EPS-15: SOUTH ASIA: ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND POLITICS
ASSIGNMENT
TMA

Answer questions in each category. Answer in your own words.

A)   **DCQ: Answer any two of the following in about 500 words each.**   **20x2=40**

1)   What are the challenges to pluralism in South Asia? How are the countries in the region managing them?

2)   Briefly describe the different strategies of liberation adopted in South Asia.

3)   Examine the role of political parties in the political system of Pakistan.

4)   What are Structural Adjustment Programmes? What have their impact in South Asia?

B)   **MCQ: Answer any four of the following in about 250 words each.**   **12x4=48**

5)   Briefly describe the role of religion in the politics of Pakistan.

6)   Describe the various theoretical explanations for the military intervention in the politics of Pakistan

7)   Indo-centrism and asymmetry of resources affect the relations between the countries of South Asia. Explain.

8)   Write a short note on the contentious issues between India and Nepal.

9)   Examine the basic changes in the polity of Bangladesh introduced during the military rule.

10)   Describe the nature of society in Sri Lanka with particular reference to its linguistic and ethnic composition.

11)   Write a note on the ethno-democratic movements in Bhutan.

12)   Briefly describe the methods adopted by the countries of South Asia to resolve inter-state disputes in the region.

C)   **SCQ: Write a short note on any two of the following in about 50 words each.**   **6x2=12**

13)   a) Role of Middle power in the international system

       b) Neoliberal approach to development

       c) India's nuclear doctrine

       d) Soft power resources.

E.P.S.-15

SouthAsia: Economy, Polity and Society

Answer questions in each category. Answer in your own words.

(A) DCQ: Answer any two of the following in about 500 words each.

Q. 1. What are the challenges to pluralism in South Asia? How are the countries in the region managing them?

Ans. Pluralism is a concept which accommodates diversity and regards diversity as inevitable. It denotes the existence of differences in terms of culture, language, customs, and traditions etc. Pluralism seeks to promote and protect the diversities in spite of (or more so because of) the differences among them.

Pluralism has a long history of evolution. It emerged as a protest against monism of the German Idealistic School of Thought led by Hegel. As early as in 1830s the idea of Pluralism started taking roots as an approach to philosophy, psychology and even theology, which have been arguing differently about their idea of Pluralism. Simply for the sake of acquaintance, Psychological pluralism claimed that, there exist other independent beings, spiritual beings or souls that cannot be regarded as mere part of the universal cosmic soul. Similarly, Cosmological pluralism advocated the belief in the plurality of worlds inhabited by the rational beings or the belief in various systems of bodies (the solar system, the milky way etc). Theological pluralism reintroduced the concept of polytheism.

In 1870s, the Pluralism as an idea spread to the various other fields like social sciences. In the early 20th century it made its way into the domain of applied politics with many pluralists like Harold Laski, Frederic Maitland, G.D.H Cole, Sidney and Beatrice Webb and others who criticized the core of monist theory of sovereignty which held the sovereignty of state as indivisible and inalienable. These pluralists argued that it is in the interest of the state, if the state concedes its power to the plural institutions.

The South Asian Situation

Most of the countries of South Asia are multi-cultural and multi-national. Apart from the Maldives, all the countries have a rich linguistic diversity. All the major religions of the world are followed in South Asia. There is also the factor of caste cross-cutting religious diversity in most of the states and other faultiness on the basis of regional identities and geo-cultural differences.

Pluralism and Democracy in India: India is home to all major religions of the world. The two main religious communities of India are Hindus and Muslims which has divided the religious-cultural matrix in India. The competition for resources between the two communities is basically initiated by the elite-driven politics during the colonial days led to partition of British Colonial India into two separate states.

Apart from the partition on the basis of religion, the elite ensured the introduction of secular, parliamentary democracy in India which has exhibited exemplary capacity for evolution and endurance. However, in the post-independence India, ironically these elites to make profits in the governance enabled the political mobilisation,

especially during the election period, on the basis of all possible group loyalties–caste, class, community, region, religion and language. This has deeply fragmented the society. Moreover, the unifying appeal of Hindu religion has sought to bridge the intra-communal and intra-religion divide. This has, in turn, deeply politicized the peripheral identities and groups and resulted in communal clashes and disturbed political order in the state.

The rise in the demands of the regional groups for the formation of autonomous states in the Indian union resulted in the re-organisation of the provinces of the Indian union along the linguistic lines. For example, Vidarbha as Eastern Maharashtra, Vindhya Pradesh as Northern Madhya Pradesh, Harit Pradesh as Western Uttar Pradesh etc. Besides, there have also been separatist movements in certain pasts of the country like North-East, Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab.

The rise of separatist tendencies in Jammu and Kashmir and other parts was mainly because of the manipulation of the democratic process by the regional elite and the gross and injudicious oversight of such a phenomenon by the central administration. Similarly, the primary cause of disaffection among the North-Eastern states has been apperception that the people have been alienated from the 'Mainstream'. The crisis of government at the local level has thrown up a secessionist elite at the periphery. The introduction of the element of the force into the whole framework of resistance has created more problems for the Indian state than it has resolved.

