highly complex and intractable flash point before the international community, thus posing the biggest threat to world peace and security. Today, the whole world including the UN (comprising 186 nations), accepts JK problem as a dangerous challenge.

2. Given the threatening posture of JK problem, it is necessary to attend to the three phases—i.e., past, present and future—of its evolutionary process in order to assess its real nature and then proceed towards its realistic resolution.

II. What Are The Historical Lessons Of JK Problem

The 53 year long JK Problem provides us the following main lessons.

Firstly, JK problem has been a product of the 1947-partition of colonial India into two new states—i.e., Bharat and Pakistan. The partition itself was an outcome contention between the two communally oriented national theories, i.e., the Congress-led majoritarian nationalism (or, in other words, liberal Hindu nationalism) and the Muslim League directed pan-Islamic nationalism.

Secondly, a communal-confrontationist approach (a product of the Middle Ages) has become thoroughly irrelevant in our times. It first lost its rigour in the epoch of nationalism and then became totally unproductive in the newly emerged era of globalisation. This fact is confirmed by the practice of the two respective Indo-Pak nationalisms which have turned their two countries into one of the most violence-prone, backward, and unstable regions of the world respectively.

Thirdly, the 53 year old politics of Indo-Pak confrontation had produced highly damaging results for all concerned, i.e., people of JK, Pakistan and India. This record is so disgusting that not even its political managers in the two countries can justify it by any standard. Both India and Pakistan remain among the highly poorest countries of the world. The respective criminalisation of their politics and their involvement in unending series of scams show that those holding power in these two countries are engaged only in a 2-sided pursuit of power grabbing and moneymaking.

Fourthly, JK problem cannot be wished away by sleeping it over. The passage of time had not made it obsolete. It has only complicated the issue further. The Indian constitutional decree that JK is an integral constituent of the Indian Union and the Indian parliament's 1994-unanimous resolution that JK is, and was, an inalienable part of India and that Pakistan is only an aggressor who has forcibly occupied some of the JK part of India and the Pakistani national stand that JK remains an unfinished agenda of the 1947-partition—all make a realistic solution to JK problem more difficult.

Fifthly, JK has become a sine-qua-non for both India and Pakistan. For India, it is a symbol to prove the validity of its secularism, while for Pakistan, it is a means to demonstrate the truth of its two nation theory.

Sixthly, both India and Pakistan lack realism in dealing with the problem. With their pre-set 1947-mindsets, both seek to sort out the problem on their own respective terms. Each offers nothing except surrender terms to the other. Pakistan insists on self-

determination or plebiscite, knowing full well that India cannot accept a proposal which entails JK's secession from India. The latter offers status quo based on force. This is not acceptable to Pakistan which already controls 1/3rd of JK State.

III. How Do Matters Stand At The Present Phase Of JK Problem

The ongoing situation of JK problem may be summarised as follows:

(A) On JK Level

The ground reality is dominated by a deadly contest between the Kashmiri militancy (supported by Pakistan based Jehadi groups), on the one hand, and the Indian state counter-militancy, on the other. The peoples sufferings and miseries, particularly of those in Kashmir valley, know no bounds. Common person's lot has become still worse. On an average, about ten human lives (taking into account the loss on both contending sides) are daily being finished with utter ferocity from either side. Custodial killings, raping of women, atrocities in interrogation centres, beatings and abusing of ordinary citizens, burning of citizens' houses, and other buildings, mass searches and cordons, etc., have become routine matters. So far, about 70,000 people, mostly Kashmiris, are, according to the pro-militancy sources, said to have been killed in this holocaust. The official figures put the loss around 30,000 human lives. Despite New Delhi's unilateral ceasefire, JK stands as the most violence prone area in the world today.

The political scene is marked by general confusion. APHC has yet to spell out what type of future it wants for JK (i.e., its future vision of JK). Its three demands—self-determination, plebiscite and trilateralism—are only means towards certain unpredictable ends. They do not signify any clear-cut goal respectively. NC wants a limited accession with India on the basis of pre-1953 accords between New Delhi and JK government. The Congress, BJP and the Leftists go on speaking in varying tones on different occasions. The state government lacks credibility and stands isolated.

In the ethno-regional sphere, each of the 8 or 9 identities has its own aspirations and urges.

(B) On The Sub-Continental Scale

The situation is no less perplexing. While more and more people in India and Pakistan are awakening to the social need of

the normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan, New Delhi and Islamabad are still stuck to their respective traditional cold war logic. While there is an increasing realisation among the Indo-Pak masses that they have suffered a great deal by the 53 year long unremitting hostility between the two countries, New Delhi and Islamabad have failed to update their respective iron-fist approaches. While both the Indian and the Pakistani military chiefs and other experts have now publicly acknowledged that, in our era, the war has lost its relevance in the solution of contentious issues and that neither of these two countries can win the war and get JK problem or any other issue settled on its terms, New Delhi and Islamabad regimes still go on their respective conflictual paths and shun the peaceful route.

(C) On The International Plane

The international community (comprising the people of all the countries in the world) acknowledges JK problem as a political dispute; considers it as the most dangerous flashpoint of the world; wants its peaceful solution through negotiations between India and Pakistan along with the involvement of JK people (the third affected party in JK dispute, according to the world public opinion); and desires the immediate resumption of talks between the parties concerned.

IV. Where Humanity Is Heading Today

This is the most important question that needs to be studied by all those who want to resolve JK problem on a realistic basis. Because, such a study shows us the direction which the human society is likely to take.

The message, which the ongoing trends communicate, is that something new has emerged in the present-day world. This is obvious from the fact that the traditional oppressive ideas, like the domination of might over right, of the strong over the weak, the male over the female, the rich over the poor, the corrupt over the honest, the majority over the minority and so on, have been losing their social hold, while the just ideas, like equality, social justice, human rights, poverty elimination, right to employment, gender equality, peoples empowerment and even the rights of animal and plant life, etc., have been step by step gaining mass ground. Accordingly, the traditional ideas are becoming redundant and the new ones are substituting them in the official agendas of the UN and other state governments. All these

alterations in human behaviour are the outcome of a basic transformation. And, that is, humankind has got changed. He has become global instead of having been a national. From a member of a sovereign nation-state, he has become inter-dependent with persons of other nations. That is, the national reality has become subservient to the international reality.

Speaking in social terms, the human world has become global. It is heading towards becoming a world human society to be managed from one international centre. Obviously, such a society cannot develop on the basis of old social norms. It can only develop in terms of more humane and more just social values. It does not require conflict and confrontation to develop its politics, economy and culture. Instead, it needs cooperation, friendship, peace, equality and justice to restructure its new development model.

From the foregoing account of our new era, it follows that a realistic path to the resolving of a conflict today lies in dialogue and negotiations, an appropriate solution rests with reconciling the interests of all the parties concerned and their future resides in shared development. It calls upon us to accord with our times and not lag behind them.

V. Where Does JK Go From Here

The international spirit of our times demands that the proper way to an appropriate resolution to JK problem, as desired by, the international community, lies in harmonising the varying approaches and the respective interests of the three parties concerned. This implies that all the parties concerned to JK problem—i.e., JK, Pak and India—should, if they are committed to human community, prepare, themselves for a dilution in their respective stand-points on JK. All the three parties will have to give up something and step a little back. India should get ready to accept something less than its present position in JK. In the same way, Pak should be prepared to agree to something other than a plebiscite or self-determination and JK people, particularly the Kashmiris, should be agreeable to adjust their respective interests to those of the respective national interests of India and Pakistan. Only the moulding of a realistic mindset by this trio can lead to the conclusion of a just, rational and viable JK solution. Such a mindset and a realistic solution emerge only when we, while learning from the past, start from the present and proceed towards the future.

From the above account, it follows that a realistic way to solve JK problem lies in tripartite dialogue, the most appropriate answer to JK problem rests with tripartite solution and the future of JK, Pak and India resides in shared-development.

In our view, the following three point formula provides a realistic, viable and rational basis for satisfying the urges of the three parties involved in JK dispute, i.e., India, Pakistan and JK people.

The respective national aspirations and interests of India and Pakistan be balanced by jointly entrusting to them JK's sovereignty in the constitutional form of Indo-Pak Condominium over JK's defence and foreign affairs.

The regional aspirations and interests of JK people, especially the Kashmiris, be, met by constitutionally accepting JK as an independent state, with its sovereignty vesting in the Indo-Pak Condominium.

The ethnic aspirations and the interests of JK's different ethno-regional communities be accommodated by giving maximum possible constitutional autonomy to each of them. The JK state level matters may include: the head of the state, high court, election commission, human development commission, environmental commission, planning commission, etc.

Apart from satisfying the urges of the three concerned parties, the above formula further delivers to them as well as the world community in many other ways.

It suits the world community by defusing one of the most dangerous global flash points.

It benefits the South Asian community by removing the blockade to the development of its common market.

It further serves India, Pakistan and JK people by making them equal partners in economic development in which each India and Pakistan provides an equal amount of finance, while JK state contributes its share in the form of natural resources. Also, JK people get additional advantages by virtue of their becoming the citizens of two countries and obtaining the facility of trading with them.

In sum, the Indo-Pak Condominium represents a social model that ensures a common future for India, Pakistan and JK people; treats JK as a trilateral question; safeguards the respective national honour of both India and Pakistan and reconciles their national interests; harmonises the concerns of JK people with those of the Indian and the Pakistani people; gives due consideration to the desires and the interests of ethno-regional

identities in JK; strives for bringing India, Pakistan and JK people closer; strengthens the unity of SAARC; and consolidates the state of peace and stability in the world. It will be a new experiment of a global oriented development model, showing how the divergent national interests of various nations be reconciled and the different aspirations and, concerns of various ethnicities be harmonised.

VI. Major Responsibility Of JK People

To start and carry forward the process of resolving JK problem, a major responsibility falls on the shoulders of JK people. This demands the fulfilment of a 2-sided task. That is, to evolve a consensus-based solution to JK problem, on the one hand, and to awaken and mobilise JK people, on the other. This necessitates the taking of the following steps. That is, the issue of evolving a consensus-based solution to JK problem will require an inter-party and inter-ethnic dialogue at the state level (including JK's two divided parts), while that of awakening and mobilising JK people will need the raising of people's consciousness about a practicable and ludicrous solution to JK problem and an active public involvement in mass activity. Also, this will necessitate the mobilising of the sympathy and support of all peace-loving and rational people in India, Pakistan and the world in favour of an appropriate solution to JK problem.

VII. Some Old Dispute Management Models In The World

The world also provides some experience of conflict resolution between countries. And there exist a number of dispute-management models in the present world. Some of these are (1) Aaland Islands model—established under an agreement (1921) between Finland and Sweden by which Finland possesses the right of sovereignty, while the ethnic Swedish population enjoys the autonomy to manage its own affairs. (2) South Tyrol model—established under an agreement (1946, 1969) between Austria and Italy by which Italy possesses the right of sovereignty, while the ethnic German population manages its own affairs. (3) Triest model—established under an agreement (1954) between Yugoslavia and Italy by which the Italian part of Triest freely interacts in trade and travel with the part under Yugoslavia. And (4) Northern Ireland model—an agreement (1998) between England and Ireland, by which Northern Ireland

will, after a specific period, express its opinion whether it is to join the Irish Republic or continue the status quo.

Under the first three old models, the state in possession of the given territory remains the legal sovereign, while concluding a bilateral agreement with the disputant neighbouring state to grant a quantum of autonomy to the ethnic people in the concerned territory. Following this sample, both India and Pakistan can, under a UN guarantee, conclude an agreement which recognises their individual sovereignty over that part of JK which has been, and is, under their respective control, ensures full autonomy to the people (minus defence and foreign affairs) in each part and acknowledges the LOAC as international border.

However, compared to this old pattern of countrywide national sovereignty, the new Indo-Pak Condominium model of collective sovereignty well serves the JK and other South Asian people as well as the emerging global order by keeping JK as a single democratic unit and by bringing India and Pakistan closer together.

