

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) political Crisis is one of the oldest ethnic problems in the postcolonial reconstruction of the south Asian state. A peace accord was signed on 2 December 1997 between the then Government of Bangladesh and the *Parbattya Chittagram Jana Samhati Samiti* (PCJSS) with the following objectives: i. to end decades old ethnic insurgency in the CHT, ii. to establish peace and political stability in the CHT, and iii. to establish rights of the Jummas of the CHT.

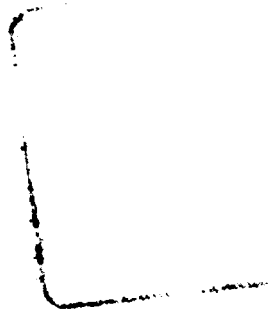
Almost ten years have passed since the conclusion of the accord, however, peace and political normalcy is yet to come back in the CHT. Instead, the situation has become more volatile & explosive in nature. Therefore, the primary argument of this book is that the CHT political crisis is yet to be over.

The book analyzes the impact of the CHT political crisis on the India's national security. Instead of defining national security in narrower sense, as the realists define always in term of interests, here it has been defined in broader perspective. It argues that realist's definition of security in term of 'national interests' is not meant for all strata of society. It cannot provide 'comprehensive security' for all. Therefore, the operational development of the 'security' as brought out in the book argues that 'security' be comprehensive requires on emphasizing on 'human security' for all.

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ETHNIC UNRESTS AND INDIA'S SECURITY CONCERNS



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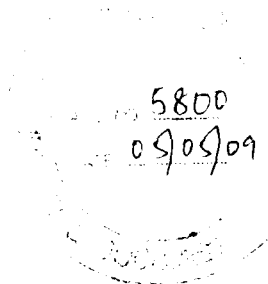
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Introduction and Conceptual Basis

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) political crisis of Bangladesh is one of the oldest ethnic problems in the post-colonial reconstruction of the South Asian nation states. The rise of ethnic insurgency in the second half of 1970s, tight militarization of the CHT, implantation of thousands of Muslim settlers from different plain districts of Bangladesh and communalization of politics in the CHT led to grave deterioration in the law and order situation of the region. The 'Jummas'¹ were in favor the CHT's integration with the Union of India during partition of the Indian sub-continent.² The Jummas also share ethnic and cultural linkages with communities living in many Northeastern Indian states, particularly in Mizoram and Tripura.³ Moreover, the CHT being geographically in proximity with Mizoram and Tripura, these two Indian states, more particularly the later one faced the problem of refugee influx from the CHT, whenever its political environment turned worse. This development urged India, if not directly, to expand indirectly its influence into the area. The Bangladesh's

security establishment, particularly in the post-Mujib era did not see it positively. Instead, it developed apprehension and misperception about India's motive in the CHT. The bilateral relations between India and Bangladesh severely deteriorated in the post-Mujib era. All these developments encouraged the hardliners of Bangladesh's security establishment to adopt a strategy, that encourages backing the anti Indian obscurantist elements and allow them to use its soil (particularly the CHT) in planning and execution of their subversive operations against India (discussed more in details in the third chapter).

A peace accord was signed between the Parbattya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Shamiti (PCJSS)⁴ and the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) on December 2, 1997 with a view to re-establish political stability and peace in the CHT. However, political cleavages between the JSS and the United Peoples Democratic Front (UPDF)⁵ continued unabated in the post accord situation of the CHT. In such an ugly political environment, the Awami League (AL) and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), the two main political parties of Bangladesh politicized the peace accord from their own strategic point of view. Finally, lack of sincerity on the part of the GoB in implementation of the peace accord further exacerbated the post accord situation of the CHT thereby making it more complicated and explosive in nature. In other words, the CHT political crisis continues to be a major problem.

The primary objective of this book is not to look at the national security problem of Bangladesh, which is emanated from ethnic insurgency and political movement of the Jummas in the CHT. It rather focuses

on how a national political problem of Bangladesh like the CHT political crisis impinges on India's national security. Undertaking an analytical work in such area is significant not only because of lacuna in the existing literature on the subject, but because of intractable nature of the CHT political crisis in the near future.

