

ISSN 0971-9318

HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

(JOURNAL OF HIMALAYAN RESEARCH AND CULTURAL FOUNDATION)
NGO in Consultative Status-Category II with ECOSOC, United Nations

Vol. 1 No. 3

October - December 1997

**Indian Foreign Policy in the Aftermath of the Cold War:
Strategic Challenges**

L.L. Mehrotra

The Nature and Consciousness of the People of Kashmir

S. Bhatt

Uzbekistan on the Threshold of the Twenty-first Century

Islam Karimov

Central Asia on the Threshold of the 21st Century

Turkkaya Ataov

HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

Editor : K. WARIKOO

Assistant Editor : SHAAD K. SONI

Copyright©Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation, New Delhi.

- * All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted by any means, electrical, mechanical or otherwise without first seeking the written permission of the publisher or due acknowledgement.
- * The views expressed in this Journal are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinions or policies of the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation.

SUBSCRIPTION

IN INDIA

Single Copy	:	Rs. 30.00
Annual (Individual)	:	Rs. 120.00
Institutions & Libraries (Annual)	:	Rs. 500.00

OVERSEAS (AIRMAIL)

Single Copy	:	US \$ 5.00	UK £ 3.00
Annual (Individual)	:	US \$ 20.00	UK £ 12.00
Institutions & Libraries (Annual)	:	US \$ 25.00	UK £ 20.00

Subscriptions should be sent by crossed cheque or bank draft in favour of HIMALAYAN RESEARCH AND CULTURAL FOUNDATION, Post Box : 10541, Jawaharlal Nehru University Post Office, New Delhi - 110067 (India).

Printed and published by Dr. K. Warikoo on behalf of the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation, Post Box-10541, Jawaharlal Nehru University Post Office, New Delhi-110067 (India). BA/1G, D.D.A. Flats, Munirka, New Delhi-110067.

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Mr. T.N. Kaul
7, Poorvi Marg,
Vasant Vihar,
N. Delhi (India)

Dr. T.N. Khushoo
Distinguished Fellow,
TERI,
Habitat Place,
Lodhi Road, N. Delhi (India)

Prof. Rahmatullah Khan
Rector,
Jawaharlal Nehru University,
N. Delhi (India)

Mr. Alexander Veigl
Secretary General,
IOV,
Modling, Vienna (Austria)

Prof. L.R. Verma
Vice Chancellor,
H.S Parmar University
of Horticulture & Forestry,
Nauni, Solan,
Himachal Pradesh (India)

Dr. O. Kasenov
Director,
Kazakhstan Institute for
Strategic Studies,
Alma Aty (Kazakhstan)

Prof. A.A. Aidaraliev
President,
International University
of Kyrgyzstan,
Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan)

Prof. Bakyt Beshimov
President,
Osh State University,
Osh (Kyrgyzstan)

Prof. Devendra Kaushik
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University,
N. Delhi (India)

Prof. Jayanta Kumar Ray
University of Calcutta,
Calcutta (India)

Prof. Ved Kumari Ghai
Jammu, J & K (India)

Prof. B.R. Grover
Patel Nagar, N. Delhi (India)

Prof. K.N. Pandita
Jammu, J & K (India)

Dr. R.P. Khatana
Gurgaon (India)

HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

Vol. 1 No. 3

October-December 1997

CONTENTS

Editor's Page		1-3
Indian Foreign Policy in the Aftermath of the Cold War: Strategic Challenges	<i>L.L. Mehrotra</i>	4-22
The Nature and Consciousness of the People of Kashmir	<i>S. Bhatt</i>	23-38
Uzbekistan on the Threshold of the Twenty-first Century	<i>Islam Karimov</i>	39-65
Central Asia on the Threshold of the Twenty-first Century	<i>Turkkaya Ataov</i>	66-75
HRCF FILE		
<i>Seminar Reports</i>		76-85

Editor's Page

The end of cold war and disintegration of the former Soviet Union, led to the establishment of a new world order and a radical change in the dynamics of international politics. However, the post-cold war era has witnessed new challenges to the security, stability and sustainable development of the nation states. Terrorism, religious extremism and its militarised manifestation, ethnic conflict, drugs and arms trafficking, external intervention by hostile neighbours in the form of low cost proxy wars are posing threats to the territorial integrity, inter-ethnic harmony and socio-cultural equilibrium, peaceful co-existence and economic development of nations.

This issue of *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* highlights these very challenges being faced in South and Central Asia. L.L. Mehrotra provides a detailed analysis of the strategic challenges to Indian foreign policy in the post-cold war era. We are also reproducing excerpts from the President of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov's perceptions of threats to security, stability and progress of Uzbekistan, which brings us the inside and authoritative view of the situation in Central Asia. Prof. Turkkaya Ataov of Ankara University, Turkey highlights the challenges in Central Asia on the threshold of the twenty first century, thereby sharing with us his considered view from Turkey on this subject.

Islam Karimov's prognosis of the situation in Central Asia demonstrates the fact that the leadership in Central Asian states, is fully alive to these threats to security and stability of these newly independent countries. Islam Karimov has dilated upon the "deceptive attraction" of Islamic fundamentalist Wahabi ideology to a section of Muslims in Central Asia ascribing the same to its populist ideas of justice, rejection of luxury, greed

and corruption. He has, in unambiguous terms, rejected the ideas of “politicisation of Islam and Islamisation of politics”, drawing a clear distinction between the cultural and spiritual value of Islam and its misuse for gaining and exercising political power. Karimov has rightly stated that Islamic fundamentalism poses a threat to Uzbekistan, by seeking to disrupt stability, civil and inter-ethnic harmony, by discrediting democracy and secular polity, multi-ethnic and multi-religious state.

The accuracy of Karimov’s diagnosis of the challenges in Central Asia is borne out by the experience in the Jammu and Kashmir state of India, which has been reeling under the atrocities by armed Islamic extremists, terrorists and some Afghan mercenaries, all trained from across the border. These terrorist acts and secessionist moves were preceded by the dissemination of fundamentalist Wahabi ideology through a well-funded network of Jamat-i-Islami institutions, madrassahs, mosques and black-board literature hung in mohallas and streets throughout the valley. This fundamentalist ideology branded the Indian system of multi-ethnic secular democracy and development efforts as un-Islamic. The Wahabi and Jamat-i-Islami ideologues and their foreign mentors thus built up an aura of egalitarianism and quick justice based on summary trials of the *Shariat* courts and unity based on Islamic solidarity (*Umma*). They ridiculed the affluence and economic benefits generated by development initiatives in Kashmir over the years, by highlighting the corrupt practices of Kashmiri Muslim bureaucracy-politician-contractor / business class. It is the Jamat-i-Islami ideology which prepared the ground for open intervention by Pakistan in the form of cross-border terrorism and ethno-religious cleansing of minorities in Kashmir valley. As a result, the pluralist and democratic societal order and culture of peaceful existence received a death blow in Kashmir.

Conscious of this threat, Islam Karimov has accorded priority to the revival of indigenous and historical cultural heritage, in order to pre-empt the promoters and practitioners of politics of Islam. That Karimov has included pre-Islamic culture as part of the cultural wealth of Central Asia, is significant. He has acknowledged that the Muslims of Central Asia continue to rever soil, air, water and the fire (the Sun), as was done in the time of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism. Uzbekistan's experience in strengthening its national identity by infusing national pride and reviving its traditional historico-cultural legacy, and also preserving its indigenous social ethics and family norms, is quite relevant to India which has somehow been drifting away from its rich and indigenous historico-cultural heritage, in the process diluting the basis of Indian cultural nationalism.

Clearly there is convergence of interests between India and the Central Asian Republics on fundamental issues such as,

- a) need to maintain social harmony and equilibrium by promoting inter-ethnic harmony and peaceful co-existence;
- b) commitment to secularism and democracy and opposition to religious fundamentalism;
- c) recognition of threat to regional security and stability from trans-border terrorism, arms and drug trafficking, religious extremism and ethnic-religious secessionism;
- d) commitment to the principles of territorial integrity of nation states and inviolability of state borders.

K. Warikoo

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE COLD WAR : STRATEGIC CHALLENGES*

*L.L. Mehrotra***

The end of the cold war is certainly a major watershed in the history of the 20th century but it is not an event which occurred suddenly in time and space. It marked the triumph of one super power over the other but through a hard and protracted process that lasted more than four decades and a multi-dimensional approach which kept both of them on tenterhooks throughout that period on many fronts.

In order to draw correct conclusions from the end of the cold war, one must explore the factors responsible for the victory of the West and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the long struggle for power known as “The cold war”.

It may be safe to suggest that the US and its allies won the cold war primarily for two reasons:

- (i) The forging of a new coalition after the second World War by the USA, Britain and France which brought into it the defeated powers, namely Germany, Japan and Italy. The new coalition ultimately proved too strong for the Soviet Union, especially after the defection of China from the Communist bloc of nations.
- (ii) The Soviet system fell because it was inherently flawed.

The Soviet Union exhausted itself in trying to crack the coalition down rather than compete with it. The coalition contained the Soviet Union so effectively that the latter found the cost of breaching the

* *This paper is based on a lecture given by the author in the Centre for Studies on Indochina, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati.*

** *Director (Overseas), Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, New Delhi.*

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY: STRATEGIC CHALLENGES

containment ring too high. The economic burden of maintaining a huge military establishment for decades together, without any prospect in sight of bringing it down, was crushing. On the contrary, the military dimension kept growing in view of the necessity for the Soviet Union to sustain what the West and particularly Reagan disparagingly called the Soviet Empire. We must draw appropriate lessons from this.

It was indeed the military dimension that defined the Soviet Union as a super power as distinct from the other super power which enjoyed that status simultaneously in economic terms as well. The economic burden kept growing for the Soviet Union further and further as the allied challenge mounted. The nuclear arsenal built by the Soviet Union to match that of the West kept the cost of the cold war for the Soviet Union too high to bear as the arms race kept escalating by the day. Nuclear advance without economic development becomes too heavy a burden and the two processes have to run in tandem to constitute the real crucible for power.

In the outcome, by the time Brezhnev died, the Soviet Union was bankrupt, the establishment and the Communist Party had grown thoroughly corrupt and its ideology was pulling the economy backward. The Soviet Revolution had become stale and impotent. The inherent unity of the working class all over had become an empty slogan. Once China started blowing its own trumpet as a leader, broke away from the Soviet Union, declared the latter a hegemonic power and joined the West in the common goal of bringing the Soviet Union to heel, the balance tilted in favour of the West. Not surprisingly the West exploited the breach to its full advantage.

Gorbachev ended the cold war in an attempt to save the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Revolution and the Communist Party through a last minute effort to radically liberalise the system, politically and economically, and nationally and internationally, under the twin banners of '*Perestroika*' and '*Glasnost*'. But that was not to be. The system had grown so hollow, so shorn of substance that it totally gave way as '*Perestroika*' and '*Glasnost*' unleashed a new wave of democracy and free market economy.

The communist system fell in the Soviet Union because its primary objectives remained unfulfilled even after seven decades. It made a mess of social equality and ended up having a rigid hierarchy entirely based on privilege. With this the revolution, which had struck so hard on the feudal order, virtually died and instead of freedom for the masses, the Revolution brought the tyranny of the state, depriving the masses of fundamental human rights as the liberal democracies of the world know them.

In the 60's the Soviet system seemed to be winning in the Third World but by the late 80's the appeal of the Soviet system waned considerably except in Vietnam, Cuba and Nicaragua. In China the monopoly of the Communist party stayed but only radical economic reform saved the day for it. The dynamics of the liberal revolution consumed the whole of East Europe.