14-03-2001

(An open letter to Sh. K.C. Pant, India's Chief Negotiator on JK, by the Front For The Trilateral Resolution Of JK Problem)

World's General Trend Points Out A Common Future Of India, Pakistan And JK People

I. Why This Open Letter

1. The Front For The Trilateral Resolution of JK Problem (hereafter the Front) is addressing this open letter to you on 5 counts.

2. One is that you have not deemed it worthwhile to seek its (i.e., the Front's) views on JK problem.

3. The other is that the three parties related to JK problem (i.e., India, Pakistan and JK people) are characterised by their respective perceptual confusions which have often been obvious from their sayings and doings. Just look at the case of India. The Indian constitution (Articles 1 and 370) defines the state of Jammu-Kashmir as an integral part of the Indian Union, while the 1972-Simla Pact describes JK as a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan. Similarly, while, the 15th December 1994-unanimous resolution of the Indian Parliament declares JK as an inseparable part of India, the 1998-Lahore Declaration signed by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan categorises JK as an unresolved issue between the two countries concerned.

This confusion is quite obvious from New Delhi's various initiatives and responses on JK problem. For instance, New Delhi's repeated announcements not to hold talks on JK with any party outside of the Indian constitutional framework and its unconditional dialogue with the Hizb-e-Mujahideen last year and its recently appointed Pant Commission's terms of reference ensuring unrestricted exchange of views; its continuous statements not to enter into discussion with armed groups until they lay down their arms and its latest offer to militants for discussion without any

limitation; its two latest peace initiatives—i.e., the unilateral ceasefire and the appointment of an interlocutor on JK—alongside its refusal to have an unconditional dialogue with Pakistan, denying permission to APHC to visit Pakistan and continuation of its old policies of suppression in JK; and so on.

Similar has been the position of Pakistan. On the one hand, it qualifies JK as an unfinished agenda of the partition (which means that JK, having been a Muslim majority state, is, and has been, a fit case to be a part of Pakistan on the basis of communal divide) and, on the other, outlines it as a Kashmiri question or an issue of JK people. More, on the one hand, it demands the resolution of JK issue on the basis of UN resolutions, and on the other, opts sometimes for the bilateral and sometimes for the trilateral option. On many occasions, it emphasises 3rd party mediation as the way out. Further, on the one hand, it calls upon India to give JK people the right to decide their own future and, on the other, constitutionalises the citizens of Azad Kashmir as Pakistanis. And so on. APHC—the main representative body of the Kashmiris—sometimes asks for the right of self-determination and sometimes stresses JK's trilateral solution.

4. The third point is that the Front has a specific goal, a new type of JK solution which adjusts the aspirations of the three parties concerned. It is quite different from all traditional options, each of which sides with the interests of one or the other of the contestants in JK problem. These are: (a) all those choices which favour either India, such as accession with India, division of JK on the LOC, restoration of the pre-1953 autonomy, trifurcation of JK, etc; (b) or prefer Pakistan, like becoming a part of Pakistan, (c) or represents the urges of one or the other JK ethnic groups, as JKLF's demand of establishing the pre-1947 JK state as an independent country, the US study group's plan of an autonomous greater Kashmir, consisting of the valley and the districts of Poonch, Rajouri & Doda, under Indian sovereignty, while Azad Kashmir remaining with Pakistan and the districts of Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur, Ladakh and Kargil forming part of India, i.e., a communally-oriented plan.

In the process of the trilateral resolution of JK problem, the Front would give first priority to its own goal as the most appropriate solution, while always remaining open to accept any other JK solution approved jointly by the three parties involved.

5. The fourth point is that the Front stands for an exclusively peaceful path to get JK issue resolved between the three

parties concerned.

6. The fifth point is that the Front maintains as its immediate aim the mobilising of all peace-loving people in JK, India, Pakistan, South Asia and the world to help in the starting of JK peace process between the three parties related and bringing a relaxed atmosphere between India and Pakistan as well as within JK. This requires two things.

(a) The acceptability by India and Pakistan to the trilateral nature of JK problem, and (b) the taking of certain urgent integrated steps such as the starting of the trilateral talks without any pre-conditions, the demanding of a joint Indo-Pak declaration that they would resolve JK problem through peaceful means and that they would soon conclude a no-war pact between them, the appointment of joint Indo-Pak observers to maintain peace on the LOC, the establishment of a peaceful atmosphere at the ground level in the state by arriving at a meaningful ceasefire agreement between the representatives of India, Pakistan and the militants. It should include the sending of Indian security forces back to their barracks and holding the militant's gun back. It should be for a fixed duration, say 3 months, and then be continuously extended from time to time. The conclusion of a ceasefire agreement be followed by the releasing of all political detainees or prisoners, including the militants and the appointment of a joint agreed commission to investigate into the complaints of human rights violations by the three sides and to recommend proper compensation to all the victimized families. The compensation funds should be contributed both by India and Pakistan respectively in connection with the cases related to them. Militant liability should be jointly paid by both India and Pakistan.

7. The Front's integrated understanding of JK problem—i.e., its perception, perspective and solution—can be viewed from the following facts.

II. Front's Perception Of JK Problem

8. As regards the Front's perception of JK problem, it comprises the following characteristics.

9. First, the whole of pre-1947 JK State remains an unsettled problem.

10. Second, this problem bears a trilateral character, involving three parties, i.e., India, Pakistan and the people of JK and entailing a trilateral path to delivery.

11. Third, the basic cause of JK problem did lie in the 1947-partition of India. The latter (i.e., the 1947-partition of India) itself was an outcome of the pre-1947 contention between the two misconceived brands of nationalism—i.e. (a) the liberal Hindu-oriented majoritarian nationalism, and (b) the Muslim League sponsored Muslim fundamentalism. The former was more at fault because, with its claim to represent the majority of the Indian people, it failed to win the confidence of the biggest minority community in India. It was, and still continues to be, the respective confrontationist politics of these two nationalisms that had shaped much of the post-1947 history of India and Pakistan, putting a high cost on the people of these two countries, especially those of JK in the post-1947 period.

12. Fourth, the five decade long national enmity between India and Pakistan and its logical priority of militarisation to combat and defeat the assumed enemy side had produced, and still continue to produce, highly damaging effects on the lives of residents of JK as well as Indo-Pak people.

For JK residents, it has resulted in the denial of all democratic rights, particularly in the electoral process in Kashmir region, the rise of violence around 1989, the beginning of a period of daily human killings, mainly of the common people, the unprecedented human rights violations, increasing mass miseries and troubles, etc.

The human suffering in both India and Pakistan is no less alarming. The people of these two countries remain among the deprived masses of 'the ten poorest countries' of the world. About 2/3rd population in these two countries come under the category of the poor. Nearly 40% in India and 50% in Pakistan live below the poverty line. About half of their respective population is illiterate. Millions have no access to basic health facilities, 1/3rd have no houses of their own and 3/4th have no proper lavatory facilities. Nearly 60% children are denied the right to basic and quality education. About 75% women in each country suffer some form of oppression. In environmental degradation and deforestation, both have raised their respective graphs up. There is an increasing inequality in all spheres of social life, particularly the economic.

13. Fifth, the principal ground reality today centring around the contention between militancy and counter-militancy in JK and the entire post-1947 experience of increasing Indo-Pak hostility (including three armed wars) has proved that no military solution

to JK problem is, and can be, possible and that it cannot be settled on the terms of one party. Since war has become unwinnable by any side, all unilateral and bilateral solutions have become unviable. Whosoever persists in military solution will get destabilized.

14. Sixth, none of the three parties to the dispute has any realistic formula to solve JK problem. India considers JK as the core issue of its nationalism. Pakistan views it as its jugular vein, while each of the 9 ethnic communities in JK has its specific aspirations and urges.

15. Seventh, in order to break the deadlock over JK, it is necessary that each of the three players gives up something and steps a little back in its respective claim. India should get ready to receive something less than its present position in JK. In the same way, Pakistan should be prepared to agree to something other than plebiscite or self-determination and JK people, particularly the Kashmiris, should be agreeable to adjust their respective interests to those of the national interests of India and Pakistan respectively. Only the moulding of a realistic mindset by this trio can lead to the conclusion of a just, rational and viable JK solution. Such a mindset and a realistic solution emerges only when we, while learning from the past, start from the present and proceed towards the future.

III. Front's Perspective On JK Problem

16. Taking up the question of the Front's perspective on JK, it emerges out of the general trend of the 21st century, starts from the present ground reality and assimilates the whole series of lessons of the past 53 year Indo-Pak-JK reality.

17. The general trend of the 21st century is the process of the integration of nations into a single human community through a two-sided movement, i.e., the combining of the countries into regional associations, on the one hand, and the emergence of new international organisations, such as WTO, WEC, etc., and the further strengthening of the already existing world bodies, like the UN and its branch organisations, the world financial institutions, as the IMF, WB, etc., on the other. This 2-sided trend shows that the future of 186 nations in the world has become common. Hence, the social reality of our times is calling upon India, Pakistan and JK people to proceed towards the sorting out of JK problem in a way as helps them to start building a common future from today.

18. The ground reality in JK today is, firstly, characterised by violence, social disorder, violations of human rights and peoples sufferings, and, secondly, by disharmony among different ethnic and religious groups. Hence, it demands of the three concerned parties, chiefly the Indian government to restore normalisation in Indo-Pak relations as well as in the JK state.

19. The chief lesson of the past 53 years is that the politics of communal divide and cold war is highly counter-productive. Hence, it be opposed always and everywhere. It therefore follows that all such proposals which perpetuate Indo-Pak discord or divide the state on communal lines or split it between India and Pakistan constitute confrontationist agendas. Under this head fall the propositions: accession with one country, division of the state between India and Pakistan, JK's communal partition, plebiscite, self-determination, etc. Hence, the past experience calls upon us to uphold the principle of the unity of JK state as one unit, with the greatest possible autonomy to each of its various identities.

20. Thus, holding the general trend of the emerging global society, proceeding from the present social need of harmonising the respective interests of India, Pakistan and JK people and learning from the past harmful experience of extremism, it follows that a realistic perspective on resolving inter and intra-nation disputes rests with the old-tested and the newly-reinforced principle of negotiated settlement which reconciles the collective-cum-individual aspirations and interests of the parties concerned.

IV. Front's 3-Point Proposal To Resolve JK Problem

21. From the above-mentioned perspective, it follows that a realistic way to resolve JK problem lies in trilateral dialogue, the most appropriate answer to JK problem rests with its trilateral resolution and the future of JK, Pakistan and India resides in shared development.

22. In our view, the following three point formula provides a realistic, viable and rational basis for satisfying the urges of the three parties involved in JK dispute, i.e., India, Pakistan and JK people.

(A) The respective national aspirations and interests of India and Pakistan be balanced by jointly entrusting to them JK's sovereignty in the constitutional form of Indo-Pak Condominium in regard to JK's defence and foreign affairs.

(B) The regional aspirations and interests of JK people, especially the Kashmiris, be met by constitutionally accepting JK as an independent state, enjoying sovereign powers, in all matters, except defence and foreign affairs.

(C) The ethnic aspirations and interests of JK's different ethno-regional communities be accommodated by giving maximum possible constitutional autonomy to each of them. JK state level matters may include, the head of state, high court, election commission, human development commission, environmental commission, planning commission, etc.

(D) Apart from satisfying the urges of the three parties concerned, the above formula further delivers to them as well as the world human community in many other ways.

23. It suits the world community by defusing one of the most dangerous global flashpoints.

24. It benefits the South Asian community by removing the blockades to its socio-economic development, common market and a joint defence, etc.

25. It further serves India, Pakistan and JK people by making them equal partners in economic development in which each India and Pakistan provides an equal amount of finances, while JK state contributes its share in the form of natural resources. Also, JK people get additional advantages by virtue of their becoming the citizens of the two countries and obtaining the facility of trading with them.