The book locates the areas where the CHT political crisis threatens India's national security. Chapter 1 of the book exclusively analyzes this problem. Besides locating this problem, the introductory part also attempts to define 'security' dealing with the major theoretical approaches, identifies India's present national security interests and major security issues, and succinctly deals with the intellectual debate in India over the means through which India can promote its national interests by overcoming the security challenges. The second chapter endeavors to trace in brief the genesis of the CHT political crisis and the political movement of the Jummas by addressing the root causes of the problem. It argues that a long-term solution of the CHT political crisis, GoB needs to address the causes of fear, apprehension and suspicion among the Jummas. It argues that spread of communitarian values and a national political consensus among the major political parties of Bangladesh are very important to overcome this problem. Chapter four analyses India's CHT policy. Here it argues, India paid more attention to its preferred economic and political interests and moved through regional and extra-regional geo-strategic calculation. Therefore, the government of India went on ignoring the security threat posed by the CHT political crisis. The conclusion of the dissertation argues

that the CHT political crisis requires a permanent solution for national security interests of both India and Bangladesh. Bilateral initiative addressing the root causes of the problem can play an effective role in this regard without compromising the core national interests of both the nations- India and Bangladesh.

Conceptual Basis: Dimensions of Security

In international relations (IR), the primary objective of every nation is to protect and promote its national interests and guard national security against any possible external encroachment. What is 'security'?

Territorial integrity without full sovereignty or sovereignty without full territorial integrity can never be considered true security.⁶ (Janayantanuja Bandhyopadhyaya)

*A nation in the international system is secure only when it is capable of maintaining its independent identity and territorial integrity.*⁷ (Bary Buzan)

Sometimes many nations compel to surrender their sovereignty to a considerable extent either through treaties, agreements or simply because of the domination of a powerful state on a comparatively less powerful state even without losing territorial integrity. For instance, many West and the East European nations, during the Cold-War period compromised their sovereignty to the US and the USSR respectively partly due to the strong domination by the latter, albeit these states did not lose their territorial integrity. Similarly, 'territorial integrity is also partially lost without endangering sovereignty. For example, India lost some of her territory to China between 1959

and 1962 without endangering its sovereignty.⁸

Therefore, 'security' does not only mean preservation of territorial integrity or boundaries of the state but it also includes maintenance independent identity and functional integrity of a state at the external environment.

For Walter Lippmann, security means preservation of core values of a state by any means. He says,

A nation is secured to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war.⁹

Lippmann's definition is not free from shortcomings. Only the powerful nations have the capabilities to preserve the core values by victory in war, and such victory is certain only when it is fought against a comparatively less powerful state. The US's victory in the recent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq has been possible only due to high military superiority of the US over these two states. Similarly, when the problem is between two equally powerful states with equal nuclear strike capability, waging war is not an easy task even when the enemy nation encroaches some of its core values. For instance, despite knowing the fact that Pakistan attacks its core values like democracy, secularism in diverge ways, India could not wage a full-fledged war against Pakistan in the post Pokharan-II, because Pakistan attained nuclear parity and second strike capability against India. Sometimes, a strong anti war international public

opinion also stands as an impediment to declare a highly escalated war against an adversary.

Non-Military Dimension of Security

There are also many, who argue that the notion of security study remains inadequate without considering the non-military and human aspects of security.¹⁰ Sometimes, a state fails to provide security to the lives and properties of the people. People's agitation against the existing state's apparatus reaches at peak. Political instability arising out of such situation makes the state not only externally weak, but in extreme cases, throws it into territorial disintegration. The case of the former USSR is a classic example in this regard. Considering all these aspects, security could be said to consist of

- i. preservation of territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- ii. preservation of core values,
- iii. promotion of peripheral interests which vary from state to state and from time to time depending the relative capabilities of the nation states and circumstances,
- iv. providing security to the lives and properties of the people.