The overwhelming assertion of the Hindu right wing in politics has emerged as yet another indication of the nature of political transformation taking place at certain levels. At the same time, in spite of such assertion, the intra-religious divides has evolve into lasting political Constituencies, i.e., the Yadavas, the Bhumihars, the Dalits or Bahujans. On the other hand, the left wing extremist constituency–Naxals, Maoist communists or Peoples War Group is slowly rising on the political horizon as yet another political class. This again traces its origin primarily in the dysfunction of democracy and the shrinking capacity of the state to deliver the resources and to address the grievances of the unprivileged section of the population.

How Plurality is Managed; Assimilation vs. Accommodation: Indian as it is a multi-cultural society, emphasis on the Unity in Diversity which acts as a unifying thread to tie together diverse cultural groups. But this cultural unity had an inevitable Hindu cultural or communal overtone. The image of Akhand Bharat (unified India) has come out as a mythical romantic past which had definite Hindu reflexes. This phrase was contained by the Nehru leadership of secular Congress conceived purely from geo-cultural perspective to describe the country India. But the Idiom that people employed to demonstrate such unity was drawn from Hindu Puranas and other religious texts. The enthusiasm to build such a resurgent nation had induced in the elite a reflexive urge to unite disparate groups. They adopted mostly an assimilative posture, where intra-communal differences were even glossed over. The elite considered it just and perfectly natural to expect them to shed their differentiating characteristics in favour of a centralised, hegemonic and construct. Though, these elites were interpreting their nation-building endeavours in hegemonic ways but their was a complete absence of the efforts to accommodate diversity initially, while later as the democracy has matured the elite showed positive signs in adopting the accommodationist posture. The elite also accommodated the ethno-cultural and regional diversities progressively as has been seen in the cases of demands for Jharkhand, Chattisgarh etc. However, such accommodative postures leave out certain types of diversities which will take some more time to reach to a logical end for the Indian polity.

Pluralism and Democracy in Other Countries: India is the world's largest democracy while the other countries of South Asia have not had a smooth run so far in terms of democracy. In Pakistan, for example, the military-bureaucracy combine along with a class of opportunist politicians have ruled the country for most part of its sovereign existence. The ruling elite have suffered from the crisis of legitimacy from time to time. For example, Nawaz Sharief who was elected into power with a huge mandate was overthrown by the army chief Pervez Musharraf. The main reason for army action is generally attributed to the undemocratic assertion of absolute power by Nawaz Sharief. The army has its own way to acquire legitimacy through rigged referendum and even a stage-managed national election. It is also an imperative to add that the intra-Islamic plurality in Pakistan has come to the fore in recent years in a militant way. The plural face of Pakistan in the shape of Pakistan Oppressed Nationalities (PONM), the combination of Balochis, Sindhis, Pathans and Seraikis pitted against majority Punjabis is also slowly emerging as a political reality in Pakistan.

In Sri Lanka since 1980s, there has been an on and off civil war in the island against the government. In the absence of an effective and genuine federal, democratic arrangement, no working solution to the crisis will ever be possible as has been amply demonstrated by the failure of the talks between the two parties mediated by the Norwegians.

In Nepal the situation is not better than other state, the democracy which has been established ever since the fall of Ranacracy. The democracy in Nepal gave rise to the interplay of politics among the elites, the failure and malfunction of the democratic system, corruption led to the emergence of the Maoists in the hinterland. Here again, no situation will ever be possible unless and until the ruling political elite demonstrates its wisdom in accommodating the Maoists and allow them to democratically place their demands on the state.

In Bangladesh, the utter criminalisation and deep politicisation of the society has divided the country into two hostile camps: the liberationists or the followers of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and the anti-liberationists who are now aligned with Islamist right wingers. While the democracy is fast establishing itself in Bangladesh in electoral terms but the growing population and rising indices of illiteracy and poverty, are preventing the real spirit of democracy to flourish in Bangladesh.

This reveals that the system of democracy that has been adopted in various ways by these countries of South Asia with perhaps some exception in the Indian case, still fall pathetically short of the standards they have set upon themselves.

How Plurality is Managed: Coercive State, Centralising Reflexes: As discussed above, countries other than India in South Asia have adopted an out of shape, a warped model of democracy. In all these states, the common factor which emerged was the hegemonic 'ethnic order' which jealously guards its privileges. If it is the Punjabi elite in Pakistan, it is the Sinhalese elite in Sri Lanka. Though, the Punjabi elite in Pakistan accommodated the Pushtun elite in some ways, but the Sindhis and Balochis elite are kept outside the domain of political power. In Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese elite ironically, empowered by their game of numbers which completely marginalised the Tamils. Similarly the Islamic reflexes of the Bangladeshi state have been quite obvious.

The fact that there has been a steady outflow of Hindus from Bangladesh proves the point that the state in Bangladesh has consolidated a hegemony that is intolerant of other communities.

To deal with the cases of assertion by plural identities these states adopted coercive measures. For example, the state of Pakistan during the early years of its history was seen deeply involved in a serious power struggle between the Bengali-speaking East Pakistani popular leadership and the Punjabis dominated political, bureaucratic and military leadership of West Pakistan. In a bid to overpower the more numerous Bengalis, the Punjabi dominated –West Pakistan leadership brought about a forced unity among disparate nationalities that had no obvious common thread of unity among them except Islam. Even an otherwise suave and westernised politician like Bhutto, who gave Pakistan its first well-negotiated constitution, was seen replicating the coercive measures the Pakistani army had employed in East Pakistan. Of late in view of the Balochis assertion and the United Movement by oppressed nation of Pakistan, the style of management remained the same, primarily coercive.