26. In sum, the Indo-Pak condominium represents a social model that ensures a common future for India, Pakistan and JK people, safeguards the respective national honour of both India and Pakistan and reconciles their national interests, harmonises the concerns of JK people, gives due consideration to the desires and the interests of ethno-regional identities in JK, strives for bringing India, Pakistan and JK people closer, strengthens the unity of SAARC and consolidates the state of peace and stability in the world. It will be a new experiment of a global-oriented development model, showing how the divergent national interests of various nations are reconciled and different aspirations and concerns of various ethnicities harmonised.

17-05-2001

Front For The Trilateral Resolution Of JK Problem, Press Release

The Front for the Trilateral resolution of JK problem has issued the following statement to the press on the resumption of Indo-Pak talks.

1. The Front is of the view that the PM Vajpayee's invitation to General Musharraf and the latter's willingness to accept the offer, are welcome moves. Because, they correspond with the demands of the existing multi-dimensional JK realities. Though the moves are overdue, yet it is better late than never.

2. Given the near about two years of highly tense Indo-Pak relations, it is only the compulsions of the global, national and ground situations that have forced the two countries to take the dialogue route. The only lesson one can draw from this episode is that one should avoid doing things which make him the prisoner of his own follies.

3. Sometimes, even the abrupt happenings can also lead to the desirable results. But, given the respective traditional attitudes of the two sides remaining in place and the probability of the ground realities in their respective countries becoming tight for the two ruling groups in the days ahead, there is little likelihood of the dialogue process leading to any significant outcome.

4. However, the Front considers this occasion a good opening for mobilising the people in favour of a realistic, just and peaceful solution. The Front stands for an agenda which accords with the realities of JK problem. In the Front's view, a realistic way to resolve JK problem lies in trilateral dialogue, the most appropriate answer to JK problem, rests with trilateral solution and the future of JK, Pakistan and India resides in shared development. The Front upholds a three point proposal that reconciles the aspirations and interests of the parties involved in JK dispute, i.e., India, Pakistan and JK people. The proposal

comprises the following.

(A) The respective national aspirations and interests of India and Pakistan be balanced by jointly entrusting to them JK's sovereignty in the constitutional form of Indo-Pak Condominium in regard to JK's defence and foreign affairs.

(B) The regional aspirations and interests of JK People, especially Kashmiris, be met by constitutionally accepting JK as an independent state, enjoying sovereign powers, in all matters, except defence and foreign affairs.

(C) The ethnic aspirations and interests of JK's different ethno-regional communities be accommodated by giving maximum possible constitutional autonomy to each of them. JK state level matters may include: the head of state, high court, election commission, human development commission, environmental commission, planning commission, etc. 27-05-2001

An Appeal To The Indo-Pak Summit By The Front For The Trilateral Resolution Of JK Problem

I

The first submission to the Indo-Pak summit is that it may, while dealing with the highly complex JK problem or some other simple Indo-Pak issue, kindly give first consideration to this fundamental fact that the people of India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir are historically one people—who are destined to live a common future, had shared the same past and are now faced with a similar present.

As regards their common future, the newly-emerged principal reality of our times (i.e., the inter-dependence of nation-states or the globalisation of countries) calls for the updating of the traditionally prevailing national vision into a new international vision. This implies that the chief task of every nation today is not to seek supremacy (or hegemony, domination or big power status) over other states, but to harmonise its aspirations and interests with them through the medium of rational negotiations. The process of national harmonisation needs to be carried forward by restructuring the traditional national politics, economy and culture into an international politics, economy and culture. The internationalisation process of our era necessitates the adoption of two principal priorities, i.e., environment and man, by the human society and emphasises the need for an ecology and human-friendly politics, economy and culture in every country. All this shows that the future of all humanity (including that of India, Pakistan and JK People) has become common. Whosoever henceforth tries to obstruct this objective human need is bound to suffer serious consequences.

As regards their sharing the same past, the people of India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir have a common genetic code and

ancestry, speak the same languages and follow the same culture, habits, norms and forms. Even the different shades of their religious beliefs are the same. Obviously, the religious variations do not and cannot change their single original root. For instance, there were no Hindus, Buddhists and Jains in these countries some 3,000 years ago. Also, there was no Muslim here some 1,500 years back and no Sikh some 600 years before. But human beings, whether Aryans or Dravids, had been living in these regions since long times. The historical evidence of the existence of these people comes from the ancient civilisation that prevailed in the very old but now extinct cities of Mohenjadaro and Harrappa (now in Pakistan), some 3,500 years earlier. That civilisation is said to have existed over a vast area, spreading from Northern Indo-Pak regions to Mesopotamia (now called Iraq) in the West. That is how the people of India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir are rooted in one civilisation and constitute a common stock of people.

As regards the similarity of their current life, the people of India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir are today confronted with the same problems, that is, the criminalisation of politics, violation of the rule of law, miscarriage of justice, increasing crime, lawlessness and violence, back-breaking corruption, inequality, poverty, unemployment, houselessness, degenerating cultural norms, worsening environmental resources, like air and water pollution, decrease in the availability of drinking water, land degradation, deforestation, threat to bio-diversity, etc. Even in this scientific age, India and Pakistan remain among the poorest countries of the world. Financially, both are in ruins whose fiscal deficits have risen to mounting proportions.

The above-mentioned facts (i.e., the people of India, Pakistan and Jammu-Kashmir had shared the same historical past, face similar problems in their ongoing living and have entered the phase of a common future) demand that the Indo-Pak summit may, during the process of its deliberations and decision making, kindly make the truth of the historical oneness of Indo-Pak-JK people as its reference point.

II

The second submission to the Indo-Pak summit is that it may kindly take note of the fact that all the three armed forces, contending in JK, i.e., India, Pakistan and the militancy, are now at their dead end. None of them is in a position to impose its will

on the other two or even to secure any concession in its favour from its rivals. Obviously, such an even balance of forces implies that only a compromising solution to JK problem is, and can be, a way out, rendering all unilateral and bilateral options as obsolete. Hence, the Indo-Pak summit may, during its deliberations and in its decision making, kindly try to sort out a conciliatory formula that resolves not only JK problem on a realistic and just basis, but also paves the way for bringing the people of India, Pakistan and JK still more closer.

III

The third submission to the Indo-Pak summit is that it may kindly always keep in mind the fact that the pre and the post-1947 religious fundamentalism (or religion-oriented politics, i.e., the use of religion for achieving power) has played havoc in India, Pakistan and JK.

First, it got India divided (1947) into two countries (i.e., India and Pakistan) and then split Pakistan (1971) into two states (Pakistan and Bangladesh). Next, it gave an unprecedented fillip to violence, crime, lawlessness, subversion of the rule of law, criminalisation of politics, rise of mafia dominance, public insecurity, etc. More, it persistently tried to keep India and Pakistan at loggerheads, resulting even in three Indo-Pak wars during the past 53 years. Further, it had, by generating social incohesion and disorder, throttled the economic development of India, Pakistan and JK, thus keeping their respective people at the mere subsistence level as is obvious from the various development reports, issued by a number of global institutions, like the UN, IMF, WB, etc.

Still, religious fundamentalism continues to lord over India, Pakistan and Bangladesh under various garbs—parliamentary, semi-parliamentary or authoritarian. But its essential feature is to wield power, by hook or by crook, and particularly by using religion for communalising the public mindset.

At present when the prevailing stalemate in JK has induced many countries in the world (especially the big ones) to take a serious notice of the long festering JK problem and consequently when the three parties involved in JK problem (i.e., India, Pakistan and JK people) have started to place more emphasis on the peaceful resolution of JK problem, religious fundamentalism has once again become the most active force, throwing its hat in the field under various labels.

First, it has come up under the guise of a slogan raised by the Sangh Parivar for the trifurcation of JK State (i.e., carving out three state units—i.e., Jammu region, including the districts of Doda, Rajouri and Poonch, Ladakh region and Kashmir Valley—out of the existing JK state) within the Indian union. But, it is only a pretext to divide the state on communal lines. Its communal blue-print proposes that Jammu and Ladakh states are to remain with India, 'Azad Kashmir' is to stay with Pakistan and the Valley is to be made fully autonomous 'if possible' under Indian sovereignty. In case, the world's powerful circles exert pressure for a compromise with Pakistan, then a fully autonomous or semi-independent Valley may come under joint Indo-Pak sovereignty in regard to defence and foreign matters.

Secondly, it has appeared in the form of a demand by the pro-Pak elements in JK state for the communal division of JK between India and Pakistan.

Third, it has manifested itself in the form of a US proposal which is similar to the Sangh Parivar's trifurcation slogan.

The afore-stated bitter account asks for a tough stand against all varieties of religious fundamentalism by the Indo-Pak summit.

IV

The fourth submission to the Indo-Pak summit is that, while remaining open to all sorts of rich experiences and sane counsels from abroad, it should try to shun all tainted opinions. Specifically, it should try to steer clear of all super-power moves, especially those related to the hotting-up of Sino-US rivalry.

It is now a well-known fact that the new US Bush Administration is trying to court India as a junior partner in the pursuit of its global super-power strategy, aimed at defending US interests all over the world and mainly directed against China.

To bring India to its strategic fold, the Bush Administration is offering an attractive bait in the form of a new scheme concerning JK. The US proposal is almost identical to the RSS-BJP's trifurcation plan and is quite pleasing to Vajpayee government. It is widely rumoured that this communally-oriented and Pak-concessional scheme is also acceptable to Pakistan.

If such a secret deal which binds both India and Pakistan to the US bandwagon matures, it will, inevitably, result in not only the division of JK on communal lines (having its own implications for the unity of India and Pakistan), but also turn India, Pakistan and JK into a hot-bed of super-power intrigues,

with obvious consequences.

V

The fifth submission to the Indo-Pak summit is that it may kindly give a serious thought to the eradication of the root cause of Indo-Pak conflict. And the root cause, as shown by the facts of the 53 year long history of Indo-Pak relations, is none else than JK problem. But, the trouble is that both countries basically differ in their JK perceptions. Even the summit itself is the result of their diplomatic and economic compulsions and not due to any change in their JK agendas.

However, the least that the common people in India, Pakistan and JK as well as the world community expect of the summit is that it should take certain measures to ease the high tension between the two countries. The summit can meet this public desire by setting forth a set of modalities for the solution of JK problem. These may comprise: (a) Rejection of military solution, (b) Adoption of the peaceful path, (c) Signing of a No-War Agreement between the two countries, (d) Pledging to the unity and integrity of each country, (e) Non-insistence on one's pet preferences (i.e., JK as an integral part of India or JK as the jugular vein of Pakistan, etc.), (f) Reducing the level of violence and the stoppage of human rights violations in JK, (g) Discarding of all communal solutions concerning JK, (h) Resolution of JK problem by reconciling the interests of the three parties (i.e., India, Pakistan and JK people) and (i) Viewing a common future for India, Pakistan and JK people.

Following the above-stated guidelines, the following three point formula provides a realistic, viable and rational basis for satisfying the urges of the three parties involved in JK dispute, i.e., India, Pakistan and JK People.

(A) The respective national aspirations and interests of India and Pakistan be balanced by jointly entrusting to them JK's sovereignty in the constitutional form of Indo-Pak Condominium in regard to JK's defence and foreign affairs.

(B) The regional aspirations and interests of JK people, especially the Kashmiris, be met by constitutionally accepting JK as an independent state, enjoying sovereign powers in all matters except defence and foreign affairs.

(C) The ethnic aspirations and interests of JK's different ethno-regional communities be accommodated by giving maximum possible constitutional autonomy to each of them. JK state level

matters may include, the head of state, high court, election commission, human development commission, environment commission, planning commission, etc.

Apart from satisfying the urges of the three parties concerned, the above formula further delivers to them as well as the world human community in many other ways.

It suits the world community by defusing one of the most dangerous global flash points.

It benefits the South Asian community by removing the blockades to its socio-economic development, common market and a joint defence, etc.