Ethnicity and the Problem of National Integration

All the major South Asian states face the problem of ethnic conflicts. Sri Lanka faces the problem of political and geo-graphical integration in the Northeastern parts, where the LTTE has been waging a war against the Sinhalese dominated Sri Lankan Government for a

separate political entity for the Tamil people. India faces similar problem in many of the Northeastern states like Assam, Tripura, Manipur, Nagaland, Maghalaya and in Jammu and Kashmir. Ethnic insurgency in the CHT is a major problem of Bangladesh. Similarly, Pakistan faces such problem in Karachi, Baluchistan. Infact, ethnic problem is one of the major problems in the postcolonial reconstruction of the South Asian states. This problem has a regional dimension because most of the South Asian states are victims of this problem. The ethnic problem of one state has link to the ethnic problems of other states due to cultural and linguistic proximity between people of these states. Therefore, it is a threat to the security, both military and non-military, of the both parties. For example, the political crisis has its link to the ethnic insurgency in the Northeast of India. Therefore, it impinges not only on the security of Bangladesh, but also on the security of India, which has been analyzed in details in chapter three. Ethnic nationalism and ethnic insurgency may not pose a serious military threat, but it continues to be a major threat to human security and promotion of good governance.

Security: Different Theoretical Perspective

What are the survival strategies of the nation states in the domain of international relations? How far does military power ensure national integrity and core values of a state? Is security is an interdependent concept among numerous actors of our international system? What is the functional role of international institutions? How far have the international institutions like the UNO, the WTO been successful in achieving

their functional objectives? To address the above questions, we need to look at contemporary theories, which exclusively deal with the concept of 'security'.

The realist school of thought argues that international political system is always anarchic in nature.¹¹ Political realism holds the views that there is constant clash of interests among the actors in the international system and in such an anarchic environment, the states have to depend on their relative powers for ensuring their survival and other vital national interests. As classical realist, Hans J. Morgenthau says:

A political policy seeks either to keep power, to increase power or to demonstrate power. A nation, whose foreign policy tends towards keeping power and not towards changing the distribution of power in its favor pursues a policy status quo. A nation whose policy seeks a favorable change in power status seeks a policy of imperialism. A nation policy that seeks to demonstrate the power it has, either for maintaining it, pursues a policy of prestige.¹²

Morgenthau's observation carries significant in many respects. For instance, in the politics of South Asia, India is determined to preserve its status quo as a regional power. Similarly, interalia other objectives, the US's post 9/11 military demonstrations in Afghanistan and Iraq have been motivated to a considerable extent for regaining back its military prestige lost during 9/11 incident.

The neo-realists assume, uncertainty arising out of

miscalculation and distrust is inherent in the international system whether it is bi-polar, multi-polar or uni-polar in nature. According to Kenneth Waltz, although the behavior of the nation states changes with change in international systemic order and resultant shift in distribution of capability among the actors, the functional objective i.e. ensuring survival and other vital interests remain unchanged. However, every state, as Waltz says, always remains concerned about its relative power before taking any political action.¹³

Therefore, according to the realists, power is the most decisive force that determines the foreign policy orientation of a state. What do the realists mean by the term 'power'?

By the term 'power,' the realists generally mean military capabilities.¹⁴ In international relations, power means the relative ability of one actor to influence the behavior of the other actors. According to Robert A Dahl, power means the ability to shift the probability of outcomes. He explains it in the following language:

When A is believed to have power over B, A can surely get B to do something, which B would not otherwise do.¹⁵

Scharzenber is another scholar who also defined power similarly. In his words,

*Power means capacity to impose one's will on other by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance.*¹⁶

From the above discussion, we can briefly highlight political realism in the following points:

- i. The realists are primary concerned about national security.
- ii. Military power is the most vital force in ensuring national security,
- iii. As there is constant clash of interests among the actors in the international system, they are very pessimistic about international co-operation among them. International relations are a prisoner's dilemma game. Therefore, cooperation among the actors arises only out of the dilemmas of common aversion and common interests.¹⁷

Contrary to the realist's assumption on 'security', institutionalists and the neo-liberalists argue that the concept of security is interdependence among the actors, and this is relevant particularly in the era of globalization. They hold the view that institutionalized form of co-operation helps governs the anarchic international system better and provides wider scope for international peace and ensures more the security of the nation states.¹⁸

Democratic peace theory, another liberal approach to the study of international security, argues that spread of democratic values, ideological commitment to human rights and transnational interdependence can promote and maintain better international security.¹⁹