Q. 4. What are Structural Adjustment Programmes? What have their impact in South Asia?

Ans. The Structural Adjustment Programmes are used to describe policy changes or adjustments implemented by the IMF and World Bank in developing countries. These programmes are the conditions (Conditionalities) for getting loans from the IMF and the World Bank. These conditionalities include to promote domestic resource mobilisation, remove price distortions, ensure increased access to imports (i.e. opening of markets to foreign products) and reorder investment priorities. The impact of 'oil shock' was worst more for developing countries that the developed countries as they were following the model of 'Import Substitution' which dampened the prospects of increasing exports. Under SAPs these countries were asked to shift their development strategy from import substitution to export promotion. The ultimate goal of this strategy was to correct their problem of balance of payments and fiscal deficit. The inherent thinking behind this strategy was to increase the involvement of borrowing country in trade and exchange of goods, engage in world market and the vital component to promote this strategy was only the export-led growth. The SAPs aims to increase the role of exports in the economy and stimulate the private sector through the combination of wage and price stabilization policies and austerity programmes. The SAP package includes a mix of the following measures:

1. Privatisation of all or part of state owned enterprises in order to reduce inefficiencies and government protection or monopolies;
2. High interest rates and credit squeeze in order to reduce inflationary tendencies;
3. Trade liberalisation, or lifting import and export restrictions;
4. Domestic demand management leading to cutting social expenditure, balancing budgets and not overspending;
5. Devaluation of currency to improve the balance of payments by raising import prices and making exports more competitive;
6. Free-market prices in order to remove distortions resulting from subsidised food, fertilizers and power.

Along with this, it also recommended to make institutional reforms in the functioning of labour market and changes in social security system and privatisation of social services. The basic thrust of the SAPs was the realignment of overall domestic expenditure and production patterns in order to bring the economies to a path of steady and balanced growth. The SAPs were based on 'Shock Therapy' replacing the policy of import substitution, economic interventionism and protectionism which were considered responsible for the disaster which caused high inflation rates, unemployment, and balance of payment and trade deficits, inefficient operating productive systems, etc. It emphasis on state interventionism to be confined to the organisation of public services (such as defence, justice etc.), and to encourage the activities of private sector which the state unwilling to provide.

By the early 1980s, the SAPs were adopted by the African states and in mid-70s, by the East Asian, South Korea, Taiwan, Japan implemented with pro-active role of government in economic activities. These countries preferred strategic integration to widespread opening of the market. China opened up its economy in 1978, but did not accept the perspective of World Bank on development paradigm. In China, there has been large-scale introduction of markets; these markets were far from being either competitive or flexible. Moreover, in many important areas like labour, capital and land such markets can hardly be seen to exist at all. The Southeast Asian countries shifted their economies to outward-looking strategy replacing the inward-looking strategy in the early 1980s. Initially these countries did not rely on the policy pills from IMF and World Bank but the financial crisis of mid-1997 to 1999, compelled some of these countries (Thailand, Indonesia and Philippines) to ask IMF for financial assistance and implemented SAPs. In South Asia SAPs were introduced in different periods; in Sri Lanka in 1977, India in mid-1991. Their respective government also implemented the SAPs policy prescription.

The launching of liberalisation and SAPs in Bangladeshi economy largely helped to attract FDI, amounting to US$ 280 million in 2000 which was almost negligible until 1991. So far the impact of liberalisation and SAPs was positive in the sense that growth rate has been accelerated and per capita income also increased. However, the national income on public goods was unsatisfactory. The government expenditure in military and social sector was inadequate to transform into an efficient sector which is essential to attain sustainable development in the longer period. The diversification of export basket which mainly consists of cotton readymade garments also remained one of the major challenges.

So far the economy has shown the mixed-result of the process of liberalisation and SAPs. Initially after launching the process the exports rose rapidly and GDP growth rate was also impressive from 1991 to 1996. The FDI inflows and the forex reserves improved to a comfortable level. However, the process lost its momentum because the policy came under debate not only in the opposition party but also within the ruling party. Even after getting green signal there was no assurance of continuation of the policy with the change in the government. Currently, the disinvestment of public sector units is in debate and government finds it difficult to pursue the matter because within the government there is no consensus.

Pakistan adopted and implemented liberalisation and SAPs in 1988, and after a decade or so its growth rate has declined. However the exports and FDI inflows rose at moderate scale which is attributed to the currency depreciation rather than quality appreciation in export products. The share of manufacturing sector in national income remained low and over the period has gone down which adversely affected the employment opportunities. The biggest obstacle in successful implementation of liberalisation and SAPs were the non-availability of efficient infrastructure and the rise of religious fundamentalism. The frequent military take overs restricting the flow of FDIs in the country.

Sri Lanka implemented economic reforms in two phases, first in 1977-89 and second in 1990 and onwards. Sri Lanka like most of the other state of South Asia followed the 'Import-substitution policy' which had its weaknesses

and drawbacks which it realised in mid-1970s, and began removing the quantitative restrictions (QRs) on imports, opened the economy to foreign products. It adopted the export-oriented growth strategy which helped to increase exports and the GDP growth arte was accelerated.