It further serves India, Pakistan and JK people by making them equal partners in economic development in which each India and Pakistan provide an equal amount of capital, while JK state contributes its share in the term of natural resources. Also, JK people get additional advantages by virtue of their becoming the citizens of the two countries and obtaining the facility of trading with them.

In sum, the Indo-Pak Condominium will be a new experiment of a global-oriented development model, showing how the divergent national interests of various nations are reconciled and the different aspirations and concerns of various ethnicities harmonised.

05-7-2001

(This resolution was adopted by the Front's Jammu Division meeting held on 5 August 2001 at Dak Bungalow, Jammu)

Agra Summit And Thereafter

I

1. To understand Agra summit, it is necessary to look at facts as they stand and not as they ought to be.

2. First, the objective of the summit was to sort out and proceed along the high road to peace (as emphasised by Vajpayee's invitation letter and Musharraf's response and their respective subsequent statements). Its aim was definitely not the issuing of a joint statement. However, if the summit had concluded with a joint statement, it would have been better. Next, the summit constituted a breakthrough in ending the two year old high level political stalemate between India and Pakistan. Again, the summit did not result in a breakdown as is obvious from Vajpayee's acceptance of Musharraf's invitation to visit Islamabad and the Indo-Pak foreign ministers' public statements to continue the dialogue process.

3. Obviously, the promise of an unsustained engagement between the 2 countries implies the carrying of peace movement forward. This is a step in the right direction, because peace is today desperately needed by JK, Indo-Pak and the world people.

4. The reason why the Indo-Pak governments adopted the path of continuous dialogue rests with their realisation that military solution has become unworkable, whether in regard to Kashmir problem or something else. And the argument why the joint declaration could not be finalised lies in the two sides' respective different priorities and compulsions, with each aiming at obtaining an advantageous position in order to tilt the solution in its favour and each representing the interests of its specific political group and constituency.

II

5. Retrospectively also, it can be seen that, while the people

of the two countries have always desired friendly relations between the two countries, the respective dominant political groups of India and Pakistan, despite the sprinkling of many a nice personages among them, have always propagated national enmity between the two countries; followed a jingoist and communal politics whose sole purpose has been money-making and power-grabbing; and pursued a development model which has bred an intolerable level of inequality in the two countries as can be seen from a tiny minority's five-star living, on the one hand, and the overwhelming majority's deprivation as symbolised by mass hunger, malnutrition, ill-health, illiteracy, unemployment, houselessness, etc., on the other.

6. The respective two dominant ruling circles have always tried to widen the Indo-Pak cleavage and poison the peoples mindset on their respective sides. The main planks of their respective platforms have been JK problem and the mutual hatred between the two countries.

7. However, the past 53 year experience has shown the Indo-Pak people that the politics of communalism and jingoism has proved highly counter-productive. That is why they have developed a new friendly feeling towards each other. This friendly feeling gets further strength by the fact that they had shared the same historical past, face similar problems in their ongoing living and have entered the phase of a common future. The cause of the Indo-Pak ruling group antagonism towards each other is based on their fear that their respective politics of money-making and power-grabbing will loose its influence in its political constituency.

III

8. Today, the politics of communalism and jingoism has become quite irrelevant. The reason is that the humankind has entered a new era in which the fundamentalist and the confrontationist approaches and methods (which have prevailed in the old segmented societies, like the clannish, tribal, feudal, national, etc.) have become unproductive. This new era has emerged from the existing social reality where mankind (now existing in the form of nation-states) has become inter-dependent. And, thus, the future of whole human community (including India, Pakistan and JK) has become common.

9. Obviously, such a society cannot develop on the basis of old social norms. It can only develop in terms of more humane

and more just social values. It does not require conflict and confrontation to develop its politics, economy and culture. Instead, it needs cooperation, friendship, peace, equality and justice to restructure its new development model.

10. Thus, holding the general trend of the emerging global reality, proceeding from the present social reality of the futility of military solution and learning from the past 53 year harmful experience of the politics of communalism and jingoism, it follows that a realistic way to resolving social, national or ethnic disputes rests with the principle of negotiated settlement which reconciles the aspirations and interests of the parties concerned.

11. A negotiated settlement requires that necessary steps be taken to normalise the situation in JK and to ease the high tension between the two countries. These may comprise: (a) rejection of military solution, (b) signing of a 'no-war' joint declaration, (c) non-insistence on one's pet preferences, (d) reducing the level of violence and stoppage of human rights violations in JK, (e) discarding of all communal and divisive schemes concerning JK (e.g., JK's partition on communal basis, plebiscite, division of the state between India and Pakistan, trifurcation, accession with one country, etc.), (f) upholding of the principle of the unity of JK state as one unit, with the maximum possible autonomy to each of its various identities.

IV

12. From the above perspective, it follows that a realistic way to resolve JK problem lies in trilateral dialogue, the most appropriate answer to JK problem rests with its trilateral resolution and the future of JK, Pakistan and India resides in shared development.

13. In our view, the following three point formula provides a realistic, viable and rational basis for satisfying the urges of the 3 parties involved in JK dispute, i.e., India, Pakistan and JK people.

(A) The respective national aspirations and interests of India and Pakistan be balanced by jointly entrusting to them JK's sovereignty in the constitutional form of Indo-Pak Condominium in regard to JK's defence and foreign affairs.

(B) The regional aspirations and interests of JK people, especially the Kashmiris, be met by constitutionally accepting JK as an independent state, enjoying sovereign powers, in all matters, except defence and foreign affairs.

(C) The ethnic aspirations and interests of JK's different ethno-regional communities be accommodated by giving maximum

possible constitutional autonomy to each of them. JK state level matters may include the head of state, high court, election commission, human development commission, environmental commission, planning commission etc.

14. Apart from satisfying the urges of the three parties concerned, the above formula further delivers to them as well as the world human community in many other ways.

15. It suits the world community by defusing one of the most dangerous global flashpoints.

16. It benefits the South Asian community by removing the blockades to its socio-economic development, common market and a joint defence, etc.

17. It further serves India, Pakistan and JK people by making them equal partners in economic development in which each India and Pakistan provides an equal amount of finances, while JK state contributes its share in the form of natural resources. Also, JK people get additional advantages by virtue of their becoming the citizens of the two countries and obtaining the facility of trading with them.

V

18. To facilitate and stabilise the process of resolving JK problem on a negotiated basis, it is necessary that the Front undertakes a 3-sided basic task. That is, (a) to awaken, mobilise and organise JK people on the basis of its declaration and other concerned documents, (b) to try to evolve a rational and just consensus on the trilateral resolution of JK problem among the 9 ethnic communities and among various political forces in JK, and (c) to develop the social consciousness, a value-based style and a democratic organisational structure of the Front.

19. To accomplish the above basic task, the Front undertakes to perform 5 immediate tasks: (a) To hold district level conferences in the Jammu division. (b) To launch a signature campaign in favour of Front's 3-point formula for the resolution of JK problem. (c) To organise public discussions on Front's agenda at places unattended by the Front so far. (d) To carry further on inter-ethnic and inter-party dialogue for evolving a consensus-based, rational and just trilateral solution to JK problem. (e) To arrange communal harmony conferences at various sensitive places.

20. Also, the Front will try to mobilise the sympathy & support of all peace-loving and rational people in India, Pakistan and the world in favour of an appropriate trilateral solution to JK problem.

Declaration of Jammu Division As A Disturbed Area Is No Answer To JK Problem

The Front For The Trilateral Resolution Of JK Problem expresses its shock and grief over the brutal killings of innocent citizens at the Railway Station, Jammu. It conveys its heartfelt condolence and deep sympathies to the bereaved families and demands of the government adequate relief for the former. Killing of innocent people is an inhuman, barbaric and despicable act.

The Front appeals to the people of the state to maintain their age-old brotherhood at all costs.

As is obvious from the subsequent events, this ghastly act, preceded by two similar gruesome murders in Kishtwar tehsil, has provoked a very strong reaction in Jammu division and elsewhere. Some political forces have demanded the dismissal of the state government and the imposition of the Governor's rule; a few have even asked for the resignation of the central Home Minister; others have called for effective and forceful steps for destroying militant training camps; and demands have also been made for the deployment of more commandos or SPG's.

Such measures had already been tried and tested in the state, but they have never yielded any fruitful result.

However, the central and the state governments have deemed it fit to declare the whole of Jammu division as a disturbed area as per the Armed Forces (Jammu & Kashmir) Special Powers Act, 1990. But the decade-long operational experience of the above-said Act in the six districts of the valley and the two districts (Rajouri and Poonch) of Jammu division demonstrates that, instead of bringing normalcy in those areas, the situation became worse than before and the problem got more aggravated.

The practice of the Central 'Disturbed Areas Act' on the All-India scale, especially in the North-Eastern states, also confirms

the JK evidence.

The reason for the failure of the above-stated Act rests with the fact that it was not a proper answer to the conflict prone areas.

The worldwide experience shows that all military oriented strategies or policies concerning different inter-country or inter-ethnic conflicts have lost their rigour in the newly-emerged era of human inter-dependence or globalisation of nation-states. The new era points out a common future for all mankind and hence a peaceful way-out of all disputes.

Proceeding from the above-said global perspective, the Front holds that only a realistic and just negotiated settlement, reconciling the respective interests of India, Pakistan and JK people, can bring a durable peace in the state and enable our people to build, in partnership with India, Pakistan and other SAARC members, a sustainable, democratic, prosperous, equitable, just and transparent order in Jammu-Kashmir.

09-08-2001

Defining Moment For The World Both Super-Powerism And Terrorism Are Socially Undesirable; Needed A Pro-Human And Pro-Nature Agenda

I. Searching Questions

Watching the unfolding of September 11 tragic events in New York and Washington on TV, the people all over the world in general and the US in particular stood stunned and bewildered. There was an all-round chaos. The whole US administration ran helter-skelter, not knowing what to do and how to do. The 8,300 Federal offices across the country were closed. The White House was evacuated. The President was out of station and was advised by his security staff not to return to Washington out of security reasons. Superpowerism stood paralysed to the core.

At that overwhelming moment, the only thought troubling peoples' minds was how such a thing could happen in America, considered to be the impregnable fortress of security—material, physical and mental. Everyone inquisitively looked around, but no one responded.

When the feeling of normalcy came over the sense of uncertainty (of what may occur next), a new set of questions was added to the above query. That is, who committed this heinous act; where the cause of this tragic episode lies; and what should be a proper answer to it. No one, interested in studying this sorrowful and shocking phenomenon, can avoid them.

II. How Such A Thing Could Happen In America

It was really difficult for anyone to think before 11th September, 2001, that the first challenge to the US supremacy and grandeur—controlling the biggest arsenal of the world's most fatal and sophisticated weapons and holding the 1/3rd (i.e., \$10 trillion) of the world's total economic power (i.e., \$31 trillion)—would arise in the cities of New York and Washington

and come from a well-educated, technically savvy and resourceful group of persons, armed with crude weapons, like knives and cardboard cutters.

But pointers were already in the air. The level of hostility and hatred against the US in the world, often expressed through various public protests, media reports, intelligence accounts, etc., was continuously on the rise. The graph of terrorist attacks on US concerns each year during the last decade the world over, (including 3 terrorist attacks—i.e., WTC 1993, Intelligence H.Q Langley Virginia 1994 and Oklahoma 1996—inside US itself), was going up uninterruptedly. The number of protests by the pro-poor forces along with NGO's against the US was growing more and more, with inequality, poverty and unemployment constantly rising upward. As early as February 2001, the US National Commission headed by Senators Gary Hart and Warren Rudman warned of a catastrophic attack that would cause either 'mass destruction' or 'mass disruption'.