Nationalism also played its own role in bringing about the collapse of the Soviet Union. Throughout East Europe, the Baltic Republics, Central Asia and even Russian-speaking republics such as Ukraine and Byelorussia, nationalism triumphed over socialist internationalism which was seen by them more and more as a device to keep them under the Soviet thumb. Nationalism has played havoc too in Yugoslavia with obvious lessons for multi-ethnic societies like ours.

The cold war has ended but all is not well with the post-cold war world. Several questions arise to which answers are far from clear. The states that constituted the Soviet Union are wrapped in misery and conflict. The process of their disintegration seems to be going on endlessly. What kind of Russia will emerge out of this crisis? Will it break up into parts like the Soviet Union itself if not, will it remain over a period of time a second or third rate power playing second fiddle to the West or will it assert itself again after a decade or so? If it does, will East Europe then play a buffer between West Europe and Russia or a single Europe up to the Urals will rub shoulders with a united Russia again stridently moving on the world stage as a first rate power? Four centres of power then will stay in close physical proximity with each other: Europe, Russia, Japan and China with USA not far removed at all. Warsaw Pact has

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY: STRATEGIC CHALLENGES

been dissolved but NATO stays. Will it act as a defender of the strategic interests of the West, i.e. in defence of the world order as conceived and prescribed by it, or will it act as the military arm of the UN which has no force of its own but must rely for its ever widening peace keeping role on some such entity? How will the other Permanent Members of the UN, particularly Russia and China, look at that role ascribed to NATO in the longer run? As the UN attains a more intrusive and interventionist profile, what will countries like India, which look at the UN as a champion of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its member states, feel? What balancing forces will emerge on the world scene to provide physical and moral inputs to ensure that the world does not become a prisoner of a new form of domination?

With the end of the cold war the prospect of a nuclear war has certainly receded but it has not disappeared altogether. Nuclear weapon states still possess large nuclear arsenals notwithstanding certain reductions under the START process. The cold war ended because of the realisation on the part of the Super Powers that a nuclear war cannot be won and must not be fought. Limits have been imposed on the strategic and non-strategic weapons of a sort but no limits have been imposed practically on vertical proliferation. Horizontally also the situation remains full of dangers. Despite commitments to nuclear non-proliferation, nuclear weapon manufacturing countries have proliferated and it has not been found possible to check or regulate nuclear proliferation. Neither the dissemination of nuclear weapons nor of technology nor of fissile material has been halted. On the contrary both the time-honoured and the new champions of Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) are known or suspected to have aided, abetted or ignored proliferation as per convenience. The NPT had hardly been a matter of faith but a manouvre for monopolistic and indeed far from altruistic ends.

Moreover, while the prospect of a nuclear war has certainly receded, small fires keep burning in many parts of the world and there have been military conflagrations, too, since the end of the cold war as in the Middle East during the recent Gulf War with Iraq on the one side and some major powers of the world on the other on behalf of the UN. It was one

of the costliest wars ever fought in military history. To some extent it met the ideal of collective security since the UN resolutions enabling action against Iraq were passed with consensus among the five Permanent Members of the UN, free from the shackles of the polarity of the cold war days. Their approaches to resolve the conflict in Cambodia and of UN action in Somalia and Yugoslavia on the basis of consensus among them had the same ring but these issues remain far from resolved while fresh ones keep raising their head to threaten peace. Most important among them is the new wave of international terrorism that seeks to destabilise and destroy the vestiges of peace and order everywhere.

To conclude, thanks to the end of the cold war, there is no prospect in the immediate future of a life and death struggle for world supremacy between two super powers; there are no two irretrievably hostile military blocs in existence any longer; no two ideologies in clash out to draw blood everywhere and destroying peace everywhere. However, some major strategic challenges to the security of nations still confront mankind which a nation like ours can ill-afford to ignore.

For the success of India's foreign policy, the nuclear challenge is going to be the most daunting. There are nuclear weapons all around us. Pakistan no longer makes a secret of its nuclear weapon capability and may have a few dozen 'bombs' already in its basement. That capability is patently directed against India. It is Pakistan's ultimate weapon in its quest for a power balance with India, meant as it is to balance off India's supposed superiority in conventional weapons. Pakistan has not even vowed to the first non-use of nuclear weapons which China has done. Between 1964, when it carried out the first nuclear test, and now, China has come to have nearly 400 nuclear weapons in its arsenal duly deployed and a bomb force of over 200 weapons. Its unemployed nuclear stockpile may be three times as large, though no accurate estimates are available. Apart from having nuclear bombs, China successfully tested a neutron bomb as early as in 1988. It has conducted quite a few tests further since then. Its total nuclear megatonnage is far in excess of that of the UK and France. (In 1985: 350 against 40 and 150 of the UK and France respectively). China's naval build-up has been so phenomenal that the

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY: STRATEGIC CHALLENGES

countries of South East Asia and even Japan are getting increasingly wary of it. Its ballistic missile programme includes both the strategic and tactical nuclear weapons. It has sought to reinforce its capabilities further by buying sophisticated military equipment in large quantities from Russia at very competitive prices since Russia needs foreign liquidity and China is one of the four countries of the world which hold surplus reserves in billions of dollars. China's programme of military modernisation is proceeding at a critical pace and its defence budgets have received very regular boosts in order to achieve it fast. China is constantly converting its strong economic power into military power.

There are nuclear weapons galore inherited by some of the erstwhile republics of the Soviet Union which now treat them as a status symbol or a bargaining chip for procuring more aid. Ukraine was supposed to have had 174 strategic weapons with some 1200 nuclear war heads and 34 nuclear armed strategic bombs when it broke away from the Soviet Union. Several nations have tried to acquire nuclear weapons, technology, fissile material and nuclear experts from Central Asia in the wake of the break-up of the Soviet Union. These include Iran and Pakistan. In addition, Israel is globally treated as a nuclear weapons power.

We not only live in an age of the proliferation of nuclear weapons but of nuclear technologies too. There are thousands of nuclear scientists from the former Soviet Union. The proliferation of fissile materials, safeguarded and otherwise, pose even a greater challenge. Hardly any multilateral regimes are in existence to control the dissemination and use of weapon grade materials from the dismantled war heads under START I & II. Against 130 tons of separated Plutonium accumulated till the end of 1991, there would be 310 tons by the end of the century and 545 tons by the year 2010 from the spent reactor fuel. In addition, 140 tons of weapons grade Plutonium and 640 tons of Highly Enriched Uranium (HEU) would be directly available from the dismantled weapons. Added to these materials already stored, the potential quantities would be 200 tons of weapons grade Plutonium and 1180 tons of HEU from plants in Ukraine alone. One weapon takes 347 Kgs. of Plutonium or 10 Kgs. of HEU.

Moreover, the potential for manufacturing nuclear weapons is on the increase even if some of them are being discarded. With its 500 tons of HEU, some 10,000 nuclear weapons can be manufactured by Germany. Japan and Germany have the largest amounts of stocked fissile materials, probably only next to USA. Yet Japan has plans to import 100 tons of separated Plutonium further for reactor use. As it is, the transport of even one ton of separated Plutonium from France to Japan generated a global controversy.

India's response to this very complex nuclear challenge should be on the following lines:

- i) India should declare that in view of the highly proliferate nuclear environment obtaining at the moment and the revelation by Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mian Nawaz Sharif, that Pakistan already possessed the nuclear bomb for use against India, India would be forced by its public opinion to abandon its present policy of not manufacturing nuclear weapons unless a universally applicable, and non-discriminatory regime is established on the issue of nuclear proliferation.
- ii) Meanwhile, India should support a meeting on nuclear weapon and potential nuclear weapon states. The meeting should include, inter alia, the P-5 i.e. the USA, Russia, China, the UK and France; Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelorussia; Israel and South Africa; and India and Pakistan. It could also have some threshold countries like Brazil and Argentina, Iran and Iraq and North Korea, Libya and Algeria. Also invited to it should be countries with huge stocks of fissile materials such as Germany and Japan.

The objective of the meeting suggested above ought to be to discuss the nuclear question in all its dimensions including the following:

- (a) The proliferation of nuclear weapons, war heads, components, materials, expertise, scientists and engineers.
- (b) Upgrading of nuclear weapon technologies.

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY: STRATEGIC CHALLENGES

- (c) Monitoring of agreed reductions in Nuclear Armament under START I & II.
- (d) Monitoring of Nuclear Restraint.
- (e) Transportation of Nuclear Weapons.
- (f) Transportation of fissile materials.
- (g) Global Protection against limited strikes.
- (h) Multi-Application Survey Technologies.
- (i) Limitations of IAEA: Redefinition of its role.
- (j) Verification and inspection techniques etc.
- (k) New custodial systems.
- (l) Environment related issues: Storage, accumulation of separated Plutonium and HEU.
- (m) Nuclear Propulsion.
- (n) Use of separated fissile materials for Reactors.
- (o) Dilution of HEU for Reactors.
- (p) NPT: Modification of the existing treaty to make it non-discriminatory and universally uniformly applicable.

Meanwhile, India's dialogue on nuclear issues should continue at bilateral and multilateral levels with the major world powers, not only with the objective of removing threats to peace in the Indian sub-continent and the Indian Ocean area but strengthening global and regional security in all its dimensions.

As far as Indo-US relations go, it is the responsibility as much of India as of the USA that the new momentum of relations between the two countries in the post-cold war context is not affected by the nuclear issue and that the matter is treated by both sides as one of shared concern in the larger perspective of human destiny, survival of the human race, and a common search for an equitable and viable solution. The co-

L.L. Mehrotra

operation between the armed forces of the two countries at various levels and in selected segments, exchange of high level visits between them, joint exercises and dual purpose technology transfers are of high strategic value to both countries and cooperation in these fields needs to be strengthened.

One of the greatest challenges to India's foreign policy consists of relations with Pakistan. Nearly five decades have passed since the partition of India; yet the two countries remain shadowed by that event. India accepted Pakistan as a full fledged state and as a sovereign and independent member of the UN from the very beginning. The creation of Bangladesh exploded the myth that Pakistan was the natural spokesman of the rights of Muslims in the Indian sub-continent. Leave aside the rights of non-Muslim minorities that are not even second class citizens in Pakistan. Besides there continue to be intra-ethnic conflicts within the Muslim society in Pakistan-between the treatment of Muhajirs, Ismailis, Shias and other muslim segments. As recent debates at the UN showed, the aggressor in Kashmir had changed the tag and assumed the grab of the defender of human rights of the Muslims of India. Pakistan prompts and promotes terrorism on India's territory wherever it can and violates every provision of the Simla Agreement day in, day out. It aids and abets terrorism on Indian soil blatantly as every impartial observer will tell but it labels India's legitimate defence against it as a violation of human rights. It has rarely practised democracy and has been responsible for the promotion of fundamentalism in many parts of the globe including some Islamic states notwithstanding its moderate pretensions. It spurns every canon of good neighbourly behaviour and instead of building bridges of confidence with India, has been pumping more arms and ammunition for terrorist activities in India. The question of questions is how should India meet this challenge.

The answers are difficult to find but the question must be addressed in all its dimensions. Next to China, Pakistan is our largest neighbour. It has a strong military capability including a nuclear arsenal and with a history of having aggressed against us more than once. Its hatred towards

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY: STRATEGIC CHALLENGES

us puts to shame the inter-state rivalries in Europe which had led to two world wars. The cold war has ended globally but Pakistan's cold war against India continues unabated. It wages a daily war against India by proxy in Kashmir which could have escalated into full scale disasters for both countries but for India's exemplary restraint.