International institutions like the UNO, the WTO, and arms control regimes such as the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), Fissile Material Cut of Treaty (FMCT), and Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Treaty (NPT), regional institutions like the European Union (EU), Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) etc. have of-course contributed widely in promoting international co-operation among the nation-states. For instance, the UNO provided good offices, from time to time, as means for pacific settlement of international and regional disputes (e.g. Indo-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir, Arab-Israeli conflict over West Bank, Gaza Strip etc.). It has been successful in containing escalation of many conflicts in many war torn areas like Lebanon, Yemen, Congo, Cyprus, Rwanda etc. by conducting peacekeeping operations. Similarly, the WTO with 150 member countries is now one of the most powerful global institutions with executive, legislative and judicial authority. It has a 'Dispute Settlement Body' (DSP) for pacific settlement of trade-related disputes arising among the member-states.

Yet, at another level we find, these global institutions have failed largely to enforce their rules effectively especially when the interests of the big powers were involved. For example, the UN Security Council, the principal peace-enforcing agency of the UN, lost its usefulness and creditability, when the US, without its endorsement, intervened in the Korean crisis (1950-53) and very recently in Iraq. Similarly, the WTO has failed to secure the US's ratification to the Kyoto protocol, albeit, the US's ratification is essential for preserving our bio-diversity and eco-inhabitation.

According to the realists, the failure of these two global institutions in effective enforcement of these principles is pre-eminent because these institutions

remain under the control of the powerful states. Therefore, they primarily function to promote the global interests of these powerful states. Kenneth Waltz strongly argues that concept of globalization is originated in the US. Naturally, all current institutions and rules that sustain and promote global economy are under American control.²⁰

Waltz's observation on 'globalization' is significant in many respects. WTO, the principal rule making body of the globalization process incorporates all the original treaty provisions of the Dunkel's proposals or General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The agreements on agriculture (AOA), intellectual property rights (TRIPs) and trade related investment (TRIMs) under the WTO regime promote global economic interests of the Northern Developed Nations in general and USA in particular.²¹ Out of the 500 largest MNCs, that play the key role in the globalization process, 441 are located in the Triad (NAFTA, which is under the US domination, EU and Japan), and only 14 outside the OECD countries.²²

Realists also argue that institutionalization and conceptualization of regimes is interest based. As a result, a shift in the pattern interests and preferences of the actors, which is resulted from international systemic change, brings a change either in the regime or an end in it entirely.²³

The critical theorists, on the other hand, believe that security is assured better only through human emancipation and when it is understood in terms of freeing people as individuals and groups from social, physical, economic, political and other constraints that

stop them from carrying out what they freely chose to do.²⁴

The post-modernists emphasize on re-conceptualization of the term 'security' by replacing realism with a communitarian discourse. They believe that the 'post-modern epistemic community' can help overcoming the traditional security dilemma by spreading communitarian values.²⁵

Social constructivism, another approach to the study of international relations, emphasizes on bridging the gap between rationalism (neo-realism and neo-liberalism) and reflectivism (post-modernism, critical theory, normative theory etc.). The social constructivist thinkers argue that the fundamental structures of international politics are socially constructed and a change in our way of thinking can create a scope for greater international security. A 'security community', which emphasizes on shared knowledge and maintains trust in it, can resolve international disputes without war.²⁶

Security Dilemma in the 21st Century

Following the end of the Cold War, there was anticipation that a paradigmatic shift in security studies was likely to occur in international relations. Globalization would mitigate military competition and conflict through the process of institutionalized form of cooperation. The increasing trend in the globalization process and institutionalized forms of cooperation (CBMs both military and non-military) have undoubtedly played significant role in lessening down the competitive aspects of the security dilemma

between states. ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), which looks after ASEAN as well as trans-ASEAN regional security issues, is a classic example of institutionalized form of cooperation. Similarly, CBMs between India and China helped them overcoming their mutual distrust to a considerable extent.