Instead of properly responding to the alarming signals from various regions of the world, the US adamantly stuck to its super-powerist postures and priorities of world domination, profit-maximisation and capital accumulation by disregarding the essential needs of the world people, such as refusing to sign the Kyoto Protocol (concerning reduction of greenhouse gases) pushing its NMD plan forward (despite world peoples protests, including NATO members), abandoning the CTBT (ignoring the Russian and the Chinese protests), NATO's Eastward expansion (ignoring Russian objections), challenging the creation of the International Criminal Court (disregarding the opinion of its European allies) and suspending the normalisation of relations with North Korea (contrary to the wishes of the two Koreas), etc.

Just a few moments before September 11 deadly attack, the top brass of the US intellectuals, equipped with the highest knowledge of science, technology, sociology, warfare, current main international issues and their related different perceptions, etc., were engaged in drawing a new strategy of world domination. It visualised China as the next potential challenge to the unbridled US power, wealth and luxury, marking Asia as the highest strategic region in place of Europe and enlisting India, Japan, South Korea and the ASEAN members as its strategic allies, with India occupying the first position. But this whole US perception and strategy fell flat and the social reality turned out to be quite different. The challenge came from medieval

fundamentalism rather than any modern phenomenon.

The ghastly terrorist incident, taking a toll of thousands (nearly 10,000) of innocent and common peoples' lives and causing loss to public property worth billions (about 20) of dollars changed the whole scenario. By administering a devastating blow to the world's chief super-power, it brought a new turn in peoples thinking all over the world. The world's most powerful super-power was the first to change its perception, aim, strategy and tactics in conformity with the new reality with other nations and forces doing so in their own way.

The reason for the gap between the US assumption and the actual happenings lay in its super-powerist logic and mindset. It, firstly, held that the US was invincible and an undisputed leader of the present-day world. Secondly, it maintained that the rich and the powerful hold the key to development, while people are nobodies and of little consequence. Thirdly, it regarded that a formidable challenge to a super-power can only come from a super-power, potential or actual, and not from the people. Fourthly, it considered that globalisation (or the reorganisation of the human society on the global scale) needs an international cop to lord over the rest. And, fifthly, it believed that the Western corporate (or market-oriented) development model represents the acme of human justice and is the most appropriate model for the emerging global human order. Obviously, the above-stated whole US perception ran counter to the 21st century's social temper that calls for the establishment of a viable justice and equality in all walks of human life, political, economic and cultural, and prompts the people to get rid of every type of remediable injustice.

It was the afore-mentioned super-powerist notion of the US invincibility and inviolability that prevented the high-flown US experts in foreign and diplomatic matters to gauge the growing level of hostility and hatred against the US in the world, particularly the Muslim countries, finally culminating in the September 11 dreadful incident. Again, it was this super-powerist notion that hindered its technologists to anticipate the chance of neutralising the signalling system, like transponders, in hijacking emergencies and to think of an effective alternative to meet such an unforeseen occurrence. That was why the highly advanced and technically sound US surveillance system failed to locate any suspicious sign during the execution of the terrorist plan from beginning to end. The logic of the super-powerist notion also

explains the fact why the most experienced and resourceful US intelligence network could not sense any doubtful activity during the operation of this lengthy conspiratorial process.

However, this is not the end of the story. As long as super-powerism lasts, its twin brother, terrorism, is destined to accompany it. In case of the US vengeful retaliation, the possibility of new types of terrorist strikes—like the use of clandestine N-weapons against soft but highly dangerous strategic targets (such as world's 430 odd N-projects) or the colliding of truck-loads of biological or chemical weapons with easy but crucial targets (e.g., cyberspace)—becomes stronger.

The dastardly act of September 11 has exploded the myth of the invincibility and inviolability of US super-powerism and shattered the illusion of its absolute security, based on its new military scheme of nuclear missile defence.

Historical experience shows that nothing is absolute and final for all times and climes. Everything passes through its various phases of development (i.e., evolution, growth and decay) and then its transformation into something new. So has now been happening with US super-powerism, entering the final stage of its decay and transformation. That is, it will undergo a change from a super-power into a developed part of the global human society. This is because super-powerism has, due to the emergence of a new process of development (i.e., the evolving global human society) become socially undesirable.

III. Who Committed This Heinous Act

No one had any idea. There was no word from any responsible quarter. The people remained dumb-founded.

Only two hours after the holocaust, President Bush, in a telecast from Florida, vowed an all-out hunt for the authors of 'an apparent terrorist attack'. As the people recovered a little from the shock, the most urgent question that was on everyone's mind at that time who the culprit was.

A Reuters report from Dubai said that a Palestinian group had claimed responsibility for the attack. Abu Dhabi Television reported: "It had received a call from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) for crashing two planes into the WTC building."

The same day, the US intelligence agencies said that the 50 persons involved in this crime, including 18 perpetrators, were Arabs in origin, belonging to the Middle East.

Only three days later, the US Foreign Secretary announced that all evidence in their possession points Osama Bin Laden as the 'prime suspect' and the other perpetrators having been associated with his terrorist group, Al Qaeda.

Ironically, it was none else than US who played a pioneering role in building, rearing and developing Osama and Mullah Omar and their ilk. Osama was deputed by the CIA to Afghanistan for organising resistance to the Soviet Union and was then projected as a great theocratic leader.

While accusing Osama, the US did not refer to any evidence against him. Nor it has done the same so far. Even 15 days after the incident, it has been declaring that evidence against Osama and his accomplices is under compilation.

Osama decried the charge of his involvement in the September 11 event, but declared that he supports that action, whosoever might have committed it.

There has been a world-wide demand for the disclosure of evidence against Osama and his associates. Even the US allies who have all along been supporting the US position, like UK, Pakistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, etc., have made this demand. But, so far, the US has failed to meet this genuine world public desire.

It is obvious that the US has not yet been able to present a concrete proof in support of its allegation against Osama. And, without a solid ground, no one can be held responsible for any guilt. Logically, the matter requires a thorough investigation and probe. Such an anti-human crime should, and cannot be left untraced. And US, being the aggrieved party in this case, cannot be a competent agency to investigate the identity of the accused. The international law, US constitution, human experience and the modern rationality—all demand that a world body, enjoying the confidence of all countries, should be entrusted with the task of identifying the culprits and their abettors, prescribing a due punishment to them in accordance with the theory and practice of international law and thus delivering the appropriate justice to the American people in general and the bereaved families in particular.

And the UN, having at present been the sole representative of all the nations in the world, is, and has been, despite its many shortcomings, the most suitable institution to be entrusted with the afore-mentioned task of international importance.

If the US, being the main victim or the complainant in this case, assumes, by virtue of its super-powerism, the role of an

investigator as well as the judge to deal with the alleged offenders, then it will amount to a violation of the international as well as the US laws.

A little while after blaming Osama for the terrorist act the US also came up with the statement that today international terrorism constitutes the main enemy of the world people and hence needs to be defeated by the broadest possible front of all peace-loving and democratic forces. However, it neither defined international terrorism ideologically (or philosophically) nor classified who represented its organisational form and nor explained its basic cause of origin.

It is a simple and normal question that one cannot deal with any phenomenon effectively without adequately knowing its definition, i.e., its nature, behaviour and form. But as far as the issue of terrorism is concerned, there has not yet been a common definition of this word at the international or the regional levels. May be, this has been due to the existence of varying definitions of this word by different nation-states. Accordingly, there is a glut of different types of interpretations (such as Basque, Peru's Shining Star, LTTE, IRA, etc.) of this word, with each representing the interests of the country concerned. As an example, while the Indian concept characterises Jammu-Kashmir turmoil as a result of 'cross-border terrorism', the Pakistani one interprets the same turmoil as freedom struggle and its adherents as freedom fighters. Similar conflicting versions exist in the case of Arab/Israel, Turkey/Greece, Russia/Turkey, Iran/Arab Gulf states and a number of other countries. Obviously, the afore-mentioned chaotic situation all the more calls for an early but a common definition of terrorism. UN had for long remained unconcerned with this problem mainly due to the pressure of US and other big powers. But today the matters have come to such a pass when the UN will perforce have to give priority to this question and try to sort out a consensus based definition of terrorism.

In our view, terrorism, deriving its inspiration from the ancient and the medieval theories of 'might is right' and 'ends justify the means', denotes a concept that stands for terror to achieve its aim. Terror in fact is an animal instinct and not human. Because animal is only a biological organism, while man has been a bio-social being. Historical evidence shows that terrorism did exist in the brutal, savage and barbaric stages of human development. Traces of terrorism have continued even up to this day. But now,

the process of the emerging global human society has socially made it fully undesirable.

Since terror does not represent a human urge, its concept lacks a human motivational value. Further, terrorism has no independent programme or agenda of its own, but generally exists as a handmaid of one of the different varieties of fundamentalism (such as religious, economic, political, ethnic, etc.). In this way, it has no exclusive objective of its own, but exists only as a methodology or technique.

In the present situation, terrorism exists in two forms (a) Terrorism as upheld by anti-government or non-government groups, and (b) State terrorism. Both have the same inhuman nature and behaviour, though the organisational forms are different. Both forms need to be eradicated through ideological, political, legal, economic and cultural techniques.

IV. Where Lies The Cause Of This Sad Episode

Osama says that America's own policies in West Asia have provoked the Muslims against it and that led to terrorism. He accuses the US as the biggest terrorist in the world and the main supporter of terrorism everywhere.

Mullah Omar opines that the September 11 attack on US was meant to avenge the US violence and atrocities on the Middle-East Muslims in particular and the Muslims of all countries in general.

Both declare that terrorism is the only proper answer to US super-powerism.

Contrary to the above version, the US tells that international terrorism stands to destabilise the democratic order based on the rule of law in the world as well as several other countries and to replace it by a medieval fundamentalist dictatorship everywhere. Hence, it deserves to be suppressed by force at the hands of all the democracies, constituting themselves into an international coalition under the US leadership against international terrorism.

Justifying September 11 happening, both Osama and Mullah Omar stress that the attacks were directed against US terrorism, yet the facts reveal that they were targeted at the innocent and common people who can in no case be identified as a representative of super-powerism.

Arguing its case, the US contends that, having been the victim of terrorist aggression, it has the right to self-defence and retaliation under Article 51 of the UN Charter. Sounding a

warning to the world, it declares that if the international ghost of terrorism is not finished at this occasion, it would devour the New World Order, based on the rule of law.

However, the post-1945 practice of US shows that, in trying to reshape the world according to its own preferences, the former (i.e., US) did not try to spread democracy and the rule of law, but propped up some of the most corrupt, despotic, tyrannical and militaristic regimes in the world, like Mobutu of Zaire, Islamic fundamentalists, such as Raza Shah Pehlavi in Iran, Zionism chauvinists in Israel, apartheid fanatics in South Africa, military dictators in Pakistan, etc.

No other country, past or present, has played the boss as aggressively as US did by scoring a record of direct and indirect interventions all over the world. Beginning with the terrorisation of the world by its ruthless N-bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, it continuously went on fomenting troubles and interfering in the affairs of other countries, such as Iran and Central America in the 1950s, Brazil, Cuba, and Vietnam in the 1960s, Chile, South Africa, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Afghanistan in the 1970s, Panama, Haiti, Angola, direct targeting of Libya and provoking the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980 and Somalia, Yugoslavia, Kosovo, firing of cruise missiles on Sudan and Afghanistan in the 1990s.

It did not stop there, but further engaged in the toppling of some people-oriented governments, like Patrice Lumumba's government in Zaire in 1960s and, Dr. Mosaddaq's government in Iran in 1970s.

However, historical experience shows that the long-term cause of any social phenomenon lies in its social structure (or system), while the short-term cause rests with the human psychology conditioning or motivational factors.

Proceeding from the above sociological principle, it follows that the principal threat to human community today has been coming from the environmentally unsustainable, unjust and inequalitarian global order as well as the national systems where the mighty ride roughshod over the backs of the weak and the haves dominate the have-nots, with money and authority constituting the accepted norms of justice and truth, both on the global and the national levels.

This assertion is fully obvious from the following points:

(a) The worsening state of environment, with the deteriorating condition of its resources—air, water, land, forests, bio-diversity, etc.