During the second phase of reforms the attention was paid more to attract foreign investment. The FDI inflows increased and there were rise in joint ventures between foreign and domestic industry. However, the reforms suffered setback because of the Tamil separatist movement, causing overspending of government expenditure on military (more than 4%) which was quite high for a modest economy like Sri Lanka.

(B) MCQ: Answer any four of the following in about 250 words each.

Q. 6. Describe the various theoretical explanations for the military intervention in the politics of Pakistan.

Ans. The most important domestic development in Pakistan was the role of Military in political system. In the early years of Independence, there was a struggle between the traditional structures of the political system of Pakistan like Political Parties, Pressure Groups, Parliament, Judiciary, Executive and the virtual death of political processes like Constitutionalism. They all failed to bring about the development of democratic processes in the country. The inability of the state to strengthen these structures paved the way for the military takeovers in the country which was an only alternative and organised force to walk into a political vacuum caused by the repetitive failures of the civilian government.

Theoretical Explanations for Military Intervention

In the early years of the new state of Pakistan the political leadership saw a decline and eventually reached a state where the Military takeover was an only solution. The Praetorian state and the civilian institutions fell weak. Therefore, to fill the vacuum in the institution and leadership the military rule came to hold the political power. The scholars like Lucian Pye and Morris Janowitz et al portray the military as being more sensitive to the forces of social and political change.

The military intervention in the country was seen as a positive force by many with the interregnum of civilian rules that is the legitimacy of civilian supremacy in theory remains. The uniqueness of the Military intervention in Pakistan by all general from Ayub to Musharraf is that initially after capturing power they promised to return to civilian order as soon as possible. The Gen. Musharraf launched in his tenure a massive devolution plan of setting up a Grass Root Participatory Democracy. Gen. Zia kept his promise to hold the elections in 90 days at best in the name of "Partyless elections" only towards the end of his tenure. Another lesser known feature of civil-military relations in Pakistan is whenever the military rulers came to power is at the end of the chaotic civilian order. The counterpoint here is the army in Pakistan is an accepted fact which needs to be looked at differently, have represented the country at different forums as the Guards in the External Security of the Nation.

The Pakistani army was originated from the British Indian Army. It was a well trained and organised force. The new Pakistan army was almost entirely Muslim, dominated by the Punjabis and Pathans. In 1955, the East Pakistan representation in the officer cadre was a mere 1.57%. By 1963, the proportion of Bengalis in the army was increased to 5% for the officers. In recent years the Pakistan has maintained four major infantry regiments, the Punjab, Baluch Frontier force and Sindh regiments though these ethnic groups have not been represented in proportion to their share in national population. The increasing role of the Armed Forces for the task of civilian administration has been a significant aspect in the new state of Pakistan. By mid-50s, the Military assumed an important role on the decision-making process, but did not assure a direct political role. For instance, Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case when 11 army officers and 3 civilian officers conspired to arrest the top military officers and seize power to establish communist type dictatorship in the mid-1956. The Army launched the operation service first in East Pakistan to deal with the serious food crisis in the province, created largely by the political mismanagement.

During Ayub regime (1958-69), retired military officers emerged as a class who occupied the top posts in public and private enterprises. The new Constitution institutionalised Army's role in the country's power structure.

Ayub Khan attempted to give his structure a Quasi-Democratic look. While his reforms failed to take off, the demand for parliamentary form rose in 1966, real problem was the defeat in a war with India in 1965, which created disillusionment with his regime. By 1969, he lost the credibility and support which finally led him to hand over all powers to the commander-in-chief of the Army, Gen. Yahya Khan believing that the military was the only "legal and effective instrument to take over" the country.

When Bhutto came to power as a result of the 1970, general elections, the Civil Service of Pakistan was abolished and a Single Integrated Structure was set-up. The public sector was expanded which saw a nexus between Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and the civil servants, while 1,300 officials were dismissed. Bhutto appointed a Commission of Enquiry headed by the then Chief Justice of Pakistan–the Hamood Ur Rahman. Commission to look into the circumstances that led to the military debacle in East Pakistan and surrender in West Pakistan. The service chiefs' designation was changed from the Commander-in-Chief to Chief. The President became the sole Commander-in-Chief. The functions of the military were defined in the 1973, Constitution of Pakistan: Article 245, stated that the military was required to "defend the country against external aggression or threat of war and, subject to law, act in aid of civil power when called upon to do so".