However, on the other hand, we find, nuclear powers, although emphasize on nuclear non-proliferation, continue to enhance the quality of their nuclear strike capability through computer simulation tests and other sophisticated techniques. The nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan in 1998, USA's determination in deploying a National Missile Defense System (NMD) against 'rogue!' states and opposition by both Russia and China indicate that the national security interests continue to maintain its importance in the beginning of the new century. The recent Iraq war without endorsement of the UN mechanism has further reflected a lack of consensus among the actors in generating cooperative security ideas. Therefore, traditional security ambiguity with mutual distrust, apprehension and suspicion continues to dominate the behavior of the nation states in the domain of international relation's in the beginning of the 21st century.

National Interests, Security Issues and Security Policy of India

National interests with the acceptance of the core ones (preservation of territorial integrity and sovereignty and security to the life and property of the people) and security issues of a State are not static. The priority on the types of national interests and security issues

depends on the prevailing circumstances and the relative capabilities of the State. The security policy of a State protects and promotes national interests by neutralizing or defeating the security challenges. Now, India's core national interests are

- i. preservation of territorial integrity and national sovereignty;
- ii. ensuring the life and people at home and abroad;
- iii. maintaining status quo in South Asia,
- iv. securing greater international participation on issues of regional and global interests,
- v. attaining permanent membership of the UN,
- vi. building a multi-polar world with India as one of the many power centers,
- vii. ensuring more democratization of the international institutions like the UN, WTO etc.

The following are the most vital security challenges that India now externally faces in its attempts to promote national interests:

- i. *US's unilateralism in international affairs,*
- ii. Western's interferences in the internal affairs of weaker states through justification of humanitarian intervention,
- iii. International terrorism,
- iv. Unresolved territorial disputes with neighbors particularly with China and Pakistan,

- v. Continuation of Sino-Pakistani strategic cooperation,
- vi. Problems like militancy and insurgency, refugee and illegal migration from across the border.

Security Policy

There is a continuing debate about how India should respond to the security challenges and meet its national interests. Like political realism, one school of thought strongly holds the view that military capability continues to maintain its influence in achieving security goals. As a result, they argue that India's national interests would be in jeopardy if it does not maintain substantial military power with minimum nuclear strike capability against the potential nuclear adversaries.²⁷ Therefore, this school of thought strongly emphasizes on military modernization program- both conventional and non-conventional. The school now dominates India's security policymaking. India's continuous researches in indigenous ballistic missile development program and strategic cooperation with Russia and even with Israel²⁸ are good evidences in this regard. However, unlike the realists, the proponents of this school assume that the concept of security is interdependent and this is especially relevant in South Asian context. India always perceives China's as a 'transnational' power and its determination to expand its influence in South Asia as threat to its status quo. Similarly, Pakistan's intractable quest for parity with India aims at countering India's growing influence in South Asia. This created a triangular strategic competition involving three nuclear powers in the region.²⁹ India's Chinese threat perception will

continue to persist if Chinese military modernization program and its strategic linkage with Pakistan continue. This urges India to carry on a minimum military preparedness program against any possible Chinese military strike. On the other hand, given historical animosity between Pakistan and India, Pakistan considers such a move of India as threat to its security.

We need to ask two vital questions here. Can military power alone help India in overcoming its security problems? In other words, how long can India sustain its defense preparedness program without or with low economic prosperity?

From the experiences, it seems that military power is not always a viable force in containing or solving problems like militancy/insurgency, refugee and illegal trans-border movement (migration) of people. India deployed thousands of military and para-military forces in Jammu and Kashmir and North East India to contain or crush down militancy/insurgency. However, solution of these problems is still far cry. Similarly, security forces failed to contain illegal trans-border movement of people. This has fuelled communal tension between the natives and migrants and created societal insecurity in many of the North-Eastern Indian states, particularly in Assam, Tripura and Maghalaya: Many feel that an integrative regional security dialogue shall be an effective strategy in tackling these problems and ameliorating the social security of the peoples of South Asia.³⁰ India's military might with a minimum nuclear deterrence may deter China from taking another military adventurism like the 1962 one or forcefully imposing an unacceptable military solution

of the unresolved border problem. It may also help India overcoming the apprehension of Western humanitarian intervention or imposing an unbalanced Western mediation over the Kashmir problem. However, in true sense, it never creates durable security stability or peaceful environment in South Asia. Misperception and miscalculation between India and China and more particularly between India and Pakistan may bring an immediate danger of nuclear catastrophe. Here many argue that better relations with China shall improve India's security environment in South Asia largely. It will help not only in checkmating Sino-Pakistani strategic nexus, but it also helps India in troop's deployment in large number to the Indo-Pakistani border in case of security urgency. They believe, a speedy solution of the unresolved territorial dispute with some flexibility shall remarkably improve and broaden Sino-India relations in diverse areas including the security sector.³¹