In its cold war with India, Pakistan has tried to weave a containment ring around it. Initially it tried to gang up all our neighbours against us. Then it joined CENTO and SEATO. When our relations with China went sour, it joined hands with China against us and sought to buy their friendship by transferring a chunk of our territory in Jammu and Kashmir to them. It had no legal or moral right to do that. Then it tried to set the entire Islamic world against us by painting us as an oppressor of Muslims in India. And finally, since the break-up of the Soviet Union, it has been trying its level best to tie the Central Asian Islamic Republics into one single knot together with Iran, Turkey and itself to complete the containment ring round India. The endeavour has been to create a new politico-military-economic bloc of nations against us. This is obvious from the fact that in the very first meetings of the projected new grouping, it indulged in a considerable amount of India-bashing on the question of Kashmir in an attempt to rope the new republics in its anti-India tirade. With every passing day its interference in India's internal affairs increased and it throws verbiage at us with increasing frequency and vehemence at every international platform. It escalates the environment to a precipitous point and then raises the nuclear bogey to make sure that its machinations do not lead to a full scale war. When it sees India taking the smallest necessary steps in its defence, it raises the spectre of India's hegemonic ambitions and expansionism at the cost of her small neighbours.

India on the other hand genuinely wants peace with its western neighbour. Despite Pakistan's continuing occupation of its territory of Kashmir, not warranted by any legal or moral sanction, and despite its illegal transfer of part of that territory to another country, India continues to work for better relationship with Pakistan. This, for three primary reasons and several auxiliary ones:

L.L. Mehrotra

- (a) History teaches us that even countries locked in century long conflicts can become friends and move from confrontation to cooperation. Moreover, in the present state of Indo-Pakistan relations nothing but slender hope of a better future survives, and losing that hope, too, would be losing all.
- (b) There is a feeling in India that the people of Pakistan would as much welcome peaceful and cooperative relations with India as we ourselves do with Pakistan.
- (c) Pakistan has managed to escalate the cost of our military establishment by adding to her own military capabilities by leaps and bounds in an endless endeavour to gain military parity with India. A de-escalation of the arms race will not only reduce tensions but also release much needed funds for development. While India must sustain at any cost, her national independence and territorial integrity, which remains under constant challenge from Pakistan, it can ill afford to divert its valuable and scarce resources from the task of socio-economic development to a further military build-up.

We must, therefore, not lose sight of the objective of a good neighbourly relationship with Pakistan and continue to work for it whatever the hazards. Specifically this involves the following:

- (a) Greater international pressure on Pakistan to mend its ways. By now the world is fully familiar with Pakistan's involvement in sponsoring and abetting international terrorism, particularly in our State of Jammu and Kashmir.
- (b) The people of our electronic media and radio channels should bring home to Pakistan that we genuinely want friendship with Pakistan as we do with all other neighbours.
- (c) To do everything possible to strengthen SAARC. Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka too have their minorities and none of them would like to be broken up on an ethnic basis.
- (d) Expose, more and more, Pakistan's daily attempt to alter the status-quo in Kashmir while it is solemnly committed to respect it under the

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY: STRATEGIC CHALLENGES

Simla Agreement.

- (e) Sustain the stance that India is willing to discuss with Pakistan all matters of mutual concern, including Kashmir, to reach mutual understandings, howsoever long and arduous the process.
- (f) Make certain that we do not break up the morale of our security services who have a most difficult job to accomplish in Kashmir but make it unmistakably clear to them that violation of human rights will not be tolerated or condoned.
- (g) Consolidate the political process in Kashmir despite heavy odds being posed by infiltrations from Pakistan and speed-up Kashmir's development.
- (h) Strive hard to revive the sense of fellow feeling among the three major ethnic communities in Kashmir viz., Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim, that has characterised their relations for centuries.
- (i) Open up a political dialogue with the militants while the security forces meet their challenge militarily.

Both words and deeds of Pakistan are full of provocation. Reacting to them so as to shut the doors of negotiation will be counter-productive. If Indo-Pakistan talks are not resumed, Simla Agreement will drop dead, i.e. whatever is left of it, and SAARC will halt in its tracks. A continuing stalemate will not serve the ends of Indian diplomacy.

Another major strategic challenge to India comes from its other neighbour, China, which overlooks South Asia from across the Himalaya. While Pakistan looks at the whole world through its anti-Indian blinkers, China's calculus is global in character and it sees everything through the prism of power. Ever since the Long March and the 'expulsion' of Chiang Kai Shek to Taiwan, power has been China's pole-star. It has not abandoned Mao's dictum that power grows out of the barrel of the gun, in whichever other way China might have denigrated him. China has successfully stood up to the USA and the USSR in both direct and indirect confrontations, measured swords with India and aggressed on its territory,

sought to resolve the issue of sovereignty over Paracel and Spratley islands by taking them over by force and has been one of the major architects of Pakistan's military wherewithal. Next to the USA, and erstwhile Soviet Union now Russia, China has been the only credible nuclear weapon power. Even the developed nations now find it handy to lease China's facilities for launching their satellites. Through the Karakoram highway, right across the territory of Pakistan, China has acquired access to the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. In this respect it has done better than the former Soviet Union which could not obtain that access despite its forays in Afghanistan and indeed was effectively blocked by both Pakistan and the West in its quest for that access. Having achieved that, China is stretching its muscles further by trying to dominate the Malacca straits from the South China Sea to maintain an effective presence in the Indian Ocean region. It is striking arrangements with both Burma and Bangladesh to secure port facilities. It has a balance of payments surplus of some seventy billion US dollars and a consistent growth rate of over 10 per cent, one of the highest in the world. China is likely to emerge as an economic superpower by the close of the century. It would rub shoulders then with Japan in the Far Eastern Region. This is ironical since Japan like the USA and other Western countries had helped to build China's economy as a counterveiling influence to the former Soviet Union. China is a Permanent Member of the Security Council and proposes to establish an exclusive club of nuclear weapon states. It has joined the NPT as a nuclear weapon power. That confers a special status on it which option is not available to India since China had become such a power already before the NPT came into being in 1967. Until it signed the NPT, China used to believe that it was not possible to check the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

India's response to the challenge of China fast emerging as a Super Power should have the following ingredients:

- (a) India should not feel overawed by the Chinese phenomenon since India is a major power in its own right and it should not accept from China either a patronising attitude or a supervising role in the Indian sub-continent.

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY: STRATEGIC CHALLENGES

- (b) India should reinforce the process of confidence building measures with China as much as possible to ensure the continuance of peace and tranquillity on the Sino-Indian border. Definition of LAC (the Line of Actual Control) and mutually acceptable reductions in the military presence at the border are steps in the right direction.
- (c) India should be wary of the extension of the Chinese power into the Indian Ocean and should share its doubts and suspicions in that regard with its South and South East Asian neighbours and not hesitate to discuss the matter bilaterally with China itself and even Japan and the USA.
- (d) It should share with the Chinese bilaterally its sensitivity in regard to the presence of China's nuclear weapons in Tibet. With China's strong grip over Tibet, India cannot hope to have that region act as a buffer between her and China as was the case until 1954 but a denuclearisation of Tibet and reduction in the armed forces stationed along the Indo-Tibetan border would greatly help in creating an atmosphere of trust and confidence between the two countries.
- (e) It should carry the process of normalisation of relations with China which started the restoration of full diplomatic relations with China in 1976 to its logical conclusion in political, cultural and economic fields but it should carefully monitor the trade exchanges across the Indo-Tibet border lest the Chinese should use their contacts across the Himalayan border on our side to alienate our border people from us.

With the cold war over, the conduct of US foreign policy is undergoing some radical changes. Some of these changes would redound to India's advantage but others might not. Since the US no longer looks at the world with the blinkers of the cold war on, the reality in the region is being better appreciated by it. With the break-up of the Soviet Union and the removal of a countervailing force to match the other superpower, India's own foreign policy is undergoing a change of focus. There is growing convergence in USA's and India's global and regional concerns as evidenced in USA's enthusiastic response to India's liberal economic reforms and in India's joining the US Navy in joint exercises in the

L.L. Mehrotra

Indian Ocean. There is a desire on the part of the two largest democracies of the world to cooperate more closely and fruitfully in the world fora. India's endorsement of 'the mother of all resolutions' during the Gulf war at the UN, the cooperative attitude towards each other at the deliberations under the Paris Conference on Cambodia, the entry of India into the Middle East peace process, emphasis on the Simla Agreement on the part of the US for sorting out Indo-Pak differences, all symbolise a new trend towards warmth in India-US relations not known in the past. That warmth was quite manifest on both sides when the Prime Minister of India visited the USA in May 1994 and held parleys with Clinton, the President of the USA.

Simultaneously there has been a certain erosion of USA's military strategic commitment to Pakistan. Military and economic aid to Pakistan has remained in abeyance now for some time under Pressler Amendments. Some time ago there was talk of the Executive Agreement of 1959 between the two countries being brought to an end. Pakistan was crucial as a friend and an ally so long as its help was needed to throw the other super power out of Afghanistan. That is no longer necessary. The USA also looks askance at Pakistan's support to international terrorism. Of late, however, the US criticism of Pakistan on these scores has not been as acid as before. Moreover, what remains of the earlier jaw-and-teeth relationship between Pakistan and the USA is considerable. Over the years Pakistan has built a strong lobby in the USA in its favour which continues to support pro-Pak causes. In this context the following factors need to be noted:

- (a) Notwithstanding the Congressional disapproval for military and economic aid to Pakistan, there has been no embargo on effecting commercial supplies to Pakistan and the latter has succeeded in updating its military wherewithal in critical areas.
- (b) Pakistan is not needed by the USA now as a conduit of arms to Afghanistan but its erstwhile role there for the USA as well as in the normalisation of Sino-US relations two decades ago was priceless and is well acknowledged both in the State Department and the academia

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY: STRATEGIC CHALLENGES

in the USA. So is Pakistan's continuing value in building US links with Iran and the Muslim Republics of Central Asia which used to form part of the USSR but which have yet to find a sheet anchor against the turbulence they have faced since acquiring their newly independent status.

- (c) The USA may not like to use up all its capital in terms of goodwill of the masses and particularly of the armed forces of Pakistan after having invested profusely, for decades together, in building up Pak infrastructure at a huge cost.
- (d) On nuclear issue Pakistan manages to give the impression that it would like to stand squarely in the US camp but that it is India which refuses to fall in line.

India's relations with the world outside fall into three categories: (i) Global, (ii) Regional and (iii) Bilateral. The guiding star of India's foreign policy in all the three sectors is India's national interest. In pursuing that course, that is the defence of the national interests of India at all times and at any cost, India faces some major new challenges. Some of these have been detailed above. They are essentially external in character. But some fresh internal challenges to our foreign policy have also recently emerged which are of great strategic significance. The foremost of them is the lack of national consensus in regard of foreign policy objectives and the actual conduct of foreign policy. This is happening for the first time in the history of post-independent India. For example, for the first time in India's history as an independent nation, the validity of India following a policy of non-alignment is being challenged. Similarly, for the first time a national party which also is leading the opposition in the Indian Parliament overtly subscribes to the view that India should exercise its nuclear weapon option without any further delay. The politics at home is in a major phase of transition during the last few years. That minority governments have been ruling India on the basis of coalition is a feature of many democracies but its occurrence on the Indian national scene is unprecedented. There is a further fragmentation of politics within the national parties themselves. There are splinter groups in each of them

L.L. Mehrotra

raising their head furiously which makes the political parties look like a hodge-podge rather than a homogeneous whole moving towards the acquisition of power coherently and cohesively. The challenge this situation poses to foreign policy is obvious. One of the greatest assets of democratic India, i.e. its political stability, is running under a cloud.