(b) The overlordship over the security council and UN by the 5 militarily most powerful N-countries, holding permanent seats and the veto powers in the highest decision-making body.

(c) The domination in the IMF and WB of the few economically most powerful states, enjoying voting strength on the basis of their economic weightage in the two institutions.

(d) The virtual nuclear monopoly of the 5 big nuclear powers as guaranteed under the CTBT.

(e) The control of over 80% of the world economic and financial resources by a handful of developed countries (having about 20% of the world population), while about 80% of the world people (living in about 130 countries) subsist on less than 20% of the world resources.

(f) High inequality in every nation-state between the rich and the poor, especially in the developing countries where 1/3rd of their total population lives below the poverty line.

(g) The democratic or parliamentary system in every country dominated by corrupt and authoritarian parties and based on money and muscle power—thus depriving the majority of the common people any say in the governance.

Turning to the short-term cause of the threat facing human community today (i.e., the human psychology conditioning or motivational factors), it is, in our view, coming from only one fundamental factor, i.e., self-interest, that has become the be-all and end-all of human life today.

In fact, self-interest is the basic instinct of the animal sphere, while man has, since his evolution as homo-sapien, become bio-social by nature. The characteristic of being half-social is the only quality that distinguishes human species from the animal ones. When man becomes devoid of social aspect, he turns out just like an animal in his lifestyle.

Today, self-interest is the only instinct that is determining man's whole way of life—i.e., his perspective, motivation, objective, priorities, norms and forms.

Since the attainment of money and power represents the maximisation of one's (or self) interest, the whole world is chasing after these two life extending elixirs. This money and power-hunting business (by bringing in the most unsustainable environmental order and a highly unjust and inequitable human system) has now led the world to the brink of a serious environmental and human disaster.

In this alarming situation, while saner people are concerned

with finding an appropriate and rational way-out, the champions of the fatalist, mystic, super-naturalist and mythical doctrines are trying to push the people into a deep sea from where they could never emerge again. One of these varieties is terrorism.

Terrorism does not come from outside. It is a product of a given social conditions. Social studies on the life histories of terrorists show that they are a creation of their given social environment, with each having its own social perception and individual motivation.

A common trait among the terrorists usually is that they are not as successful in life as they had earlier imagined. Hence, they feel that they are not having their due impact on the essential matters. They consider themselves as the victims of society and look at the latter as the cause of their troubles.

When opportunity comes, they (i.e. the terrorists) strike back with full strength for the hurt they had earlier received at the hands of their tormentors. The scale of destruction they seek to wreck is an indication of their perceived injury.

The paradise-oriented (i.e., self-motivated) terrorists believe that they are a part of the universal war between the good and the evil. Being on the side of the former (i.e., good) legitimises them to inflict high casualties on the opposite side and ensures them a better future in the next world, directly ruled by the Almighty.

V. What Should Be A Proper Answer To Terrorism

The problem of dealing with terrorism involves a 5-fold integrated agenda. That is:

(a) What is the social context, i.e., the existing social reality, in which one has to respond to terrorism?

(b) Does US' declared response to September 11 inhuman act correspond to the existing social reality?

(c) Is there any alternative to the US' declared response to September 11 inhuman act?

(d) How to eradicate the long-term cause (i.e., the existing social system) of terrorism?

(e) How to eliminate its short-term cause (i.e., human psychology conditioning or motivational factors)?

Taking up the first question, all the international institutions as well as all the nation-states are one on the fact that the global economic slowdown is the main reality of the world today, with US economy further shrinking and sinking down day-by-day. All the expert economic forecasts reveal that the possibility of an

early recovery from recession is very remote.

Coming to the second question, the US option of a prolonged war is highly dangerous to the interests of the world people in general and those of the concerned countries in particular. First, it would worsen the state of ongoing world economic crisis, leading to a fall in production on the international scale as well as in each country. Second, it would cause further increase in world poverty, unemployment and misery, particularly in the developing countries. Third, it would generate more social unrest, providing an opportunity to the anti-social elements to create instability and disorder.

The option of a prolonged war against terrorism comes from the US super-powerist mindset which considers terrorism as a law and order problem and a challenge to US authority and hence needs to be crushed by force of arms. In its view, such a step would help restoring its recently damaged prestige and further consolidating of its hegemonies over the world.

Turning to the third question, a realistic and rational option before the world human community is to appeal to the UN to take over September 11 case in its own hands and sort out a solution that publicises the whole evidence against the accused involved in that case before the world public, establishes an international court to exclusively deal with this case, brings by all means the culprits before that court and requests the court for a realistic judgement on the basis of fact and law.

A Pro-Human And Pro-Nature Agenda

As regards the 4th question, it is necessary that the UN, having been the centre of the present-day world of inter-dependent nations makes a determined effort to set things right by restructuring and updating the existing global system on a realistic and rational basis.

The first need of a restructured and updated world is the acceptance of a vision of one world, while the 1945-UN charter gives one the vision of sovereign and independent nations.

'One World' vision requires the fundamental principal that puts the people and the environment at the centre of global activity (i.e., to serve the peoples' interests, on the one hand, and to take care of environmental conservation, on the other).

The fundamental principle of people-environment priority (which is imperative for human development) demands a new type of development model that stands for a five-fold

fundamental principle, i.e., environmental sustainability, equity (or social justice), productivity, democracy and transparency. This five-fold fundamental principle corresponds with the bio-social nature of humankind, i.e., coordinates the man's self-interest with his social interest.

This people-environment based development model represents the updated concept of development in contrast to the two traditional national development models, i.e., the corporate-led and the government-directed. While the corporate-led development model singles out profitability or productivity (which ensures the interests of money-owners alone) as its sole aim, the government-directed one opts for socialisation (or the nationalisation) of the means of production as its only goal (which serves the interests of the ruling politicians and bureaucrats). Both these traditional national models serve only the self-interest of humankind contrary to his bio-social character, i.e., comprising both the self-interest and the social interest. Again, they do not accord any priority to environment and any place to the upholding of democratic and transparent norms in the economic or growth process. Further, while the corporate model totally rejects the principle of equity (or social justice), the government-directed one fully ignores that of political equity and productivity.

A pro-human and pro-environment development, first of all, needs a stable and durable peace and security. To establish such a peace, it is necessary that the politics of domination, privilege and special powers be discarded, mode of confrontation be ended by total disarmament and vesting the full control of N-weapons in the UN, political, economic and cultural inequalities be ended and the development gap between the developed and the developing countries be removed.

Second, the pro-human and pro-environment development requires a social system that is based on fully democratic principles, functioning and structure. Such a social system necessitates the ending of the rule of special veto powers in the UN system and the restructuring of the nation-state management in the light of the principle ensuring the maximum possible empowerment of the people in decision making corresponding to the necessary dilution of the party centralised power.

Third, the pro-human and pro-environment development demands a rational and realistic economics whose concepts, laws and rules are required to be framed in the light of former's two top priorities (i.e., humankind and environment) and 5

principles (i.e., environmental sustainability, equity, productivity, democracy and transparency). In view of human's bio-social nature, both Adam Smith's basic economic principle of 'self-interest' and Marxian basic economic rule of state nationalisation of everything are one-sided in view of human's bio-social nature.

Fourth, the pro-human and pro-environment development calls for a way of life (or lifestyle) that is embedded in basic human and environmental values and promotes rational humanist and environmentalist thinking, behaviour and organisation among the people.

Fifth, the pro-human and pro-environment development should stand for scientific realism which studies and interprets natural phenomena in the light of scientific facts and social objects on the basis of authentic information and data.

Lastly, looking at the fifth question, it is necessary that, in any restructuring and updating process of the old social system, the entire constitutional-legal framework be based on the bio-social nature of man, i.e., on the coordination of human's self-interest with his social interest—thus bringing in a realistic human psychology conditioning or motivational factor to accelerate social progress.

VI. Summing Up

Today, the main direction of the human movement is towards peace, democracy, cooperation and integration. But the continuously weakening forces of hegemonism (i.e., super-powerism, national chauvinism, jingoism, etc.), fundamentalism (i.e., religion oriented, corporate-led, government-directed, etc., theories) and one-sidedism (i.e., individualism, extremism, formalism and all types of one-sided views) are, step by step, hindering this advance. But the outdated cannot withstand the momentum of the newly-emerging for long.

To carry forward the process of establishing a pro-human and pro-environment global order, it is necessary to work among the people according to given conditions. This work involves discussion on various issues. While discussing the topics and issues in the light of facts, we should try to explain our point by coordinating our general approach with the concerned facts. We should try to uphold this style on all occasions—whether it is a public meeting, group discussion or individual talk. This will help in our own awakening as well as of those engaged with us.

30-09-2001

VII. POSTSCRIPT

While this pamphlet was under print, the news came that the US and the British planes have attacked the military targets in Kabul, Kandahar and Jalalabad.

True to its super-powerist logic, the US has responded in a similar unjustifiable way as had earlier been adopted by the terrorists on September 11 deadly attacks. An old saying goes that birds of the same feather fly in the same manner.

The unjustification of the US attack, firstly, resides in the fact that it has targeted the whole of Afghanistan and also threatened to do the same to some other states for the fault of just one person.

Secondly, the unreasonableness of the US attack rests with the fact that, instead of handing the matter over to the UN, the present-day centre of the world, the former (i.e., the US) has taken upon itself the role of a policeman as well as a judge.

Thirdly, the irrationality of the US attack lies in the fact that despite the peoples demand all over the world, the former (i.e., the US) has not yet produced even a single proof against the prime suspect and his abettors.

Fourthly, the inappropriateness of the US attack exists in the fact that the former (i.e., the US) should before the said action have done an introspection as to why the people all over the world do, as reported by factual evidence collected by the US agencies, nurture so much dislike for the US which has contributed heaps of knowledge concerning science, technology, politics, economics, productivity, efficiency, quality and so on, to the world.

Fifthly, the impropriety of the US attack is embedded in the fact that, despite its daily sermons on peace pacts concerning the questions of Palestine, Jammu-Kashmir, Cyprus, Irish question, Basque, Kurd problem, Chechnya, etc., it has, just like terrorism, suddenly turned into a furious ghost ready to set the whole world ablaze.

May be, all socially undesirable phenomena in society do act in the same fashion. That is why the world people have rejected both super-powerism and terrorism and opted for human and environmental values.

Still, there is time to come back from the brink. Even now, the UN, despite its many weaknesses, does provide a way-out to the world.

7-10-2001

Statement On September 11 Tragic Events By The Front For The Trilateral Resolution Of Jammu-Kashmir Problem

The Front expresses its heartfelt sympathy and solidarity with the entire American people in general and all the bereaved families in particular. It condemns the inhuman, barbaric and devastating attack made against the innocent and the unconcerned civilians.

However, the shock, agony and anger produced by this ghastly and unconscionable act have now given way to calls for revenge and retribution or paying the terrorists back in their own coin. Nothing can be more harmful than this vengeful mindset which plunges the whole of humankind into a violence/counter-violence circle.

At this tragic occasion, the front makes an humble appeal to all the powers in the world, including the big ones, that the present-day human conflicts (whether generated by terrorism or counter-terrorism) cannot be resolved through a militaristic approach. This is, because the first imperative of the newly-emerged inter-dependent human community (now existing in the form of nation-states) is a stable and lasting peace. Obviously, such a peace can be achieved only by the resolution of all ongoing disputes and irritants through dialogue and negotiations—with compromising solutions, harmonising the interests of all the parties concerned, as viable and just answers.

The vengeful approach of building a global anti-terrorist 'strategic partnership' under the US leadership is as harmful to the cause of humanity as has been fundamentalist terrorism. All unilateral solutions, whether under NATO or some other front for 'democracy and freedom,' are likely to result in the undermining and destabilising of the existing world order and creating insecurity everywhere. The human cause demands a realistic thinking by all of us, including the adherents of 'tit for tat' formula.