However, the immediate threat of nuclear brinkmanship emanates not from Sino-Indian love and hated relations, but from the much-strained India-Pakistan relations. That is why, another group of scholars argue, so long as China, India and Pakistan cannot overcome the present security and diplomatic orthodoxies, the hope for durable stability and peace in South Asia is less likely. For meeting this noble objective, they argue, Beijing, New Delhi and Islamabad must undertake a series of bi-lateral and trilateral initiatives, both political and arms control.³²

A long-term military potential highly depends on the strength and stability of the economic infrastructure and internal security (political stability).³³ In other

words, for sustainability of the military infrastructural development program, India needs to enjoy stability in its economic growth rate. Many believe that India can significantly overcome this problem by building a harmonized society through the promotion of democratic values and spread of communitarian ideals and containing its internal problems like politics of criminalization and communalization.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is clear that a paradigm shift in national and international security study is yet to occur. Nation states are still embroiled with the traditional security ambiguity. The continuous enhancement of military strike capability (conventional and nuclear) by nuclear and nuclear threshold and non-nuclear weaponized states, the US's plan to militarize the space (NMD) and stiff opposition of China and Russia to such plan reflect that nation states are still embroiled with the traditional security approach. The recent US's led Iraq war without the UN sanction seriously questioned the creditability of this globally represented international institution in imposing its order on the nation states.

A paradigm shift in the international security study requires ratification and implementation of arms control and arms reduction treaties like START-I, START-II, NPT, CTBT Chemical and Biological Convention. The nuclear weaponized States (both declared and threshold) also need unconditional reduction and elimination of nukes. Similarly, the WTO also requires more institutionalization and democratization. However, such an outcome is very least likely because

the powerful States are not co-operative in this regard. The provision of computer simulation tests under the CTBT (a monopoly of the N-5) is a clear indication in this regard.

This is however not to say that there is absence of institutionalized form of cooperation. Nevertheless, as John Mearsheimer argues, the incompatibility of state's goals and interests in the era of globalization enhances the competitive nature in the anarchic system and makes conflict as inevitable as cooperation.³⁴

In India, we find, while there is a dominant feeling about the military role in achieving goals of national interests, many believe that India needs to witness economic prosperity to overcome its internal security exigencies by promoting its institutional values and spreading communitarian ideals. However, the thesis argues that security to be comprehensive requires not only economic prosperity and a strong military might but also 'good governance.'³⁵ A Nation's security is never comprehensive if one region faces the problems of unabated insurgency and illegal migration. That is, the concept of national security should not mean only for the majority communities, but also include the interests of the minority communities living within the national boundary. Therefore, national security is defined here from both the external and internal perspectives. In other words, national security should mean as a concept, which helps the state in not only maintaining its territorial integrity and independent identity in external environment, but also in preserving its core values and protecting the lives and properties of its citizens through good governance in the internal atmosphere. The CHT political crisis of Bangladesh