Army was called in several times to aid the Civilian administration between 1972-1977, in Sindh to deal with language riots of 1972, Anti-Ahmadiya riots in June 1974, in Dir in Frontier Province in October 1976. Though the Paramilitary Force was created to deal with the conflict situation in 1973, the army was called in many times to deal with the civil unrest. One of the reason for the Army involvement in the Civilian administration was their discontent with the government which was reflected when they conspired to overthrow the government which gradually evolved into a Mass Campaign by the opposition coalition–Pakistan National Alliance–have their common agenda "to throw Bhutto out" in the aftermath of electoral rigging by him in 1977, made the situation uncontrollable. This resulted into another military takeover in 1977, under General Zia Ul Haq. Under Zia the military officers were not only accorded with the key positions but also were appointed as Joint Secretaries. Zia formed a Military Council of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and the three Service Chiefs of Staff. After the proclamation of Martial Law in the country, he suspended the Constitution, dissolved the Federal and Provincial Assemblies, and sacked the Prime Minister and all other Ministers. The Army's involvement in the Civilian duties weakened the army, so the good officers in military were disrupted by carrying out the administration on martial law as well as their normal Military Duties. Zia to tame the opposition against him in his administration he proclaimed to hold elections within 90 days. Zia made an attempt on the basis of "Party-less elections" though it was highly boycotted by the Movement, who wanted to restore the democracy, formed an alliance as an opposition in the early 1980s. Zia believed that Islamisation will legitimize his actions in the society. He introduced several reforms in conformity with Islamic tenets and values. Thus when military apparatus regained power in 1977, the religiously inclined generals were dominant in it. To continue as a President he sought a Referendum on his Islamisation moves which was approved by the citizens. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, helped Zia to gain legitimacy. In May 1988, Zia dismissed Junejo on the charges of his incompetence, but in reality Junejo gained greater importance and was intended to reduce with army with this purpose he many times went against Zia in taking decisions. After the dismissal of Junejo, Zia assumed the power of a head and formed a new government. He also declared the Islamic law as a supreme source of law in Pakistan. General Zia died in an air crash which saw the restoration of civilian rule in the country till 1999, in which four governments (two of Benazir Bhutto and two of Nawaz Sharief) were formed till the military took over once again under Pervez Musharraf. After the death of General Zia, Ghulam Ishaq Khan became the acting President. Ghulam Ishaq Khan called Benazir to form the government in 1988, elections Benazir got only 92 seats out of 204 seats. Benazir accepted the proposal on some conditions, including the non-interference with the military affairs, the continuance of the economic reform programme of the caretaker government agreed with the IMF and World Bank and the continuation of the foreign policy of Gen. Zia. Benazir's term was too short to get into any serious kind of rift. She had to back out after the President intervened. However, Benazir was succeeded in removing the Director General of Inter Services Intelligence Lt. Gen. Hamid Gul, after the Jalalabad Fiasco, replacing him with Lt. General Rehman Kallue. Benazir thought that a change in the command would be popular in Washington because of the Agency's Afghan policy had been criticised in the US. The Army and the President accepted the change, albeit, reluctantly. In the elections that followed, in October 1990, under the Interim Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Nawaz Sharief and his coalition emerged victorious. However, it did not bring the expected stability. Nawaz Shareif was also dismissed like his predecessor in 1993 by the President on his move to strike on his own. In 1993, fourth elections were held within 8 years. This time neither PML nor PPP won the absolute majority. Benazir Bhutto was sworn in as Prime Minister. It brought a new line-up Benazir, Farooq Legharis and Abdul Waheed. This period was marked by bilateral conflict between the two; Leghari demonstrated his independence immediately by appointing

Lt. Gen. Jehangir Karamat as the army chief without consulting Benazir. Benazir was soon involved into controversies due to the charges against her for the Murder of her brother, appointment of judges, Corruption charges, which resulted into another dismissal and setting up of an another Caretaker Government and the elections in which Nawaz Sharief emerged victorious. He got 66% in National Assembly and 58% out of the 450 seats in the Provincial Assemblies. Sharief's attempt to concentrate power in his hands and his moves to tame the Judiciary saw the conflict between the Prime Minister and the President which was resolved by the resignation of President Leghari and the removal of the Chief Justice. Nawaz Sharief in his Second Tenure assumed as much power as Jinnah and Ayub Khan in his regime. The then army Chief General Karamat resigned and Pervez Musharraf took over. Like Gen. Zia and unlike Ayub Khan he did not abrogate the constitution, he has been treating it as "cutting the limb to save the body". Among his various objectives stated by him in his famous Seven-Point Plan are depoliticising state institutions, devolution of power to Grass roots levels and ensuring Accountability, apart from removing Inter Provincial disharmony, restoring law and order and reviving economy. Musharaff held elections in October 2002, brought several amendments in his run up to the elections. When his amendments were not accepted by the opposition parties he declare himself as President for next five years term through a controversial rigged Referendum. He also declared that he will continue to hold the office of army staff while assuming all the powers of the President.

Q. 9. Examine the basic changes in the polity of Bangladesh introduced during the military rule.

Ans. Bangladesh is the youngest country in South Asia. It emerged as an independent region through the process of National Liberation Movement. The Movement started in East Pakistan in1948, against West Pakistan's Political and linguistic discrimination as well as economic neglect led to popular agitations against West Pakistan which culminated into the war of independence in 1971 and the establishment of Bangladesh. The official name of Bangladesh is People's Republic of Bangladesh.

The Constitution of People's Republic of Bangladesh envisaged a Parliamentary form of Government, based on the Principles of Democracy, Socialism, Secularism and Nationalism.