The question often being asked abroad now is whether India is stable or it is on the way to political fragmentation. Fears are expressed about the consequences that can flow from such fragmentation including a total disintegration of its national body politic. There is no dearth of people outside India, specially in our neighbourhood who wait anxiously for that moment to come. As a matter of fact, some of them, even in very responsible positions, do not hesitate to publicly express their wish to see India break down. However, it must be stated with confidence that in the midst of its huge diversity which has been India's forte and huge dissensions which may be its bane, there is still enough determination at various levels, national, regional and local, not to allow India to fall apart. The major actors on the national scene remain committed to India's unity and territorial integrity. This challenge to India's foreign policy arising from purely internal factors can and should be met squarely on the following grounds:

- (a) India has demonstrated her strength as a democracy more than once in the past, howsoever great the pressures it faced internally or externally.
- (b) A nation of nearly a billion people representing nearly one fifth of mankind, speaking sixteen major and innumerable minor languages, India has always found a common lingua in terms of unity of purpose. It is a nation endowed with a civilization as ancient as any other and of which Indian citizens are proud from whichever part they come.
- (c) India has witnessed many insurgencies since independence as is natural, given its size and diversity and the readiness of external forces to assist them, but it has overcome them all one by one, so strong has been the centrepetal force guiding its destinies so far.
- (d) Its constitution has proved its worth by providing India constancy and

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY: STRATEGIC CHALLENGES

continuity in the midst of radical flux and yet is endowed with enough flexibility to move with the items.

- (e) Often surrounded by only authoritarian, monarchical or dictatorial regimes and systems, and instability and chaos of the highest order, India has exhibited a remarkable degree of resilience and stability.
- (f) With fundamentalism and fanaticism gathering momentum on the globe and sometimes reflected in the attitudes of groups and parties in India, its commitment to secularism has remained strong as demonstrated in recent years more than once.
- (g) Though there have been periods of violence, locally or regionally India has been spared the violence of Red Guard Movement or of religious fanaticism at a scale some other countries have seen. In the midst of extremist approaches it has been the voice of moderation often at great cost to itself in material terms, but it has paid the price willingly and without looking back with regret about it.
- (h) Proverbially known as the 'basket case' once, India has to its credit a green revolution and five decades of steady growth, howsoever slow, which has thrown-up a middle class of nearly 200 million people and its economy is now at a take-off stage where the necessary input of advanced technology and foreign investment will give it a much needed boost. Countries of South East Asia in its very neighbourhood but with much smaller economies and problems have managed to accomplish that. While building her economic strength, India has not sacrificed its fundamental principles of democratic governance by adopting authoritarian systems for the sake of speed.
- (i) Due to huge security concerns imposed on it, first due to what may be described as a seemingly incorrigible form of hostility towards India on Pakistan's part and secondly due to China's military movement from 1950 onwards all across Tibet to the Himalayan frontiers and even beyond that into Indian territory along that frontier between 1959 and 1962, India has been forced to develop a military wherewithal to meet such challenges. Notwithstanding these, it has kept its military

expenditure to 3% of its GNP and 12% to 15% of its annual budget on defence as compared to Pakistan's 6% and 36% respectively. In the process it has developed quite indigenously a nuclear and a missile capability which place it in the front rank of countries on the globe.

- (j) Despite its demonstrated capacities, India has been a model of nuclear restraint and is in touch with the nuclear weapon powers of the world in order to help develop mechanisms that would effectively contain and eventually eliminate the menace to human survival these weapons pose. It has been a leading champion of disarmament from its very birth as a nation, thanks to the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru of a maximum emphasis on peace and peaceful resolution of differences.
- (k) Even with countries that have followed politics of a tilt in favour of elements hostile of India, regionally and globally, India has sought a relationship based on sovereign equality and mutual trust for mutual benefit and it hopes that the end of the cold war makes constructive cooperation with these countries entirely possible.
- (l) Its relations with all its neighbours, except Pakistan, have shown a marked improvement and that includes China. India remains willing and ready for a dialogue even with Pakistan on all matters of mutual concern according to the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement in order to achieve a harmonious relationship with it so long as Pakistan would abandon the objective of destabilizing India and destroy it from within and without. India knows that to be the sine qua non for ushering in an era of prosperity for the region that one witnesses in the newly industrialised countries of the world, some of them serving as beacon lights in North-East and South East Asia. India hopes that with the passage of time SAARC can grow into an effective instrument of that transformation in our region.

THE NATURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR

S.BHATT

INTRODUCTION

I have chosen a part of India, namely, Kashmir and its people, their nature and consciousness as a theme of my discussion. The reason for my selection is that by our study of the true nature and consciousness of the people of Kashmir we are able to determine their genuine aspirations for day to day life and in a rich diversity of Indian life. India comprises of a mix of various cultures and life-styles. These are woven together in a fabric which lends a rich and charming look to the composite culture of India. The poets and seers in Kashmir have in particular provided their thoughts which have helped a unified image of the culture of India to grow through time immemorial. The recent wave of violence in Kashmir seems a temporary phase which we hope will pass away bringing back image of harmony and love. The violence of gun was planted in Kashmir from across the border in Kashmir.

We shall also examine the synthesis in the Kashmiri traditions that helps us combine and synthesise cultures, spiritual beliefs, and scientific disciplines.

To comprehend nature and spiritual reality needs a vast and global consciousness. Modern science also attempts to synthesis various aspects of scientific themes in order to comprehend nature and its processes. The global environment movement of our times has produced a grand synthesis of many scientific and social disciplines and provides a biologist view of the world with interrelatedness of the laws of nature. Towards this world-wide environment movement, we are happy to note that

* *Professor, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi*

S. Bhatt

Kashmiri thought and culture have much to contribute, based on the nature and consciousness of the people of Kashmir.

I am reminded of Plato who in his book *The Republic* says:

“We must look for artists and craftsmen capable of perceiving the real nature of what is beautiful and then our young men, living as it were in a healthy climate, will benefit because all the works of art they see and hear influence them for good, like the breezes from some healthy country....”¹

Plato also advises poets, “to portray good character in their poems or not to write at all....”²

In our endeavour here to portray the people of Kashmir we are therefore keen to highlight the good character and nature of the people of Kashmir.

NATURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF KASHMIRIS

Kashmiris have tremendous love for nature. Being surrounded by overwhelming beauty of nature comprising of rivers, mountains, valleys, flowers and birds, the people of Kashmir imbibe in them a harmonious outlook towards nature and society.

The poets and seers have described the harmony of nature and man. Lalleswari, the saint poetess who lived around 1317 and 1391 A.D. in Kashmir, was a legendary seer who was the founder of the culture and ethos of the people in Kashmir in the middle ages. She practised Saiva philosophy. As a writer has said about Lalleswari, “The highest type of Bhakti is identical with highest state of knowledge.”³ Of Lalleswari, the great poet saint Sheikh Nur-ud-din said with reverence:

That Lalla of Padmanpur-she drank

her fill of divine nectar.

She was indeed an Avtara.

O God, grant me the self-same boon.⁴

CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR

Thus we see in historical perspective how Hindu and Muslim Unity is perceived in the worship of God and in the philosophy of living. Laying stress on the God within, Lalleswari says:

Why are you groping like one blind?

If you are wise enter within.

Siva is very much there,

go not here and there.⁵

Incidentally, Lalleswari does not believe in the renunciation of worldly life. She is keen in action, thus reiterating what Bhagwat Gita has said. What she recommends is the act of living, and combining action with renunciation. One should not worry for the fruits of labour, she says.

Rupa Bhawani was another great saint-poetess of Kashmir who has left an ever-lasting imprint on the minds of people of Kashmir. She was born in 1625 A.D. Her father, Madhav Dhar, used to worship Sharika Bhagawati and visit Hari Parbat early in the morning. Rupa Bhawani was born on the first day of Navaratra. She considered Lalleswari her guru. Of her life's philosophy Rupa Bhawani says:

I did not come on this earth as a seed,

To fall in the circle of births,

I am not the elements

Earth, water, fire, air and ether

I am beyond the primordial universal self

and the individual self,

I am the Supreme Consciousness.⁶

The above translation of Kashmiri poetry is provided by a noted scholar, Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'. Kashmiri Pandits in particular observe Rupa Bhawani's passing away in 1721 A.D. as Sahibi Saptami day and observe a fast to mark the holy day.

S. Bhatt

Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, also called Nunda Rishi, or Nunda Riyosh, in Kashmir was a great saint of Kashmir who has left an everlasting imprint on the nature and consciousness of Kashmiris. He lived in Kashmir during period 1378 to 1438 A.D. His *Rishinama* or *Nurnama* were written about 200 years after his passing away.⁷ Mir Mohammed Hamdani recognised Nur-ud-Din as the light of faith. He was revered by Hindus as also the Muslims. He stressed the need for unity among the two communities. For his secular views, he was imprisoned by Ali Shah, the Muslim ruler of his time. As J.N. Ganhar writes:

“The Sheikh’s spiritual eminence and his humanistic philosophy made him idol of the people of Kashmir. They flocked to him and some of them, modelled their very lives on his pattern. These latter who came to be known as Rishis, after him, were of great help and assistance to him in the stupendous task that he had undertaken”.⁸

It may be recalled that Rishis were not new to Kashmiri thought and culture. They were known to exist among Hindus in Kalhana’s time in the Hindu period such as Vishwamitra, Vashishta et al.⁹

Indeed Rishis were great seers with high spiritual attainments in Kashmir as in the other parts of India. As Ganhar points out, in organising the Rishi order, Nund Rishi had the example of the Buddhist Sangha, which was common order in Kashmir. Ganhar refers to Khalil’s *Rishinama*:

“In this work the author has ascribed a 2500 verse in Sanskrit work, *Buddha-charitas* to Nund Rishi. According to Baba Khalil, the work was composed by him on his re-emergence from a 12-year sojourn in a cave at Kaimoh on the ninth of Chaitra, a very sacred day in the Hindu calendar, both in Kashmir and the rest of India.”¹⁰

Ganhar feels that Baba Khalil not being conversant with Sanskrit, the *Rishinama* referred above by Nund Rishi could be based on *Budda Charita*, which he kept with him.

Thus we see a synthesis of spiritual philosophy by Nund Rishi combining truth from various sources of historical wisdom. The demolition

CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR

of Nund Rishi's shrine at Charar-e-Sharief by the foreign mercenaries in Kashmir in recent period provoked a wide spread protest from the people of Kashmir.

Kalhana Pandit was another great historian and philosopher of Kashmir. His masterpiece book, *Rajatarangini*, was written by him during 1148 and 1150 A.D. As Jawaharlal Nehru records in his Foreword to R.S. Pandit's translation of *Rajatarangini*, "...Kalahana's book is something far more than a record of King's doings. It is a rich store house of information, political, social and, to some extent, economic."¹¹

Jawaharlal Nehru says he owes to Kalhana the revival of his love of homeland Kashmir. As he says:

"I have read this story of olden times with interest because I am a lover of Kashmir and all its enchanting beauty, because perhaps, deep down within me and almost forgotten by me, there is something which stirs at the call of the old homeland from whence we came long, long ago...."¹²

Sir Aurel Stein in 1892 published a critical translation of *Rajatarangini*. It was at the same time that another work on *Rajatarangini* was published.¹³ As R.S. Pandit says, *Rajatarangini* "was not only a work of serious contribution to history, it was pre-eminently a work of art".¹⁴

It is necessary to recall the genesis of Indian civilization in the context of modern times. The consciousness displayed in historical context by Kalhana and others in Kashmir proves once again that people in Kashmir have shown harmony and love without which art and culture cannot grow. Kalhana belongs to Kashmir and India and reminds of bygone days in Kashmir and the love of people for nature and mysticism. Arnold Toynbee, another historian of modern times also believes that it is necessary "to conceive the genesis of a civilization as an act of creation involving a process of change in time".¹⁵ While there is bound to be change in keeping with times, the values of harmony and love stand out for all times as values that guide nations to progress. Kashmir, therefore,

S. Bhatt

abounds in its history with eminent sages and artists like Kalhana who provide ideas for our thought and action in troubled times as well. Such people can be compared with Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle.