is not an immediate military threat to national security of India. However, as the process of islamization continues in the CHT with more settlement of Muslims, it may pose a serious threat to not only its values of democracy, but also its economic and geo-strategic interests in the end.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Manobendra Narayan Larma, the founder of the PCJSS used first the term 'Jumma' in the 1970s to present a separate collective identification of the thirteen ethnic groups of the CHT from the Bengali community. Before 1970s, they were called by themselves as 'hill people' because they mostly lived in the hilly areas. The Government of Bangladesh calls them as 'tribal people'. Therefore, throughout the thesis, the terms 'hill people', Jumma people and tribal people have used interchangeably. The term 'Jumma' has been derived from 'Jum' a kind of cultivation, (also known as slash and burn cultivation/shifting cultivation), which is generally practiced on the slopes of hilly areas. All these ethnic groups of the CHT once used to depend on this type of cultivation for their livelihood.
2. For instance, Sneha Kumar Chakma, Ganasyam Dewan, Lalit Mohan Chakma, the contemporary leaders of these ethnic groups wanted merger of the CHT with the Union of India and for the purpose, they met several times the contemporary national leaders of India. For details see Subir Bhaumik, "Strategic Pawn: India's Policy in the CHT", in Subir Bhaumik et.al. *Living on the Edge: Essays on the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, Kathmandu: South Asia Forum for Human Rights, 1997, p. 140. Similar opinion had also been reflected in a memorandum, which laid down the political demands of the CHT's people to the committee of India's Constituent Assembly. The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peoples Association (CHTPA) submitted it on February 15, 1997. Also, see the letter of the CHTPA to Dr. Syamaprasad Mukerjee, which expressed displeasure and disappointment over the Government of India's intransigent response for the CHT's merger with Union of India, 24 January 1948.
3. For instance, Chakma, Tripura, Mog (Marma), Lushai,

Bhown live in large number in Mizoram and Tripura states of India. The partition of the Indian sub-continent divided these communities and now they live on both sides of the international border.

4. The Parbattya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS) was formed in the post liberation period of Bangladesh. The primary objective of this party was to fight for the rights of the Jummas of the CHT in the post independent period of Bangladesh. After prolonged fighting against Bangladesh security establishment, it finally laid down arms on 2 December 1997, when it signed a peace accord with the Government of Bangladesh.
5. The United Peoples Democratic Front (UPDF) was formed on 26 December 1998 by the members of a faction of once three frontline democratic organizations of the PCJSS-- Hill Students Council (HSC), Hill Peoples Council (HPC) and Hill Women Federation (HWF). This party expressed dissatisfaction over the contents of the peace accord and vowed to fight for full autonomy for the Jumma people. For details, see the Primary Declaration of the UPDF, 26 December 1998, and <http://www.updfcht.org>, the official website of the UPDF.
6. Jayantanuja Bandyopadhyaya, *The Making of India's Foreign Policy*, Calcutta: Allied Publishers, 1991, p. 10.
7. See John Baylis, "International and global security in the post cold-war", in John Baylis et. al., *The Globalization of World's Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 255.
8. Bandyopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10
9. Baylis, *op.cit.*, p .255.
10. For non-military threat to security, see the introductory and concluding chapters of P.R. Chari (ed), *Perspective on National Security in South Asia: In Search of a New Paradigm*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2000. The concept of comprehensive security developed by Delhi Policy Group also identifies the non-military threat to the security of a nation. For details on 'comprehensive security', see, Lt. General (Rtd.) V.R. Raghvan, *Comprehensive Security; a Field Marshal Cariappa Memorial Lecture*, New Delhi, 7 October 2001.
11. See for instance, Jack Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp.16-17, Arthur A. Stein, *Why Nations Cooperate*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990, pp. 4-5.
12. Morgenthau as quoted in Jack Donnelly, *op. cit.* p. 46. Also,