The front is of the firm opinion that, at this critical moment—when the world is standing on the edge of a precipice and confronted with the only option of coexistence or nonexistence—the UN must shake its passivity, come boldly forward and wisely take the matters in its own hands.

First of all, it should chalk-out a rational and just response to the terrorist attacks on US cities, imparting justice to the American people and meeting out due punishment to the culprits and their accomplices.

Secondly, it should address to the basic cause of terrorism, local as well as global, which is none else than the prevailing social injustice and inequality the world over.

Thirdly, it should formulate a viable and just agenda and its action plan to establish a new world order, based on equality, democracy, transparency, productivity and environmental sustainability.

The whole historical experience testifies to the fact that the human community has always acted with common-sense at every crucial and decisive moment.

(A Note On the issue of International Terrorism with special reference to South Asia—A topic of discussion in a seminar held on November 29, 2001, in the Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar)

Nation-State: Main Factor Of Creating Terrorism

Both State And Group Terrorisms Are Equally Inhuman; Military Solution Has Become A Non-Solution; Response To Terrorism With A Nature-Human Friendly Agenda

I. Terrorism: From A Stray To A Global Issue

Terrorism has suddenly captured the world's centre-stage. Before the dastardly terrorist attack of September 11 in New York and Washington (for which the entire world people expressed their sorrow and sympathy with the American people, particularly the bereaved families, and condemned the terrorists), the issue of terrorism used to figure in media occasionally. At no time, it had become a focus of public attention anywhere in the world. Whenever and wherever it came before the people, it was taken as a stray incident. Even the US had then hardly laid any stress on this issue. It had often used this word selectively from event to event. For instance, it has not even yet accepted the Indian government's version of cross-border terrorism in Jammu-Kashmir (JK). It still goes on defining it as a secessionist movement and calling JK problem as a bilateral dispute between India and Pakistan.

For the first time, the US emphasised the term, 'terrorism' as an international issue after the September 11 tragic event and sounded a warning to the world that if this demon is not finished off at the first instance, it would destroy the whole social fabric,

creating insecurity and instability in the world. But, it neither defined international terrorism conceptually, nor classified its organisational form, nor explained its basic cause of origin and nor clarified as to why did the terrorists (who belonged to a well-educated, technically savvy and resourceful social strata and were armed with only crude weapons, like knives and cardboard cutters) selected the US (the most powerful and the richest country of the world) as a target for such a devastating assault. Did the terrorists attack suo motto or any US action incite them to do so? Obviously, one cannot answer these questions unless one is fully clear on the meaning, quality and other characteristics of terrorism.

II. Terrorism: Its Meaning, Style And Structure

It is a well-known fact that one cannot deal with any phenomenon effectively without adequately knowing its definition, i.e., its nature, behaviour and form. But, as far as the issue of terrorism is concerned, there has not yet been a common definition of this word at the international or the regional level. May be, this has been due to the existence of varying definitions of this word by different nation-states. Accordingly, there is a glut of different types of interpretations (such as, Spain's Basque, Peru's shining star, Burma's Karens, Kurds of Iraq, Iran and Turkey, Red Indians and other natives in the two Americas, LTTE, IRA, etc.) of this word, with each representing the interests of the country concerned. As an example, while the Indian concept characterises JK turmoil as a result of 'cross border terrorism', the Pakistani one interprets the same turmoil as 'freedom struggle' and its adherents as freedom fighters. Similar conflicting versions exist in the case of Arab/Israel, Turkey/Greece, Russia/Turkey, Iran/Arab Gulf states and a number of other countries. Obviously, the afore-mentioned chaotic situation all the more calls for an early but a common definition of terrorism. UN had for long remained unconcerned with this problem mainly due to the pressure of US and other big powers. But, today the matters have come to such a pass when the UN will perforce have to give priority to this question and try to sort out a consensus based definition of terrorism.

In our view, terrorism, deriving its inspiration from the ancient and the medieval theories of 'might is right' and 'end justifies the means' denotes a concept that stands for terror to achieve its aim. Terror in fact is an animal instinct and not human. Because animal is only a biological organism, while man has been a bio-

social being. Historical evidence shows that terrorism did exist in the brutal, savage and barbaric stages of human development. Traces of terrorism have continued even up to this day. But now the process of the emerging global human society, has socially made it fully undesirable.

Since terror does not represent a human urge, its concept lacks a human motivational value. Further, terrorism has no independent programme or agenda of its own, but generally exists as a handmaid of one of the different fundamentalist theories (such as religious, economic, political, ethnic, etc.). In this way, it has no exclusive objective of its own, but exists only as a methodology or technique of its concerned ideology.

In the present situation, terrorism exists in two forms: (a) terrorism as upheld by anti-government or non-government groups, and (b) state terrorism as practised by nation-states. Both varieties have the same human nature and behaviour, though the organisational forms are different. While the non-state terrorism is not bound by any rules or procedures, the state terrorism occurs when a given government resorts to terror beyond established national and international laws and conventions and violates the basic human rights as approved by the two 1966-UN conventions.

III. World Terrorism: Its Essential Feature

Viewing the shape, structure, agenda and practice of world terrorism, we find that over 95% of it comprises varying types of groups, each of which is country-specific. Nearly all of them are either religious, ethnic or linguistic minority groups. Organisationally, they have an underground structure. Their one-point agenda is secession from the concerned majoritarian nation-state or to secure some form of political-constitutional recognition of their respective identities. Their argument is that they are being discriminated against at the hands of their respective majority-dominated governments. They further add that they had exhausted all peaceful routes and the armed struggle is their last resort. Almost all the above struggles are confined to multi-religious or multi-ethnic countries. It is worth remembering that there are over 5,000 big or small social identities in the present-day world.

The distinguishing feature of the remaining 5% terrorists is that they have an international agenda (with varying shades), but no base area; operate as individual fighters; and lend their

services free to the ideologically identical national groups.

From the above, it follows that the majoritarian nationalism of each multi-coloured country has much to do in the generation of terrorism in that country.

However, the most inhuman crime of nation-state terrorism (comprising of all countries in the world) consists in its destroying and harming of our planet's environmental resources for financial considerations (whether relating to the state or the ruling group). The environmental terrorism, which creates a threat even to the entire bio-life on this earth, is more heinous than anti-human terrorism. Retrospectively, if one looks back at the past environmental record of the nation-states, particularly the developed and the former colonial powers, one finds that the nation-state environmental terrorism, had, during its 200-odd years rule, created a serious ecological imbalance, now looking the human community in the face.

IV. Why Terrorists Attacked US

Why did the terrorists select US as their target for the unprecedented September 11 inhuman attack? Was the US main hurdle in the attainment of their objective? After all, why they were so revengeful towards it?

No clue is available about the terrorists' intention, objective and target from any source so far. From the information released by the US intelligence agencies out of the record obtained by them from the 4 plane wreckages, one only gets that the 19 perpetrators were Arabs in origin, well-placed in social life and highly devoted religious persons.

However, two facts do provide us some inkling to sort out answers to our questions.

One is that no other country, past or present, has played the boss as aggressively as US has been doing since the end of the second world war. Even a casual look at the post-1945 US practice shows that the latter has scored a record of direct and indirect interventions in toppling its undesirable regimes and elevating its own puppet cliques all over the world.

Beginning with the terrorisation of the world by its inhuman and ruthless N-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it continuously went on fomenting troubles and interference in the affairs of other countries, such as Iran and Central American Republics in the 1950s, Brazil, Cuba and Vietnam in the 1960s, Chile, South Africa, Nicaragua, El-Salvador and Afghanistan in the 1970s, Panama,

Haiti, Angola, direct targeting of Libya and provoking Iran/Iraq war in the 1980s, and Somalia, Yugoslavia, Kosovo, firing of cruise missiles on Sudan and Afghanistan in the 1990s.

It did not stop there, but further engaged in the toppling of some people-oriented governments, like Patrice Lumumba's government in Zaire in 1960s and Dr. Mosaddaq's government in Iran in 1970s and in propping-up some of the most corrupt, despotic, tyrannical and militaristic regimes in the world, like Mobutu of Zaire, Islamic fundamentalists, such as Raza Shah Pehlavi in Iran, Zionism chauvinists in Israel, apartheid fanatics in South Africa, military dictators in Pakistan, etc.

While moulding the world according to its hegemonic preferences, the US claiming to be the highest democracy of the world, did not try to spread democracy and the rule of law anywhere in the world. Instead, it has, during the past 20 years, bombed about 10 poor and weak countries of the world—Libya, Grenada, Panama, Somalia, Haiti, Afghanistan, Sudan, Iraq, Bosnia and Yugoslavia—all comprising non-white population.

Ironically, it was none else than US, who played a pioneering role in building, rearing and developing Osama and Mullah Omar and their ilk. Osama was deputed by the CIA to Afghanistan for organising resistance to the Soviet Union and was then projected as a great theocratic leader.

The other fact concerning mass perception of the US consists of various signals, that were coming from different regions of the world before the unfortunate September 11 happening. For example, the level of hostility and hatred against the US in the world, often expressed through various public protests, media reports, intelligence accounts, etc., was continuously on the rise. The graph of terrorist attacks on US concerns each year during the last decade the world over (including 3 terrorist attacks—i.e., WTC 1993, intelligence HQ Langley Virginia 1994 and Oklahoma 1996—inside US itself), was going up uninterruptedly. The number of protests by the pro-poor forces along with NGOs against the US was growing more and more, with inequality, poverty and unemployment constantly rising upward. As early as February 2001, the US National Commission, headed by Senators Gary Hart and Warren Rudman, warned of a catastrophic attack in the US that would cause either 'mass destruction' or 'mass disruption'.

The above-stated two facts indicate as to how much public disliking for the US exists in the world.

The latest US challenge to the world people has come from the American Head of State, George Bush, who has, in his two recent pronouncements, warned one and all that if you are not with us (i.e., the US), you are with the terrorists and further that the US would, after winning the Afghanistan war, take action against 50 countries that harbour terrorists. It is this arrogant, overbearing and threatening US behaviour that generates mass hatred against US and not the US wealth, power and prosperity.

V. South Asian Terrorism With JK Issue As Its Flashpoint

Turning to the question of terrorism in South Asia—a region comprising 7 countries and inhabited by 1/5th of humankind (about 135 million people)—it is commonly known that terrorism, both state-led and group-related, remains a formidable force here. The region has the notoriety of having been the most volatile and violence prone area of the world. In the post-second world war period, it had witnessed 4 wars (3 between India and Pakistan and one between India and China)—a distinct record in this period. Out of seven countries located in this region, five big ones (i.e., India, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh—leaving Bhutan and Maldives still unaffected) are in the thick of terrorism.

Like other parts of the world, the South Asian terrorism is characterised by a struggle between the minority group terrorism and the majoritarian state terrorism.

In Sri Lanka, LTTE—i.e., Tamil minority terrorism—has been pitted against the Sinhala majoritarian state terrorism. In Bangladesh, the Chakma Buddhist minority community, formerly engaged in guerrilla war against the majoritarian state, has now succeeded in securing some autonomous position. Today, Bangla minority Hindu community has come under attack by Muslim fundamentalism. In Nepal, Maoist communists are at war with Nepal government. In Pakistan, the minority Shia and MQM terrorist outfits and the Sunni majoritarian state terrorism are at each other's throat. In India nearly two dozen minority outfits, including both religious and ethnic groups (like Kashmiri Muslims, Naga and Tripura tribal christians, Assam's ULFA and Bodo tribals and Manipur's NLF, etc.) plus Maoist guerrillas and the majoritarian Indian state are pounding each other.

In Bhutan, it is not armed struggle but the problem of its old settlers of Nepalese origin, who are demanding the same rights as enjoyed by its aboriginal people, that is disturbing it.

In Maldives, the problem of security remains mainly dependent on India.

India's 'big brotherly' behaviour is resented by the other six South Asian countries.