Primacy of Constitution and Civilian Rule

The Awami League which led the formation of an independent nation through liberation movement took the lead for framing of the democratic constitution. Though, it failed to strengthen the democratic institutions. The new government led by Mujib-ur-Rahman was soon overwhelmed by the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation following the destructive conflict for Independence. The members who were appointed to the Parliament did not have any experience or were less experienced for the task of governing which led to inefficiency and corruption within the system. The Awami League soon led to factions which paralysed the administration. The role of the Opposition was also weak and fragmented. The frequent strikes and demonstrations deteriorated the law and order situation in the country. In order to control the situation Mujib declared a state of Emergency in December 1974, all rights and freedoms were suspended. After a month, Mujib introduced the fourth Amendment to the Constitution which empowered him to become the President of the Republic. This Amendment Act replaced the system to One Party Presidential System. Mujib declared the formation of single National Party BAKSAL (Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League) which was a cadre based party whose membership was opened to Bureaucrats, Technocrats, Military and Police personnel of the state. But after the short period of time the BAKSAL proved incapable which promoted corruption in the country. This paved the way for the successful launching of the coup of 1975.

Praetorian Intervention

The leader of the new state did not able to provide political stability in the country. His party fell weak and led to factions and the assassination of the Mujib which prepared the ground for the First Military Coup in the country. After the assassination of Mujib in 1975, Khondkar Mushtaq Ahmed became the President of the country. Mushtaq was a known conservative who opposed to the ideology of the Mujib. But he was also removed from the dwelling position due to the series of coups and counter-coups in the following three months culminated in the ascent to power the General Zia-ur- Rahman who reinstated the multiparty politics and founded the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). Zia-ur-Rahman was emerged as a leading member of the ruling group. He held the Referendum to gain legitimacy. He proposed the Nineteen-point Programme to revitalise Bangladesh's economy and society. This programme laid emphasis upon the Bangladesh Nationalism and it also tried to affirm the Islam as the basis of national life. In his military regime the retired Military Officers and Civil Servants were given key positions in the

Administration. He also adopted some policies to reform the economy by denationalising and liberalising the investment, the foreign private capital investment was also promoted. In latter part of 1977, Zia prepared the ground for elected presidency and formed a party, Jagodal which adopted that Nineteen-point Programme. During the Presidential elections of 1978, Zia was supported by numerous parties like JF, an alliance of a faction of Muslim League, UPP, FSC, leftist faction of Abdul Hameed Khan Bhasnani's Nationalist Awami Party. JF supported the Parliamentary form of government as to run by Zia and opposed the misrule of AL-BAKSAL. The Ganatantrik Oikyo Jote (GOJ) was opposed to his rule; the party wanted the revival of Parliamentary democracy. Zia won the elections with an overwhelming majority while he did not withdraw the Martial Law he imposed.

"Civilianisation" of Military Rule

In 1978, Zia won the Presidential Elections while did not withdraw the Martial Law. The Opposition parties demanded the withdrawal of martial law by the President which he had to accept reluctantly. Bowing to the opposition demands, he also announced some amendments to the constitution which included the expansion of the powers of sangsad, i.e. parliament. On the other hand, the party formed by Zia in September, 1978, BNP and its rival party AL-BAKSAL campaigning against each other to bring people in their favour and to receive high number of votes. BNP emphasised on the Right of the Centre Image Surplus farmer, Emergent Bourgeoisie and the Urban White Collar Segment of the Population. The election won by BNP with an impressive majority of 201 seats out of 300 seats. Zia came to power and completed the civilisation of the Bangladesh polity, lifted the martial law. By this act he gained legitimacy but ideologically his party was not united as his party has the members from civilian administration as well as from the military personnel both ideologically different and in terms of their political orientation. In May 1981, Zia's rule was ended with his assassination by the elements of the military.

Q. 10. Describe the nature of society in Sri Lanka with particular reference to its linguistic and ethnic composition.

Ans. At the time of independence the population of Sri Lanka was about 6.5 million, which by the early 2000 had increased to more than 19 million. In the early 1970s the rate of population growth was about 2.6% per annum which was declined to about 1.7% over the two decades. The population density is at 289 per sq. kilometre.

Ethnicity: The society of Sri Lanka is marked by multi-religious ethnic identities. The linguistic and religious cleavages tend to reinforce each other, that is, the members of each major linguistic group tend to share the same religion. The principle ethnic community in Sri Lanka is Sinhalese constitutes 74% of the total population. The second largest ethnic group is Tamils constitutes 18% of the total population. Besides these large ethnic communities there are some small ethnic groups such as the Moors constitute 7% of the population, Burghers, Malays and Veddhas.

The Sinhalese claimed to be the earliest civilized inhabitants on the island whose origin can be traced from the North India. The Sinhalese speak the Indo-Aryan language Sinhala, practice a variant of Theravada Buddhism which received a continuous support from the rulers since it was introduced on the island in the 3rd century B.C. From the geographical point the Sinhalese have been categorised a low-country and Up-country or Kandyan Sinhalese. The low-country Sinhalese mostly concentrated in the west and south of the island. They experienced significant change through 400 years of colonial rule with many were converted to Christianity and taking English education. The Kandyan or Up-country Sinhalese regard themselves as the repository of pure Sinhalese tradition. They have largely preserved their social pattern which was feudal, hierarchical and conservative in nature emphasized traditional Buddhist education rather than English education.