Habba Khatoon, the nightingale of Kashmir, was another great poetess of Kashmir who rose from humble beginnings and became the queen in 1570 A.D. She married the King Yusuf Shah Chak.¹⁶ As Professor Wakhlu writes:

“Habba Khatoon was not simply decorative - a mere joy to the eye. She had real qualities of sharp intellect and imagination.”¹⁷

Habba Khatoon suffered a lot as her husband Yusuf Shah was imprisoned by the Mughal King. She suffered quietly. On her death, Wakhlu writes:

“The whole of Kashmir wept when they heard of Habba Khatoon’s death; no smoke came out of the houses on that tragic day. Habba Khatoon had risen as a luminous moon in the firmament of Kashmir’s history.”¹⁸

MYSTICISM AND SYNTHESIS IN KASHMIR’S TRADITIONS

Kashmir’s history abounds with the tales of seers and saints who were great mystics. Mysticism is the art and practice of contemplation by man about the mysteries of nature. It follows out of great devotion to God and love of human-kind.

Mysticism, when combined with the synthetic view of world, has produced spiritual philosophies of high order such as Shaivism and Sufism. The importance of these philosophies can hardly be stressed in the modern scientific world. For, science itself is the art of finding truth and the laws of nature that mystics dream about. Indeed the science philosophy looks with new expectations towards thematic origins of scientific thoughts which provide a bridge over ignorance. Professor Harold Holton of Harvard University has written a book of above-mentioned title *The*

CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR

Thematic Origins of Scientific Thought From Kepler to Einstein which demands attention by scholars in India and elsewhere.

Great mystics in Kashmir have shown the path of love and human brotherhood. The example of great sages of Kashmir is recalled here such as Utpala, Somananda, Abhinavgupta and Lalleswari who in ancient times practiced Shaivism. In recent period, Bhagwan Gopi Nath, Swami Lakhmanjoo, Swami Parmanand, Swami Nandlal, Swami Shankar Razdan, and Swami Vidyadhar were seers of highest order who brought peace to Kashmir. Among these we recall the intense love and mysticism practised by Nund Rishi, Samad Mir and Ahad Zargar.¹⁹ Dr A.N. Raina a noted scholar on Kashmir culture says: “Mystics in Kashmir do not differ from other mystics in basic principle of oneness that is beyond senses and reason. As a matter of fact, mystic experience is the same in all languages and with different races and religions”.²⁰

Dr. Raina refers to the following opinion of another great scholar from Kashmir Prof. J.L. Kaul (who died in 1986):

“Mysticism is dominant in Kashmiri poetry as, I dare say, in the poetry of all Indian languages. Right from the fourteenth century from Shri Kantha, Lal Ded and Noor-ud-din Wali (Nund Rishi) up to the Lila songs of Krishna Razdan (who died in 1925), the Sufi songs of Samad Mir (died in 1959), and Ahad Zargar of the present day, we have had noteworthy mystic poets both Hindus and Muslims.”²¹

The present writer has edited a volume in which over sixty prominent authors from Kashmir have contributed their intellectual work towards describing mysticism and synthesis in Kashmiri tradition. The book entitled *Kashmiri Pandits: A Cultural Heritage* was released in 1995.²² In this book I have recalled Rabindranath Tagore who says that in ancient India the cultural heritage symbolized the growth of men with the living growth of nature. The emphasis was to realise harmony between man’s spirit and the spirit of the world.²³

The essence of combining mysticism with modern science philosophy by Kashmiri scholars has been stated by me as follows:

“It may be of great interest to the world at large that members of our community some working outside India have been exposed to highest wisdom of modern science. And, in the years to come, these scientists will combine the creativity of science, philosophy and Kashmiri mysticism to open up new frontiers of science and knowledge.”²⁴

**SYNTHESIS IN MODERN SCIENCE PHILOSOPHY: A
BIOLOGIST VIEW OF WORLD HAS EMERGED**

“Science”, says Einstein, “is the attempt to make the chaotic diversity of our sense-experience correspond to a logically uniform system of thought”.²⁵

In the scientific thought and experience, the process of analysis and synthesis takes place with a view to reach the hidden law of nature. As Einstein says, “what science strives for is an utmost acuteness and clarity of concepts as regards their mutual relations and their correspondence to a sensory data”.²⁶

Thus, Einstein does not discard sense impressions, that mystics dream about, or the sensory data. He also emphasises mutual relatedness of the laws of nature and of concepts.

It is interesting to recall here an international symposium held by UNESCO entitled “Science and Synthesis” on the 10th death anniversary of Einstein, and a great biologist, T.de Chardin.²⁷ I think this symposium marks a watershed in man’s exploration of scientific and biologist world of harmony and truth. It strengthened the evolving image of a biologist view of present day world order. After all, we are illumined by the mysticism of the great visionary scientists, like Einstein, and others for our search of a new and peaceful world order. As a great scientist H.L.R. Finch has said about Einstein:

“Einstein found, as Spinozo did, that the human qualities of modesty, equanimity, universality, equality and kindness were actually promoted by a sense of the vast impersonality of truth and of a natural law and harmony far beyond human hopes, fears and wishes”.²⁸ Professor Gerald

CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR

Holton, a thinker, says, Einstein used to think with images. He quotes Einstein: “The whole of science is nothing more than a refinement of everyday thinking.”²⁹

Therefore Kashmiri mystics and thinkers who promoted harmony and love were endowed with great vision, like the scientists. Indeed, Kepler, Newton, Galileo, were great mystics too, who lived and shaped scientific thought in the Middle Ages.³⁰

The UNESCO symposium referred earlier recalled the “perennial freshness” of thoughts of Einstein and Chardin. The speakers said, both of them had devoted their lives to the problems of mankind. The UNESCO symposium laid great stress on the intellectual synthesis for understanding of man and the universe. It referred to Chardin’s contribution to evolution of man and various dimensions of life. Rene Maman, the then Director General of UNESCO said their organisation was dedicated to synthesis and interdisciplinary view of life essential for understanding of our civilization.³¹ He said: “The synthesizing process is, of course, essential for the maintenance of balance among all the parts and at all the levels of science.”³² He said science does not aspire for the unity of knowledge alone, but for the unity of minds as well. Einstein is quoted that pure thought can grasp reality as ancients had dreamt.³³

Another scientist R.F. Russo said in the UNESCO symposium that we need the “science of science”, which means “the effort we must make to understand the broad movement of science and the links which exist between the different sciences”.³⁴

B. Kendrov said we need specialists in natural sciences with knowledge of philosophy. Also we must look for the historian in science to combine a unified view of past, present and future in scientific thought.³⁵ Einstein provided a synthesis of space and time and mass and energy. Chardin attempted to unify biological sciences.

In addition to Chardin, we have other modern biologist thinkers such as Juliun Huxley (also a Director General of UNESCO at one time), Rene Dubos, Margaret Mead and others who have brought before

S. Bhatt

mankind the vision that mankind is one species. They have given us hope based on their scientific studies that man as a species is basically a social animal who cooperates in society and loves his species. The second most important finding is that the biological world is based on a relatedness of natural laws. Thus the plant life, the climates, the hydrological cycle, and other natural processes are inter-connected. And therefore man's activities and life-style has impact on the natural ecosystems. An ecosystem approach to life on this planet has become necessary for progress and harmony. All this means that the man's new-found understanding of biological world gives us new dimensions of our behaviour towards harmony and peace among nations and with the nature.

I have attempted to describe an article on "Ecology And International Law", in which the whole world order can be based on scientific and ecological principles as it is increasingly being realised the world over.³⁶ Ecology, which is the relationship of living organisms and their adaptation to environment, seems to have become a major global philosophy for living, and for management of global resources and world order. A biologist view is close to nature's ecological balance. In scientific terms, it enables man to behave as a true human species in harmony with nature and other species. As Margaret Mead, the noted anthropologist, says:

"There has been a continuing interest in dealing with wholes: with mankind as a species, the single hominid species now existing on this planet, with many variations in climatic and breeding conditions, but still essentially one species, exhibiting complete intraspecies fertility and hybridization between varieties as a source of strength."³⁷

With reference to the ecological and a biological view of the emerging world, I have suggested that:

"An ecological view would help realise the vision of a universal man which seers, for example, Rabindranath Tagore, have attempted to describe. Indeed such a vision would lead to a creative unity of mankind."³⁸

I have further submitted that: "International law may help evolve a

CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR

new combination of the spiritual values based on the existing spiritual disciplines”, as Toynbee anticipated.³⁹

And Toynbee is recalled here on the nature of human spirit. He says: “I shall maintain that spirit, and particularly the creative spiritual effect of suffering for the sake of love, is the distinctive and significant feature of human affairs”.⁴⁰

Kashmiri mind and consciousness abound in love and creative suffering for the sake of love.

THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENT

We have examined how science produces synthesis of various disciplines which is essential for progress of mankind. We have also seen how a biologist view has emerged as a world-wide philosophical guide for living. This philosophical development in science is in harmony with the nature and consciousness is related to another phenomenon of our civilization: The Global Environment Movement. During past two and a half decades, especially after the United Nations Conference on Human Environment in 1972, a new global consciousness has emerged for the protection of global environment.

The preamble to the UN Declaration calls for “the need for a common outlook and for common principles to inspire and guide the people of the world in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment”. The Declaration has produced some universal principles of international law and behaviour as a guide for living on this planet. It calls for sustainable development, control of population, control of pollution of air, water and land areas, etc. The central thesis contained in the Declaration may be stated as follows:

“For the purpose of attaining freedom in a world of nature, man must use knowledge to build in collaboration with nature a better environment. To defend and improve the human environment for present and future generations has become an imperative goal for mankind, a goal to be pursued together with, and in harmony with, the established

S. Bhatt

and fundamental goals of peace and of worldwide economic and social development.”

The environment movement has evolved new awareness of man for harmony towards nature and towards man. The movement calls for conservation of nature and protection of environment. The Declaration of United Nations has called for a new fundamentalism whose goals are to establish peace and worldwide economic and social development of man.

Therefore people in Kashmir are looking forward to join this global movement for peace and protection of environment such as the lakes, forests, valleys and the heritage of mankind. The element of peace is based on rediscovering the unity in the diversity of nature and of the composite culture of the country. As Tagore says:

“This principle of unity is the mystery of all mysteries. The existence of a duality at once raises a question in our minds, and we seek its solution in One. When at last we find a relation between these two and thereby see them as one in essence, we feel that we have come to the truth.”⁴¹

Mahjoor, a great poet from Kashmir was also inspired by Rabindranath Tagore, and created a great vision of peace and harmony among communities. He said:

Wulu ha bagbano navbaharuk shan pada kar;
phulun gul ghat karan bulbul ti-thee saman pada kar.
(Come o Gardener get excited with the new spring;
When flowers will blossom and bulbul will dance,
create that consciousness).

Again Mehjoor recalls the unity in diversity of national life. He Says:

Hend Ratan Nav Khur Wayan Ahal-Din,
Nav yami Mulkech, Chalovow Pan Wanen.

(The Hindus will provide direction for the boat and Muslims will row it, We shall steer the boat together).⁴²

CONCLUSIONS

The XIX Indian Social Science Congress discussed the general theme on the people of India. Among other things, it addressed itself to the nature and consciousness of the people of India. By raising the level of consciousness of the people to the desired goals of peace, creativity and progress, the Congress would achieve a great deal, because it is in the minds of the people that foundations for modern progress can be laid firmly and convincingly.

While analysing our issues we are following the advice of Plato that as writers it is our duty to describe the beautiful in the world so as to create a vision for progress.

Kashmir and its people are a part of India for centuries who love the composite culture of India. The people of Kashmir have noble and kind sentiments for peace and harmony. They uphold values of secularism, Saivism and Sufism and philosophies of a high order which describe the synthesis in Kashmir's spiritual traditions. Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism have blended together to reiterate the common goals contained in all religions. Sages such as Lalleswari, Nund Rishi, and others provide the torchlight for love and brotherhood of mankind.