As regards the genesis of minority terrorism, it has not come from outside. It lies in different minority group's perception that the majoritarian nation-state has since long been doing injustice with them in regard to security, development, freedom of conscience and group identity problem. And the facts verify their feeling.

Retrospectively, if one looks back at the 20th century history of this region, one can observe that communal terrorism had, with its powerful grip on our social fabric, done us a great harm. In the pre-1947 India, communal terrorism carried us to the division of India into two parts—India and Pakistan. In the wake of August 1947 partition, about ten million people were butchered by two ferocious brands of communal terrorism—Hindu and Muslim. This was an unprecedented record of human killings in world history. Both the newly-emerged states had a full hand in this human carnage. In fact, both the Indian and the Pakistani states were its main organisers. In the entire post-1947 period, there had been about 35,000 communal clashes in India in which minority communities had suffered great losses. The high level of violence in India also resulted in the killing of 3 Indian leaders, i.e., Mahatma Gandhi, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. The first was killed by an insane Hindu, the second by a lunatic Sikh and the last by an LTTE fanatic.

The majoritarian Indian state was involved directly or indirectly in the occurrence of all violent acts in India but three stand out above all as a clear-cut example of former's naked terrorism—i.e., the denial of all human rights to Kashmiris in the post-1953 period, the 1984-operation blue star or the army attack on the Sikh golden temple and the connivance in the demolition of Babri Masjid by the Hindu fundamentalist terrorism.

Similarly, in Pakistan, the Punjabi-dominated Sunni state terrorism had, following the Hindu cleansing, launched its offensive against the ethnic Bangla Muslim community. In the ensuing final battle, the latter supported by India, succeeded in seceding Bangla region from Pakistan and establishing an independent and sovereign Bangladesh. After the split, Pakistan became the battle ground for communal clashes between Sunni Muslim majority supported by the majoritarian Pakistani state and the minority Muslim sects, like Shia, the legally outcast

Ahmadiyas, Mohajirs, and the ethnic Sindhis, Zikris, Baluchis, Pushtoons, etc. In the newly-established Bangladesh, the communal violence appeared in the form of fundamentalist Sunni majoritarian violence against the ethnic Chakma Buddhist tribals, Hindu minority community and the ethnic Bihari Muslim migrants.

The issue of terrorism in South Asia is closely related to the armed turmoil since engulfing India controlled JK. India characterises JK violence as 'cross-border terrorism', Pakistan calls it an indigenous 'freedom struggle'. The world perceives it as a native secessionist movement, with JK problem as a bilateral question between India and Pakistan. Technically, the latter definition may appear sound, but politically it lacks practicability. Because, in the light of present global reality, no public problem can be realistically handled without the involvement of the people concerned. Thus, politics and social practicability demonstrates its trilateral nature—the first reality of JK problem.

The second reality of JK problem, as shown by the recent world experience, and as demonstrated by 11 year armed struggle in JK, is that the afore-mentioned problem cannot be resolved through a military strategy. This is, because the newly-emerged process of globalisation has turned the concept and technique of military solution into non-solution. Hence all confrontationist techniques, now operating in JK, i.e., those of India, Pakistan and the militants, have become counter-productive.

The third reality of JK problem is that it can only be resolved through a compromising formula—a formula that reconciles the aspirations and the interests of all the three parties and that gives satisfaction of fulfilment to each one.

The 4th reality of JK problem is that the people of India, Pakistan and JK had a common past, face similar type of problems in the present and are destined to a common future.

Taking into consideration the above realities, we hold, that the following 3-point proposal can, and does, well serve the interests of India, Pakistan and JK people.

(A) The respective national aspirations and interests of India and Pakistan be balanced by jointly entrusting to them JK's sovereignty in the constitutional form of Indo-Pak Condominium in regard to JK's defence and foreign affairs.

(B) The regional aspirations and interests of JK people, especially the Kashmiris, be met by constitutionally accepting JK as an independent state, enjoying sovereign powers in all matters except defence and foreign affairs.

C) The ethnic aspirations and interests of JK's different ethno-regional communities be accommodated by giving maximum possible constitutional autonomy to each of them. JK state level matters may include, the head of state, high court, election commission, human development commission, environment commission, planning commission, etc.

Apart from satisfying the urges of the three parties concerned, the above formula further delivers to them as well as the world human community in many other ways.

It suits the world community by defusing one of the most dangerous global flashpoints.

It benefits the South Asian community by removing the blockades to its socio-economic development, common market and a joint defence, etc.

It further serves India, Pakistan and JK people by making them equal partners in economic development in which each India and Pakistan provides an equal amount of capital, while JK state contributes its share in the term of natural resources. Also, JK people get additional advantages by virtue of their becoming the citizens of the two countries and obtaining the facility of trading with them.

In sum, the Indo-Pak Condominium will be a new experiment of a global-oriented, development model, showing how the divergent national interests of various nations are reconciled and the different aspirations and concerns of various ethnicities harmonised.

VI. Reason Behind Terrorism

Taking up the question of the basic (or long-term) cause of terrorism, it lies in the existing nation-based social system and its chief human motivational factor, i.e., self-interest. Both the social system and its human motivational factor have, during their 200 years long national rule, brought forth an environmentally unsustainable, unjust and inequalitarian order where the mighty ride roughshod over the backs of the weak and the haves dominate the have-nots, with money and power constituting the accepted norms of justice and truth.

This assertion is fully obvious from the following points:

(a) The worsening state of environment with the deteriorating condition of its resources—air, water, land, forests, bio-diversity, etc.

(b) The over-lordship over the security council and UN by the 5 militarily most powerful N-countries, holding permanent seats

and the veto powers in the highest decision-making body.

(c) The domination in the IMF and WB of the few economically most powerful states; enjoying voting strength on the basis of their economic weightage in the two institutions.

(d) The virtual nuclear monopoly of the 5 big nuclear powers as guaranteed under the CTBT.

(e) The control of over 80% of the world economic and financial resources by a handful of developed countries (having about 20% of the world population), while about 80% of the world people (living in about 130 developing countries) subsist on less than 20% of the world resources.

(f) High inequality in every nation-state between the rich and the poor, especially in the developing countries where 1/3rd of their total population lives below the poverty line.

(g) The democratic or parliamentary system in every country dominated by corrupt and authoritarian parties based on money and muscle-power—thus depriving the majority of the common people any say in the governance.

(h) The national system's human motivational factor of self-interest emerging from Adam Smith's basic theory that man is selfish by nature has pushed its counterpart social interest to the background.

In fact self-interest is the basic instinct of the animal sphere, while man has, since his evolution as homo-sapien, become bio-social by nature. The characteristic of being half-social is the only quality that distinguishes human species from the animal ones. When man becomes devoid of social aspect, he turns out just like an animal in his lifestyle.

Since the attainment of money and power represents the maximisation of one's (or self) interest, the whole world is chasing after these two life-extending elixirs. This money and power-hunting business (by bringing in the most unsustainable environmental order and a highly unjust and inequitable human system) has now led the world to the brink of a serious environmental and human disaster.

As regards the short-term cause of terrorism, it rests with the social system's operational agency or the government. Oriented by the self-interest, the leaders of the national governments (based on the party system in every country), are mainly devoted to the maximisation of their own wealth and holding of power by fair means or foul. Their standard stock in trade is to say 'one thing and do the other.'

In this alarming situation, while saner people are concerned with finding an appropriate and rational way-out, the champions of the fatalist, mystic, super-naturalist and mythical doctrines are trying to push the people into a deep sea from where they could never emerge again. One, of these varieties is terrorism (i.e., an effect with its cause residing in nation-state or their governments).

VI. Response To Terrorism With A Nature-Human Friendly Agenda

Coming to the issue of a proper response to terrorism the proper course for the human community is to get the challenge of terrorism dealt through its present international agency, i.e., the UN. The latter should be requested to attend to the following three inter-related points, and chalk out a proper answer to the problem at hand:

First of all, it should formulate a rational and just response to the terrorist attack on US cities, imparting justice to the American people and meeting out due punishment to the culprits and their accomplices.

Secondly, it should address to the basic cause of terrorism, local as well as global, which is none else than the prevailing social injustice and inequality the world over.

Thirdly, it should formulate a viable and just agenda and its action plan to establish a New World Order, based on equality, democracy, transparency, productivity and environmental sustainability.

In our view, the strategic answer to all varieties of terrorism is the restructuring and updating of existing nation-based system on a realistic and rational basis at the global level. This restructuring and updating should—in order to address to the existing two fundamental social realities, i.e., unsustainable environment and unjust and inequalitarian human relation—adopt a pro-nature and pro-human Agenda, which also meets the demands of the newly-emerged social process of globalisation.

A Nature-Human Friendly Agenda

The first need of a restructured and updated world is the acceptance of a vision of one world, while the 1945-UN charter gives one the vision of sovereign and independent nations.

'One World' vision requires the fundamental principal that puts the people and the environment at the centre of global activity (i.e., to serve the peoples' interests, on the one hand, and to take

care of environmental conservation, on the other).

The fundamental principle of people-environment priority (which is imperative for human development) demands a new type of development model that stands for a five-fold fundamental principle, i.e., environmental sustainability, equity (or social justice), productivity, democracy and transparency. This five-fold fundamental principle corresponds with the bio-social nature of humankind, i.e., coordinates the man's self-interest with his social interest.

This people-environment based development model represents the updated concept of development in contrast to the two traditional national development models, i.e., the corporate-led and the government-directed. While the corporate-led development model singles out profitability or productivity (which ensures the interests of money-owners alone) as its sole aim, the government-directed one opts for socialisation (of the nationalisation) of the means of production as its only goal (which serves the interests of the ruling politicians and bureaucrats). Both these traditional national models serve only the self-interest of humankind contrary to his bio-social character, i.e., comprising both the self-interest and the social interest. Again, they do not accord any priority to environment and any place to the upholding of democratic and transparent norms in the economic or growth process. Further, while the corporate model totally rejects the principle of equity (or social justice), the government-directed one fully ignores that of political equity and productivity.

A pro-human and pro-environment development, first of all needs a stable and durable peace and security. To establish such a peace, it is necessary that the politics of domination, privilege and special powers be discarded, mode of confrontation and military solution be ended by total disarmament and vesting the full control of N-weapons in the UN, political, economic and cultural inequalities be ended and the development gap between the developed and the developing countries be removed.

Second, the pro-human and pro-environment development requires a social system that is based on fully democratic principles, functioning and structure. Such a social system necessitates the ending of the rule of special veto powers in the UN system and the restructuring of the nation-state management in the light of the principle ensuring the maximum possible empowerment of the people in decision-making corresponding

to the necessary dilution of the party-centralised power.

Third, the pro-human and pro-environment development demands a rational and realistic economics, whose concepts, laws and rules are required to be framed in the light of former's two top priorities (i.e., humankind and environment) and 5 principles (i.e., environmental sustainability, equity, productivity, democracy and transparency). In view of human's bio-social nature, both Adam Smith's basic economic principle of 'self-interest' and Marxian basic economic rule of state nationalisation of everything are one-sided in view of human's bio-social nature.

Fourth, the pro-human and pro-environment development calls for a way of life (or lifestyle) that is embedded in basic human and environmental values and promotes rational humanist and environmentalist thinking, behaviour and organisation among the people.

Fifth, the pro-human and pro-environment development should stand for scientific realism which studies and interprets natural phenomena in the light of scientific facts and social objects on the basis of authentic information and data.

Lastly, looking at the fifth question, it is necessary that, in any restructuring and updating process of the old social system the entire constitutional-legal framework be based on the bio-social nature of man, i.e., on the coordination of human's self-interest with his social interest—thus bringing in a realistic human psychology-conditioning or motivational factor to accelerate social progress.

In sum, capturing or killing Osama and Mullah Omar or destroying Al-Qaeda terrorist camps will not solve the problem. Because evil cannot be ended by doing more evil. If humanity is to be rid of the menace of terrorism then its (i.e., terrorism's) root cause need to be identified and eradicated by administering a realistic social prescription.

24-11-2001