The Tamils have a distinct identity in racial and cultural terms. Their ancestors can be traced in the same years as that of the Sinhalese arrival and challenged the Sinhalese versions of the historical origins of Sri Lanka. The Tamils were mostly Hindus, speaking the South Indian Dravidian language Tamil. A significant number of Tamil were also converted to Christianity after the arrival of the European powers. The Tamils are divided into two groups: the Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils who were different in their relationships and origins in the country, though, they were united to each other due to their common religious beliefs, language and culture. The Sri Lankan Tamils constitutes the majority of the Tamils with 12.6% of the population. They trace their immigration to the distant past and are effectively a native minority. They concentrated in the northern and eastern provinces of the country. Where as, the Indian Tamils constitutes 5.7% of the total population concentrated in the plantation areas situated in the

central highlands. They were brought by the British in the country from Indian mainland to work on the coffee, tea and rubber plantations.

After independence, the first Sinhalese-dominated government took steps to deny citizenship to the Tamils of Indian origin on the ground that they are the temporary residents of the island and did not have a long-term ties to the country. In this concern, government also deported most of the Indian Tamils and other non-citizens to India and Pakistan. On the other hand, the India and Pakistan were not receptive to the repatriation of these people because most of them were born in Sri Lanka and they remained stateless citizens. In order to resolve this problem, the Sirimavo-Shastri pact of 1964 and Sirimavo-Indira Gandhi pact of 1974, was concluded. Under these two pacts, India and Sri Lanka agreed to grant citizenship to 6,00,000 and 4,00,000 Tamils respectively. However, following the escalation of ethnic violence in 1980s, the repatriation was suspended. In 1988, after a prolonged struggle the Indian Tamils managed to extract their citizenship rights from the government.

The minority group of Moors or Muslims traces their ancestors to Arab traders who moved to Southern India and Sri Lanka between the 8th and 15th centuries are now permanently settled on Sri Lanka and mostly concentrated in the coastal areas of the eastern part of the island.

The Malays and Burghers constitute some 0.4% of the population. The Malays are the descendent of the Javanese who were brought to the Island by the Dutch around 1640-1796, for military service and canal building. The Burghers are the Portuguese and Dutch people who intermarried with the local population and became permanent resident of the country. Since independence however, they have lost their influence and in turn shrinking in size because of emigration. In 1981, the Burghers made up .3% of the population.

Caste System: The Caste in Sri Lanka is based on hereditary roles and functions rather than on principles of purity-impurity. A distinct feature of the Caste System is that among both Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic communities the cultivator caste is placed high in the social hierarchy. For example, Goyigama is the cultivator caste among the Sinhalese which is dominant both in terms of population (one half of the Sinhala population) and influence. All Sri Lankan heads of the state have, since independence belonged to the Goyigama caste. Beneath the Goyigamas are the smaller non-cultivator castes that are accorded lesser status. These are Karawa (fishermen) the Salagama (cinnamon peelers) and the Durawa (toddy tapper) castes. They are mostly concentrated in the southwest coast of the island and found in the majority respectively.

Among the Sri Lankan Tamils the cultivator caste is Vellala, dominates the caste structure. They are also numerically dominant constitutes one half of the Sri Lanka Tamil population. Beneath Vellala the other important castes are Koviyar (domestic servants), Karayar and Mukkuvar (fishermen). Among the Tamils, there are some untouchable castes as well which constitutes one fourth of the Tamil Population such as the Palla (agricultural labourer), Ambattar (barbers), Valava (toddy tappers) and Paraya (scavengers).

Within their separate caste hierarchies, Sinhalese and Tamil communities are fragmented through customs which separates the higher from lower orders. There is nearly the complete absence of the inter-caste marriages. Because of all these divisions, Sri Lankan society is complex with numerous points of conflict.

Q. 12. Briefly describe the methods adopted by the countries of South Asia to resolve inter-state disputes in the region.

Ans. The South Asia has an image of being a protracted conflict-ridden region where many interstate conflicts persist without any settlement. Various bilateral and multilateral attempts at peacemaking have coexisted with the conflict process itself, but their success is limited to some cases. The South Asian states accept this reality; breakdown in peace process does not undermine their interest in conflict resolution. The conflicts in the region are primarily between India and its South Asian neighbours which centre on territory and water sharing. This explains the Indo-centric framework of the region where conflicts crosscut and, therefore, their resolution becomes difficult. While all the three methods of conflict resolution and management i.e. arbitration, mediation and bilateral negotiations have been tried with some success, but the region preferred to resolve conflict with its neighbours through bilateral negotiations. The bilateral approach to peacemaking is predominant in the region, since 1960s, when India had rejected arbitration and mediation. The Indo-Sri Lanka territorial dispute and the Indo-Bangladesh dispute over Ganges water were successfully resolved through bilateral approach. However, bilateral negotiations with Pakistan to resolve territorial disputes have so far not yielded results. Thus, there is no fixed solution to intractable problems and the process of peacemaking should continue until the goals are reached.

South Asian Regional Characteristics

The South Asia is a conflict-ridden region. It has experienced four-large-scale wars (in 1947-48, 1962, 1965 and 1971), and one limited war (Kargil war) and many crises mainly between India and Pakistan. The military engagements have exposed the fragility of peace in South Asia to the extent that many western commentators and governments have termed it as "dangerous region" or a "major flash point". One of the prominent characteristics of South Asia is "Indo-centrism". It means India occupies a central place in the region and is surrounded by the smaller states of the region. These smaller states are linked with India not only geographically also historically. India provides a civilisation link to all the South Asian states. As such, the socio-religious and linguistic contours of the region have a strong element of "Indian-ness" that is blended or harmonised with the local traditions. Finally, the economic centrality of India is explained in terms of its capacity to assist and even influence some of the national economies. It is even better illustrated by the fact that India holds the key success of the SAARC, a regional economic grouping. This Indo-centric nature of the region has reflected that most of the conflicts are between India and its immediate neighbours.