Jawaharlal Nehru was also a modern sage who tried to synthesize social philosophy of India for common brotherhood and international peace. Kings of Kashmir such as Zain-ul-Abdin, also called Bud Shah, have shown the path of harmony and love among people. Other scholars such as Professor J.L. Kaul, Dinanath Nadim, poet Chakbast wrote in praise of nature and the people of India including Kashmir who emulated Tagore and who gave a call to seek a new consciousness that spring brings, of cheer and hope among people. He called for the unity of mankind and of all religions.

Today's period is, therefore, historic indeed to recall the nature and consciousness of the people of Kashmir. The temporary upsurge of violence and gun culture is bound to disappear and pave way for eternal traditions of love and non-violence.

S. Bhatt

Furthermore, we are witness to the great synthesis of scientific disciplines that has charted new vistas of progress for the world at large. Einstein, Chardin, Sir Jagdish Chander Bose, Hargovind Khurana, Abdul Kalam and Abdul Salam are great names from the scientific world who have attempted to describe the mysteries of nature based on synthesis. Besides, the modern world view is based on the biological and ecological foundations and relatedness of laws of nature.

The United Nations Declaration at Stockholm in 1972 has brought forth the era of global environment movement. We cannot possibly ignore these positive indications for mankind's progress. The Kashmiri ethos and culture supports the principles of the UN Declaration which call for synthesis, harmony among people and the protection of environment. Therefore, let us heed the poet Mehjoor who has called upon the gardener to create a new consciousness of spring, when the bulbul will dance and the flowers will blossom.

REFERENCES

1. Plato, *The Republic*. H.D.P. Lee Copyright, 1974, p. 163.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
3. See N.K. Kotru, *Lal Ded: Her Life and Sayings*. Utpal Publications, Kashmir, 1989, p. xi.
4. *Ibid.*, p. x.
5. *Ibid.*, P. xvii.
6. See prof Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal', "Rupa Bhawani" in *Vitasta*. Calcutta, 1992, p. 33.
7. See J.N. Ganhar, "Nunda Riyoshi - the Sahazanand", in *Kashur Samachar* Special Number on Saints And Sages of Kashmir. 1979. p. 23.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
11. Jawaharlal Nehru, Foreword to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Trans. by R.S. Pandit. Sahitya Akademi, 1990, p. x.
12. *Ibid.*, p. xi.
13. See R.S. Pandit, *ibid.*, p. xiv.
14. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.
15. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History : The Genesis of Civilization*. vol. 2, 1962, p. 1.
16. See S.N. Wakhlu, *Habba Khatun*. 1994, p. 148.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
19. See generally Dr. A.N. Raina, "Mysticism In Kashmir". n. 7, pp. 65-73.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
22. See S. Bhatt, ed., *Kashmiri Pandits : A Cultural Heritage*. Lancers Books, New Delhi, 1995.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
25. Albert Einstein, *Out of My Later Years*. New York, 1950, p.98.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
27. See B.M. Crook, trans., New York, 1971.
28. See A.P. French, ed., *Einstien : A Centenary Volume*. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1979, p. 156.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
30. See generally D.E. Gray and J.W. Coutts, *Man And His Physical World*. New York, 1966.

S. Bhatt

31. See Science and Synthesis, n. 27. p. xii.
32. *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
36. See S. Bhatt, "Ecology And International Law", *Indian Journal of International Law*, vol. 22, 1982, pp. 422-38.
37. Margaret Mead. "Anthropology Today", in P. Albertson and H. Barnett, eds. *Managing The Planet* (1972), p. 188. Also cited in S. Bhatt, n. 36, p. 433.
38. S. Bhatt, n. 36, p. 429.
39. See Arnold Toynbee and Daisaku Ikeda, *Choose Life : A Dialogue*, R.L. Gage, ed., 1976, p. 296. Also n. 36, p. 431.
40. Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History : Reconsiderations*. vol. 12, 1964, p. 6.
41. Rabindra Nath Tagore, *Sadhna : The Realisation of Life*. Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1913, 1979, ed., p. 80.
42. See S. Bhatt, "The Synthesis in Kashmiri Tradition", p. 22, p. 411.

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY : THREATS TO SECURITY AND STABILITY

Islam Karimov

(Excerpts from the book written by the President of Uzbekistan)

INTRODUCTION

The experience of formation and development of Uzbekistan and other newly independent states, that have emerged in the post-socialist era, has regrettably manifested lack of seriousness in the evaluations of the threats to security and stability. The challenges are poorly forecasted; sometimes they appear to be unexpected and cause huge losses, hazards, and what is more tragic, lead to losses of human lives; create the atmosphere of instability, confrontation; impede processes of social development and progress; provoke among the population feelings of insecurity for the future, fear for their life and the life of their relatives and friends. The rapidly changing environment and the balance of powers in the world and emergence of new sovereign states on the international arena persistently require the new approaches to ensure stability of the states and nations, and the drawing up new security patterns on the threshold of the 21st century.

Three basic issues that will condition Uzbekistan's future : how should security be preserved, how should stability be secured, and how can a sustainable development be achieved on the road to progress? The region can obtain a dynamic and sustainable development and be an honest partner for the world community only if stability and geopolitical balances are preserved. The experience of the first years of the independent development of Uzbekistan convincingly proves that social, political and economic stability is a great achievement and has an unsurpassed value. The sustainable growth of the Republic of Uzbekistan decisively depends

on how exactly and deeply we comprehend the nature of the existing danger, how timely we detect their sources and interrelations, and identify and effectively use conditions for preservation of stability in the society.

Uzbekistan is actually located in the strategic centre of the semi-circle comprising the richest oil and gas deposits of the Persian Gulf, Caspian Sea and Tarim Basin, i.e. in the centre of energy resource fields that in circumstances of the overall energy deficit are called upon to play a key role in the future of Eurasia and finally of the whole world. More than that, we are a part of the region where exist unconvincing interests of Russia, China, India and other Eastern and Western states. Actually being located on the conjunctions of these potentially very powerful Eurasian centre of forces still in the process of formation and which undoubtedly will determine that these are the countries where the image of the 21st century, our territory, the territory of the whole region will also remain an object of interests for such powerful countries of the Islamic world as Turkey, Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia.

There is another source of threat : Uzbekistan is encircled by countries burdened with ethnic, demographic, economic and other problems, nothing to say about the common border with such hotbed of instability in this region as Afghanistan, torn apart by internal conflicts, being encouraged by religious extremism, ethnic intolerance, drug trafficking and external forces of different kinds. During five years that threat of escalation of the civil war in the neighbouring Tajikistan has remained. It should also be taken into consideration that these are the countries where the Uzbek Diaspora are the most numerous among foreign ones. Regional conflicts turn out, in most cases, into a long lasting source of such dangerous threats and challenges like terrorism and violence, drug trafficking, illegal arms trade and massive violation of human rights. All these manifestations have no state boundaries.

Threats to security are of universal character and they imply such manifestations as political extremism, including religious shades, nationalism and national self-isolation, contradictions based on ethnic, interethnic, local and tribal nature, corruption and criminality and

ecological problems.

REGIONAL CONFLICTS

The formation of a new world order is accompanied with an aggravation of the old smoldering conflicts of regional and subregional levels, having as backgrounds various historic, ethnic, political, religious and other reasons, which previously within the frames of the overall confrontation were “extinguished” for the sake of interests of one or the other pole of power. Moreover, there exist potential threats that new regional conflicts can emerge against the background of involvement of different external forces within the boundaries of their geostrategic ambitions.

Uzbekistan, after the disintegration of the USSR, has practically turned out to be front-line state; on the external perimeters of its borders two hotbeds of crises go on burning—one in Afghanistan and another in Tajikistan, having taken away hundreds of thousand of human lives over the past years. Taking into account the deep and acute crisis in Afghanistan, where for 18 years the war has been going on, and its impact on geopolitical processes on the regional and global levels, this tragedy may be equalled to the most large-scale and dangerous regional conflicts in the modern world. The tragedy of the events in Afghanistan and Tajikistan will result in a situation when, after a long lasting military and political internal confrontation, these countries will be put on the brink of self-extermination and loss of statehood. Observing the events in Afghanistan and Tajikistan, it is possible to state that the conflicts taking place in these countries and their consequences have pushed these states backward for dozens of years, as a minimum. Meanwhile the world civilization, that is standing on the threshold of the year 2000, is fostering itself for the 21st century.

In the existing environment of regional crisis, the threat to security of Uzbekistan is not hypothetical, its existence is obvious. Military and political crisis in Afghanistan and instability in Tajikistan can not but have negative impact on both regional stability in Central Asia as a whole, and

Islam Karimov

national security of Uzbekistan, in particular. It is my deep belief that the recent aggravation of the situation in September and October 1996 in Afghanistan has shown the realities and acuteness of this many-sided problem. In the first place, special attention should be attached to such developing situations like deliberate or involuntary expansion of armed or other undermining activity on the territory of neighbouring states, since the Afghan and, to some extent, Tajik conflicts have already reached that stage when they are actually unmanageable.

Due to certain ethnic heterogeneity of each of the Central Asian state any aggravation of the crises can not but undermine the civic harmony and stability in neighbouring countries. The attempts of certain subversive groups can not but cause alarm to fan the flames of conflicts and carry the crisis across to neighbouring countries appealing to national feelings of ethnic population groups living on neighbouring territories.

In the second place, during the recent years, events have acquired a dramatic course because in the Afghan crisis, apart from the existing ethnic fractions, a religious aspect has been introduced. The process of strong politicization of Islam has taken place that has shaped extremely radical forms : open pretensions to power and the wish to achieve it through using arms, calling up all co-religionists to support them. This process, that has nothing to do with humane ideals and foundations of our religion, negatively influences the social-political situation on a vast area from Gorno Badakhshan to the Caspian Sea. Unfortunately, it should be remembered that in some countries of the region there still exist the extremist elements who will not hesitate to impose the Afghan scenario to their peoples disregarding the consequences of the events in Afghanistan.

In the third place, centrifugal waves of the Afghan conflict, which is also rooted in ethnic and confessional ambitions of various Afghan groups to seize power, continue to negatively affect the entire region. This is obviously revealed through armed provocation on the Tajik-Afghan border which, together with other manifestations of subversive activity from the territory of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, seriously destabilize

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

the situation in Tajikistan and consequently in this region. In such conditions heterogeneous “fighters for faith”, to justify their actions and intentions use religious slogans, trying to impose spiritual ideals and values alien to our nations, to sow seeds of discord and medieval obscurancy.

Finally the ongoing conflicts give some people a possibility to exaggerate the problems of “separated nations”. Often a deliberate selection of arguments is presented in favour of, for instance, the unification of Tajiks or Uzbeks and Pushtun tribes on both sides of the border with Afghanistan. It is terrible to imagine the consequences of any attempt to change the existing borders using the ethnic principles of division. The change of borders in our region may result in a horrifying effect for the entire world community, so the conflict of similar kind in Bosnia and Herzegovina, would seem a prelude to the holocaust.

As a whole, long lasting regional conflicts generate a wide range of problems for neighbouring countries and influence national economies and economic links between the states.

1. For example, the war in Afghanistan, is the major constraint for new transport communications which would allow the Central Asian states to have access to “warm sea” ports and integrate them into the existing system of economic world-wide linkage.
2. The problem of refugees, who in case of an armed conflict are ready “to flood” the territory of the neighbouring countries.
3. As far as negative factors that couple with the long lasting conflicts in Afghanistan and Tajikistan and greatly endanger the neighbouring states, I can not but highlight such problems as illegal drug trafficking, international terrorism and arms smuggling. The rival groups, particularly in Afghanistan, regard the drug production and sale as the most appropriate means to earn money to purchase armaments and to enrich themselves. According to some international and UN evaluations, Afghanistan became not only one of the leading producers of raw opium, but it is the biggest transit point for ever growing drug delivery to the states of Central Asia and the West.