- see, Arthur A. Stein, *Why Nations Cooperate*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990, Hans. J. Morghenthau, *Politics among Nations*, New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers, 1985, pp. 4-5 & 53-57.
13. Baylis, *op. cit.*, p.247.
 14. Jack Donnelly, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
 15. Jack Donnelly, *op. cit.*, p. 17
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. Steve L. Lamy, "Contemporary Mainstream Approaches: Neo-realism and Neo-Liberalism", in John Baylis et. al, *op.cit.*, p. 187. Also for detailed analysis about the prisoner's dilemma game' in international relations and cooperation among the nation states that is arisen out of the dilemmas of common interests and common aversions, see Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-42.
 18. Lamy, *op. cit.*, p.191, Donnelly, *op.cit.*, p. 29.
 19. Baylis, *op.cit.*, pp. 262-63.
 20. Lamy, *op.cit.*, p. 194.
 21. For detailed analysis, see Mark Ritchie et.al., *WTO and the Globalization of Food Insecurity*, San Francisco: International Forum on Globalization (IFG), 1999, pp.13-27, Vandana Shiva, "War against Nature and the People of the South", in Surah Anderson (ed.), *View From The South: The Effect of Globalization and the WTO on The Third World Countries*, San Francisco: IFG, c,d, pp. 144-116, Martin Khor, "Development Trade and Environment: Third World Perspective" in Vandana Shiva et.al., *The Future of Progress: Reflection on Environment and Development*, Dehradun : Natraj, 1994, p.41-42 and Mustapha Kamal Pasha, "Globalization and Poverty in South Asia", *Millennium*, vol. 25, No. 3, 1996, pp. 642-50.
 22. Paul Hirst, *War and Power in the 21st Century*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001, p. 122.
 23. For detailed analysis about "regime formation and regime change, see Stein, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-53.
 24. Baylis, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
 25. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-68.
 26. *Ibid.*, pp. 265-66.
 27. For instance, see Raju G.C. Thomas, "India's Security Environment", in P. Sahadevan (ed.), *Conflict and Peacemaking in South Asia*, New Delhi: Lancer's Book, 2001, pp. 78-79. Parvin Sawhney, an expert on Strategic Studies opines that the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's historical visit to China in 1988 became possible because of India's development of a credible military force against China. For detail, see Parvin Sawhney, "India, China and Pakistan: Conventional Military

- Rivalry", in the same book, pp. 108, 160-162.
28. India was a staunch supporter to the Palestinian liberation movement. Moreover, having a large size of Muslim population and firm ideological commitment against colonialism, India was not persuaded in establishing full fledged diplomatic relations with Israel until 1997 when the then Israel's President Mr. Ezer Weizemen paid a week long official visit to New Delhi. Since then, India entered into numerous military deals with Israel. The proposed sale of Falcons, known as AWACS to India is the latest one.
 29. P. Sahadevan, "Competing Regional Interests, Conflicts Formation and Conflict Management in South Asia" in P. Sahadevan (ed.), *Conflict and Peace Making in South Asia*, op. cit., pp. 20-26.
 30. Ross Mallick, *Ethnicity and Human Rights in South Asia*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1998, pp. 8-37. Crumbling of democratic institutions, alienation of minority population (political and religious persecution and economic deprivation), nexus between corrupt elements in the governing apparatus are the three most important factors that led generation of ethnic insurgency, refugee problem and illegal trans-border movement of people in South Asia. Among the South Asian states, India has been more victimized to this problem than the other has. Refugees in large number from Bangladesh, Srilanka, Nepal, and Tibet have poured into India from time to time. Therefore, unless social, political and economic security of the people is not improved, this problem will continue to plague the South Asian security environment. For details see, P.R. Chari (eds.), *Perspectives on National Security in South Asia: In Search of a New Paradigm*, op. cit. and *Security and Governance in South Asia*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2001, pp.159-78.
 31. C.V. Ranganathan and Vinod C. Khanna, *India and China: The Way Ahead After 'Maó's India War'*, New Delhi: Har Anand, 2000, pp. 155-81, Arun Kumar Banerji, "India-China Relations: Retrospect and Prospects" in Arun Kumar Banerji et. al., *Peoples Republic of China at Fifty*, New Delhi: Lancers' Book, 2001, pp. 32-50.
 32. Kanti P. Bajpai, "Managing a Strategic Triangle: India, China and Pakistan" in P. Sahadevan (ed.), *Conflict and Peace Making in South Asia*", op. cit, pp. 84-103, Swaran Singh, "Controlling Interstate Competition through CBMs", in the same book, pp. 164-83.

33. Bandyopadhyaya, *op.cit.*, p. 11.
34. For John Mearsheimer on the possibility of cooperation among the nation states in the era of globalization, see Baylis, *op.cit.*, p. 267.
35. Good governance includes the following features: i. Promotion of efficiency and transparency in public administration, ii. Respect for human rights and rule of law, iii. Greater role for the civilian bodies in monitoring and managing the security sector. For details about good governance, see P.R. Chari, "Security and Governance in South Asia: Their Linkages", in P.R. Chari, (ed.), *Security and Governance in South Asia*, *op. cit.* p. 14.