The second characteristic of this region is the "Asymmetric and Hierarchical power structure". The asymmetry of the region clearly indicates India a relative giant in terms of its size, population, and economic, technological and scientific strength in South Asia region. The asymmetry is so overbearing that significant differences of power potential among India's neighbours are obscured. As a result, countries like Pakistan want to compete with India to attain parity of power.

The third and the final characteristic of South Asia is the "common colonial experience" of the member-states. In the post-colonial period it is widely agreed that colonial history sowed several seeds of discord among the states, because of the peculiar way of building the British Empire through a coercive process of integration of disparate groups and their territories. The partition of India and the creation of Pakistan is also the result of British imperial policy. However, the problems they faced in the colonial period did not end with the process of de-colonisation. The post-colonial South Asia has lived with the colonial legacies in the form of problems in demarcation of state boundaries, status of many ethnic and religious groups which are not yet defined. These are giving rise to various disputes and conflicts within states and between states of the region.

(C) SCQ: Write a short note on any two of the following in about 50 words each.

Q. 13. *(a)* **Role of Middle power in the international system.**

Ans. Major powers influence the global political structure through their capacity to project power globally and conduct offensive and defensive operations beyond their regions. Major powers are those powers who have strong military capabilities, economic strength and the capacity to mould international opinion in its favour. Through various means and strategies it also tries to exert their influence on the other states. These strategies they make to fulfil their interest and goals. The major powers have wide interests; their main interest is to preserve their monopoly at the international level.

The middle powers on the other hand, do not have the same kind of capabilities as the major powers to influence the international system. But they play a dominant role in their certain region and their interests are also national and regional. They follows the middle path, they prefer to be neutral in the international disputes and conflicts. Their limited role doesn't mean they are weak in their powers but they act as independent centres of powers their main interest is to maintain their territorial integrity and for this they possess sufficient capabilities to prevent any threat which can influence their security goals.

(b) **India's nuclear doctrine.**

Ans. India's emergence as a nuclear-weapon state following the tests of May 1998, has only added to the challenges of its foreign policy. Its nuclear policy is based on two principles: Attainment of self-sufficiency in the nuclear programme and the Promotion of Research and Development (R&D), for harnessing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The key architects of this policy were Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Homi Bhaba.

It was in the background of Indian-Sino war of 1962, and the Indian debacle in the war brought in some rethinking about defence policy. The detonation of the Chinese nuclear device in 1964, led the Indian decision-makers to look at the nuclear option. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri after his admittance to the office in late 1964, showed his willingness to consider the use of nuclear weapons for peaceful purposes and gave his approval to the Indian Atomic Energy Commission for designing of a nuclear device and prepare the non-nuclear component so that the

lead-time required to build an explosive nuclear weapons could be reduced from eighteen to six months. The decisions of 1964, were followed by a protracted debate on the NPT in Lok Sabha. Both Shastri and Homi Bhaba died in 1966. At that time, Indira Gandhi came to power assured the House that "we shall be guided entirely by our self-enlightenment and the consideration of national security". She highlighted the shortcomings of the NPT and warned the House and the country for not signing the treaty.

With the decision for not signing the NPT, India demonstrated its first nuclear capability in 1974, by conducting nuclear tests at Pokhran in Rajasthan. This was an underground test called peaceful nuclear explosion as its purpose was to pursue research in peaceful applications of nuclear technology and not construct a bomb. The Indian AEC reviewed the progress in the technology of underground nuclear explosion. It was after this test that India developed a coherent Nuclear Doctrine to suit the changed circumstances. Today, India possesses the raw materials, scientific and technological know-how and the personnel to construct an atomic bomb. However, India continued to stand firm on nuclear disarmament and peace policy. The successive governments thereafter continued to take all necessary steps in keeping with that resolve and national will, to safeguard India's nuclear option. However, in early nineties following some important initiatives taken by the nuclear weapons states, namely to indefinitely extend the NPT in 1995, to discussions on signing of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996 and on the fissile material cut-off treaty, the Indian government has faced with a difficult decisions. The only touchstone that guided it was national security.

On 11 and 13 May 1998, India conducted series of tests at Pokhran and declared itself a nuclear weapon state. Vajpayee, the then Prime Minister, in his statement to the Parliament spelt out the nuclear policy of the nation which based on Minimum but Credible Nuclear Deterrent. To achieve this India accepts voluntary moratorium on further nuclear testing. Secondly, India adheres to a 'no-first use' policy. Finally, India stand committed to its decision for Global Nuclear Disarmament. The 1998, nuclear tests ended the lingering ambiguity in Indian posture.

The draft outline of Indian Nuclear Doctrine was prepared by the government and released on 17 August 1999. The Indian nuclear doctrine argues security is an integral part of India's development process, expresses concerns about the possible disruption of peace and stability and the consequent need to create a deterrence capability to ensure the pursuit of development. The policy asserts that nuclear weapons are solely for deterrence and that India will pursue the policy of "retaliation" only. It also states that the decision to authorise the use of nuclear weapons would be made by the Prime Minister or his "designated successor".