4. Delayed solution of the regional crisis in Afghanistan and Tajikistan has also put before the states of the region, including Uzbekistan, new and not less dangerous problems that are contingent with the expansion to the neighbouring territories of such phenomena like terrorism and arms smuggling. National security and internal stability depend, to a great extent, on the solution of these problems. It is difficult to deny the possibility that armed militants, after being trained or having gained experience in guerrilla war on the territory of Afghanistan, took an active part in the armed conflicts in many countries of the world, in the Caucasus, Chechenya and Tajikistan.

RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

The very fact of stable existence of religions, including Islam, during a millennium, testifies that they have deep roots in human nature and perform a set of inherent functions. Religion strengthens the faith of people, purifies and elevates them, makes them stronger in overcoming the trials of human existence, has contributed, and sometimes has been the sole means to preserve and transfer the universal and spiritual values through generations. That is why religion is a reliable companion of a human being, and is part of human life. Parallel with this and with the same right to existence, there had been developing, what is usually called, a secular thinking, a secular way of living.

According to Western-European experts, Islam is capable to perform very controversial functions during the period of national identification of peoples of Central Asia. On one side, cultural values of Islam and its traditions, its huge spiritual heritage greatly determine not only its contribution to the historic evolution of our region, but also determine its qualitatively new shaped image. On the other side, Islam is called for as an instrument in political struggle to possess control and exercise influence on mass political mind, it is capable to play the role of a banner under which are united forces that do not pursue definite programme objectives, but are guided by only one goal-that is the struggle

for power.

In the third place, and probably it is the most important item-there are dramatic changes in the social, political and economic spheres.

Unavoidable losses caused by the reforms during the transition period, the objective processes of differentiation between the population and natural distinctions of ownership level force some part of the population to take attitudes of a Soviet-like mentality calling for return to the utopia and illusory equality, to the pseudo-struggle against luxury and excessiveness, a return in essence to the equally-levelled standards that make people flat and the society uncoloured, instead of searching the area of application of their efforts, knowledge and skills, in order to secure their well-being. In these circumstances a deceptive attraction of the *Wahabism* type ideas make themselves felt.

In periods of stagnation, crises and splits in the society the populism of the outside *Wahabism* demand strict observance of the Islamic ethics, rejection of luxury and greediness. Regretfully, such slogans received support and spread in separate areas of Central Asia recently and nowadays.

In the fourth place, Uzbekistan and other Central Asian states constitute an integral part of the very complicated and multi-dimensional Islamic world. It is a well-known fact that in the world there exist many formal and informal movements which use Islam for their political purposes, some of them either recognize the exclusiveness of Islam or demonstrate intolerance towards all other religions, and use Islam as a platform to defend narrow-minded national interests. Intentions to involve the newly independent states of Central Asia into their political supporters and allies, to exercise their influence upon them are typical attempts for their ideological purposes, which are shaped and manifested in definite actions.

Now in the Republic there exist 15 confession communities, some of them being non-traditional for Uzbekistan. The secular state attitude towards them is guided by the following principles :

Islam Karimov

- respect for the religious feelings of believers;
- recognition of religious convictions being private practice of citizens or their communities;
- guarantee of equal rights and prohibition of persecution of citizens both professing religions and those who do not profess;
- need for dialogues with different religious associations to utilize their possibilities for spiritual revival and promotion of the universal moral values;
- recognition of inadmissibility to use religion with destructive aims.

The latter corresponds to Article 18 of the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, which fixes up the right of every human being for freedom of thought, of faith and adds that: "Freedom to profess faith or belief may be limited pursuant to the provisions of the Law to the amount that is needed to provide social security and safety, public order, health, moral, as well as, major rights and freedoms of the other people." The above quotation quite clearly separates religion as a part of spirituality and culture from an attempt "to play the religious card" for certain political aims. We support the ideas that religion should accomplish its role in introducing the highest spiritual, moral and ethic values, the historic and cultural heritage among the population. And we will never admit the religious slogans to be put on the banner in politics, economy and legislation, because in this we see a serious potential threat to stability and security for our state.

How is the threat of Islamic fundamentalism manifested towards Uzbekistan?

First. In the attempts to disseminate fundamentalism to undermine the confidence of the faithful Muslims to the state-reformer, to destroy stability, national civil and interethnic harmony that are fundamental pre-conditions of the transformations for the better changes. Islamists target to discredit democracy, the secular state, the multi-national and multi-confessional society.

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

Second. We must have a clear-cut idea, particularly our youth, the younger generation, that those who follow populist, attractive, but entirely noisy and ungrounded slogans of the fundamentalists about justice, turn out to be hostages of the others' will, that in the end, command not only their brains, but also their fate and destiny.

Third. In provoking confrontation among social groups and regions of population that is based on "true" and "false" principles of religiousness. This sort of activities led to the split of the nation in Algeria, Afghanistan.

Fourth. The situation of the never ending civil war on the southern borders of Uzbekistan, in neighbouring countries reproduces new generations of terrorists, armed militants who consider themselves to be true Muslims, fighters for faith, and those who are eager to impose their monstrous ideas to our people.

Fifth. In creating a repulsive image of Uzbekistan among both Muslim and non-Muslim states and their public opinion to which they want to present us either as anti-religious atheists or as hidden supporters of the state Islamization.

Sixth. In shaping a global confrontation between the Islamic and the non-Islamic civilizations that has the most negative impact on the integration processes within the world community, that preserves the backwardness of the newly independent states. And, what is worse, people's expectation of the "civilization clashes" is based on the religious principles.

Seventh. In exerting influence on mass mind the concept of religion being a universal means to solve all economic, political and international problems and contradictions.

Reflecting upon the Islamic fundamentalism threat, we are constantly compelled to look through not only its internal Islamic causes, but to the factors that provoke and stimulate it. These factors are well known: colonialism and neo-colonialism, great-power chauvinism and anti-Muslim dictate in international relationships, the "divide and rule" policy. Economic discrimination, arrogance and unwillingness to deeply

understand the advantages of another culture, another civilization, that has in our country centuries-old roots of the Islamic civilization constitute a part of philosophy of the East.

GREAT-POWER CHAUVINISM AND AGGRESSIVE NATIONALISM

The deep roots of great-power chauvinism grow due to unpreparedness to establish civilized interactions with other nations and states. Its bearers were military empires which exploited the vital resources of the conquered territories. Chauvinism, and this has been repeatedly proved by historical practices, stimulates the setting up and strengthening of authoritarian regimes, leads to severe dictatorship, because otherwise it is impossible to keep in obedience not only subordinated and dependent nations, but the own population as well, some part of which inevitably is against such policy.

For citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan the vital issues are : to what extent the elements of great-power chauvinism and aggressive nationalism are powerful today in relation to our country, what real dangers to our security this phenomenon offers, whatever appearance it could have. A democratically structured, economically and politically healthy and prospering Russia is so necessary for strengthening the independence of all new sovereign states, including the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Talking about the threat of great-power chauvinism and aggressive nationalism, we basically imply the danger of :

First, international, interstate and interethnic confrontation.

Second, resistance to the realization of our internationally legal and interstate sovereignty.

Third, attempts to restrict Uzbekistan's external economic linkages, and impose their unequal character.

Fourth, informational and ideological pressure on the population of our country, aspiration to perpetuate a distorted image of Uzbekistan

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

in the eyes of the world public opinion.

Fifth, provocation of interethnic distrust, aggravation of interethnic relations, taking into account that great-power chauvinism and extremist nationalism are ever lasting companions.

Sixth, imposition of neo-colonialist and neo-imperial approaches, breaking-up mutually beneficial and equal cooperation in all spheres.

We share Boris Yeltsin's opinion that "the restoration of the former Union will turn out to be a tragedy". Following such position is a basic principle of our inter-state relationship. Precisely such an approach of Russia's leadership towards the establishment of mutually beneficial and equal relations between the CIS is and will be in the future the foundation of inter-relations between Russia and Uzbekistan.

ETHNIC AND INTER-ETHNIC CONTRADICTIONS

The inter-relations between the titular nationality, that gave its name to its state, and the ethnic minorities living in the multinational and many lingual countries constitute one of the decisive preconditions for internal political stability and national security. As, the international experience proves it, stability of the internal political situation, national security and dynamics of social and economic development directly depend on the political loyalty of non-titular nationalities' representatives, living in a multinational state. Harmonization of interethnic relationship assumes significance during the period of national consolidation of the newly independent states within the post-Soviet territory.

In this country along with the titular nation, the Uzbeks, live the representatives of over hundred nationalities that have their own culture and traditions. Their share in the country's global population structure exceeds 20 per cent. What ethnic policy is to be pursued in order to preserve stability in Uzbekistan and in the entire Central Asian region? The national diversity in Uzbekistan in close combination with the growth of national self-consciousness and spiritual revival of the Uzbek people serves as a mighty impulse for renovation of the society, its

democratization, creating favourable conditions for the Republic's integration into the world community. The problems of inter-ethnic and sub-ethnic interactions are of strategic significance, and demand special attention to the building up of the inter-state relationship in the region.

Nowadays the growing significance of the ethnic and inter-ethnic factors in the process of preserving stability in the Central Asian region demands that some principal points should be taken into consideration. The most important among them are, in our view, the following:

First. Recognition of the state boundaries, their inviolability should be a constituent principle of external policy of every state, the main condition in order to secure sovereignty and strengthen political and economic independence.

Second. The development of the national self-consciousness of the peoples in the region since 1991 has acquired the character of an irreversible progressive process. Many of them have definitely been formed as nations which is the most substantial fact in the process of interethnic relations.

Third. Geographical, ethno-cultural and social-religious proximity of the peoples inhabiting the region constitutes a positive aspect of inter-ethnic dialogue and inter-state external political and trade-economic linkage.

Fourth. Ethnopolitics, implemented in Uzbekistan in particular within the framework of the movement "Turkestan is Our Common Home" is in its targets and contents a humane and constructive process because it is aimed at achieving the interethnic accord in the region. Undoubtedly, this policy meets fully the strategic state and national interests, of all Central Asian states. "Turkestan" historically implies not only people of Turkish origin, but the whole population of the area.

Fifth. Integration processes in the region are also to be promoted on the basis of an optimal combination of the state and national interests of all peoples and the entire multinational population.

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

At the same time any attempts to counterput one people of Central Asia to another, to disseminate myths on presumable national superiority must decisively be stopped. Such actions are now being taken by some irresponsible, short-sighted and ambitious politicians both within the region and abroad. The civilized legal foundation enabling to solve all problems of equality for Uzbekistan's citizens facilitates the preservation of inter-ethnic accord in our society, defined by its composition and contents as "diversity's unity" of the peoples of the Republic.

The Constitution of the Republic underlines that: "All citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan, regardless of their nationality, constitute the people of Uzbekistan". The Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan On Guarantees of Citizens Voting Rights gives to all citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan "regardless of origin, social and property status, race, nationality, sex, education, language, religion and occupation" equal voting rights. The state concept of protecting the rights of ethnic minorities on the territory of Uzbekistan is clearly revealed in the Constitution of the Republic quoting that: "The Republic of Uzbekistan shall ensure a respectful attitude toward the languages, customs and traditions of all nationalities and ethnic groups living on its territory and create the conditions necessary for their development."

Statistical data shows that today a considerable number of the Uzbeks live outside Uzbekistan. For instance, 24.4 per cent of the total population of Tajikistan are the Uzbeks; in Turkmenistan - 9.0 per cent; in Kazakhstan - 2.5 per cent. That is why Uzbekistan is a supporter of deep and overall interrelations between the sovereign states of Central Asia and solid security in the region.

CORRUPTION AND CRIMINALITY

Politically, corruption implies an explicit resistance to the ongoing reforms and objectively combines the interests of the obsolete administrative-command system and the "shadow" economy, that try to impede the promotion of new economic relationships and create a potential threat to their existence. Crime and corruption upheavals erode

the Constitutional basis of the state, lead to serious violations of human rights and freedoms. Crime and corruption undermine the moral basis of the society.

Criminalization of government agencies constitutes one of the major threats for the society during its development. The merging of criminal groups and state officials, their penetration in different branches of power strengthens the feeling of citizens' defenselessness within the public opinion, compromises in their eyes the state which loses confidence both within the country and outside.

Production of drugs and drug trafficking. Opportunities to obtain huge profit, that this criminal business provides, makes its performers forge ahead and disregard the norms of the international law, national legislation and fatal consequences that the "White death" bring about.

Arms smuggling. This "business" is also very profitable for those who try "to catch fish in troubled waters" of regional conflicts and local wars. Continuation of the armed clashes and maintenance of tensions serve as the best condition for the expansion of the black market of arms for the dealers who are in this business. Arms smuggling implies and gives birth to such criminal actions as international terrorism.

And, finally, there is one more type of international crime which emerged particularly following the break-up of the USSR. It is the desire of some regimes and organizations to gain access to energy sources and technology of the dual utilization. It is terrifying to imagine the consequences if the technology designed for the production of weapons of mass destruction gets into the hands of political and simply criminal maniacs.

We, people of Uzbekistan, are perfectly aware that, from this point of view, the Central Asian region is considered to be a dainty piece of pie for international criminal groups. The region continues to be a scene of bloody conflicts and so much weapon is stored here that the region becomes highly tempting for arms smugglers and for those who regard Central Asia as a training facility for international terrorists. The region

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

also has considerable resources of substances with nuclear fission properties; there are high technology industries, including those of the dual utilization. So, criminality and corruption are the sources of real threat both to national and international security.

REGIONALISM AND CLANS

Regionalism and clans are the signs of a narrow, ethno-regional type of mentality, when diversity, complexity and inter-relationship of the world are reduced to the size of one area, one ethnos, one largely expanded family. Historically Central Asia had no traditions for building up of a state system based on national indications. All states, that had existed here before the Russian colonization, were established mostly on the basis of dynastic or territorial principles (Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva). It is characteristic that by the time when the latter Khanates had been established, there lived numerous settled and nomadic tribes on the area where previously centralized states and empires had existed. It is not the regional self-consciousness that ought to determine the national self-identification of an individual: a person, first of all, has to perceive one-self as the citizen of Uzbekistan, and only after that as the inhabitant of Khoresm, Samarkand or the Ferghana valley. A hypertrophied local patriotism and its aggressive advancement impede the nation's consolidation, inevitably lead to internal separatism and cultural isolation, and a series of other threats to stability and security of the state and the society.

Separatist trends in the regions pose a real threat to integrity of state. Seeking dominating positions and trying to achieve egoistic goals, a clan or a region may turn out into a breeding ground for different formations pretending to play the nation-wide role of political opposition within the entire state. The struggle for power between such groups expressing itself in extremist forms also poses a direct threat to territorial integrity of the state, to its very existence. Political organizations, including the opposition ones, should develop within the nation-wide patterns of the society. Another potential danger of regionalism and separatism is

that local and clan contradictions of our region may become or bring about inter-ethnic conflicts.

ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

In examining potential threats to national security, problems of ecological safety and environmental protection deserve special attention. The Central Asian region represents one of the most dangerous areas of ecological disaster.

First, the threat of scarcity of usable land and its low quality increasingly causes constant fear. In Central Asia land is an invaluable treasure: it literally feeds, dresses, creates material basis for the well-being of not only families directly related to the agricultural production, but for the entire population of the Republic where all branches of economy in either case are closely linked with land, enjoy its generous fruits. At the same time land is not only an enormous patrimony, but also a factor affecting the country's future. This is particularly relevant for Uzbekistan where economic and demographic pressure on land is getting stronger year by year.

The specific feature of the Republic is that the arable land accounts only 10 per cent of the total area of 447.4 thousand square kilometers. A considerable part of Uzbekistan's territory is covered with deserts and semi-deserts: Karakum, Kyzylkum, Ustyurt and others. By today demographic pressure on land, particularly on agricultural land, is extremely high. Wind and water erosion negatively affect the soil productivity due to insufficient anti-erosion measures previously undertaken. Over 2 million hectares accounting to almost half of total irrigated areas are endangered by deflation. High degree of land salinization has become a major ecological problem for Uzbekistan. Large-scale soil pollution with various kinds of industrial and communal wastes has become another real threat. Radioactive contamination implies particular danger.

Second, acute shortage of water resources and their contamination, both surface and underground, cause great anxiety in Uzbekistan, from

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

the point of view of ecological security. As the watershed is mostly located in the mountains of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, and the bulk of water resources is used for irrigation by all Central Asian republics, the problem of joint and coordinated management of the limited water resources in the Aral Sea Basin in the interests of all states of the region and in line with the ecological requirements to provide water to the rivers' delta and the Aral Sea, really exists and demands a constructive solution.

Third, the disappearance of the Aral Sea has become the most acute ecological problem, a national disaster. The Aral Sea drying and the subsequent degradation of the environment in the Aral zone is defined as an ecological catastrophe. Dust and salt storms, desertification of land on vast territories not only in the Aral Sea zone but including considerable area far from the Sea, changes of the climate and landscape represent an incomplete list of the catastrophic consequences.

Fourth, air pollution is also a threat to ecological security in the Republic. For the Republic of Uzbekistan located in the arid zone the existence of such major natural sources of atmospheric dusting like Karakum and Kyzylkum deserts with frequent dust storms is characteristic.

REVIVAL OF SPIRITUAL VALUES AND NATIONAL SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

The cultural values of the nation, its spiritual heritage have been a powerful source of spirituality for the peoples of the East during millennia. In spite of rigid ideological pressure during a long period, the people of Uzbekistan have managed to preserve their historical and cultural values and their local traditions, that were carefully transferred from generation to generation. From the first days of our independence, the major problem, raised on state policy level has been to revive that huge, invaluable spiritual and cultural legacy that was formed by our ancestors during many centuries. We regard the revival of spiritual values as a natural process of the growth of national self-consciousness, of returning to spiritual sources of the nation, to its roots.

Historical memory, restoration of an objective and truthful history of the nation, native territory, territory of the state is given an extremely important place in the revival and growth of national self-consciousness, and if you agree also the national pride. Our great ancestors, Imam Bukhari, Al-Termisi, Naqshband, Khwaja Akhmad Yassavi, Al Khoesmi, Beruni, Ibn Sino, Amir Temur, Ilughbek, Babur and others who have greatly contributed to the development of our national culture, really became the national pride of our people. Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva are the places of pilgrimage not only for scientists and connoisseurs of art, but for all people of the Earth who are interested in history and historical values. Issues of “rehabilitation” of our past actually have already been completed; now the basic problem is to achieve scientific objectivity and unprejudiced historical analysis.

Ethnic, cultural and religious tolerance of our nation is another inexhaustible never ending source of spiritual revival. During millenniums Central Asia has been a meeting place where different religions, cultures and styles of living have been co-existing. For centuries nomadic tribes co-existed with settled nations here, Iranic tribes with Turkic ones, Muslims with Christians and Israelites.

Being historically a part of the family of Turkic nations, our people have resolutely rejected the Pan Turkic promises alongside with a chauvinistic idea of “Great Turan”. For us Turan is a symbol of cultural, but not super-political unity of the Turkic-language speaking nations of the region. Besides, we also have common cultural, historical and anthropological roots with the Tajik people, and this fact gives us full right to consider our culture as unique synthesis of Turkic and Persian cultures.

The revival of the spiritual-religious foundation of the society, of Islamic culture that has accumulated centuries-old experience of the moral consolidation of our people, is an important step on the path to self-identification, and restitution of the historical memory and cultural-historical integrity. Old mosques are reconstructed and new ones are built; educational centres are expanded; religious literature is published.

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

The process of revival of national traditions of Islam and its culture has been a rightful prove of the rejection to “import” Islam from outside, to politicize Islam and to “Islamize” the politics. The Muslim culture of Movarounnahr assimilated the spirit of ethnic tolerance and openness; it is not coincidental that its ideal described in the works of Farabi and Ibn Sino was the ideal city - a community of people united not only by religion, but also by culture and moral.

The comprehension of spiritual originality of Islam in Central Asia requires a profound study of the pre-Islamic culture that is a part of our cultural wealth. On the area, where agriculture during centuries has been based on irrigation, a careful treatment of land and water is not less important moral imperative than a careful attitude towards objects of civilization. Soil, air, water and fire (the Sun) have been traditionally worshipped in Central Asia, they were given respect by all religions of our ancestors, from Zoroastrianism to Islam. The necessity to study and disseminate a reasonable and harmonic utilization of nature in the pre-Islamic culture of the Central Asian nations should be especially stressed. It is not accidental that our land was the birthplace of Zoroastrianism that appealed to people to take care of the purity of rivers and soil fertility. Other doctrines like Buddhism and Manichaeism also professed careful and anxious treatment of Nature as one of the most important pace to the ideal society.

Another powerful source of spiritual values is the traditional ethics of family and ties of relationship whose basic principles are: respect for elder persons, mutual assistance, care about children. Revival of spiritual values also implies their adaptation to the values of modern world and informational civilization. Positive values that modern civilization brings about are values connected to the processes of building up a law-governed democratic society. Among them are: observance of human rights, freedom of entrepreneurship, freedom of speech, freedom of mass media, etc.

BUILDING UP STATE SYSTEM AND STRENGTHENING DEFENSIVE CAPACITY

As the main priority, Uzbekistan has chosen the values of democracy, personal freedoms, provision of human rights and freedoms, creation of a free market economy. Among the external political factors posing threats to the construction of a new state were above all the military and political conflict in neighbouring Afghanistan and the painful processes of state formation in Tajikistan, which in case of their further escalation could unavoidably expand over the entire Central Asian region, mostly affecting Uzbekistan.

The adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan in December, 1992 was an event of paramount political importance in the life of our country, a major step forward in the process of the consolidation of new Uzbekistan. Pursuant to the Constitution a system of state authority bodies, which basically differs from the former totalitarian system, has been created based on the principle of separation of the powers: the legislative, the executive and the judicial. A new system of local government has been created that has at its core the institute of *khokims*, which combines the functions of the head of executive power and representative power. An orderly system of local authorities cannot be imagined without self-governing agencies the core of which constitute citizens' gatherings-the *makhallyas*. These agencies were created counting the historical traditions and mentality of the nation, where the significance of a *makhallya* as an important social self-governing agency has been always great.

Uzbekistan being the member of the Non-Aligned Movement, does not accept participation in any military-political blocks, regards this as a guarantee of national security, preservation of peace and stability in the region and opposes the creation of military-political block on the CIS territory, bearing in mind that such block formation would return the world back to the old already overcome period of the "cold war".

CREATION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

The Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan serves as a legal guarantee for the democracy-oriented development of the country. The creation of such democratic institutions like ramified multiparty system and other social organizations called to interpret the interests of different layers of Uzbekistan's population acquires a primary significance. The formation of parties, their number, specific programme goals, etc. should be defined naturally, through the concentration and accumulation of social interests. The basic and the sole principle for a political party existence should be respect and observance of the constitutional norms of the state.

SHAPING OF MARKET RELATIONS AND FORMATION OF THE CLASS OF OWNERS

Our own model of transition to market relations is based on all possible accounting of specific reality and specific peculiarities of the Republic, its traditions, customs, way of living, eradicating evils of the past, of the one-sided, hypertrophied development of economy in the past.

Reforms will yield sensible results when property issues are solved, when a real class of middle level owners is shaped in the country. Class of middle owners is the support in the setting up of civil society. Our task is to create many levelled economy within which frames private property, small and middle business are of prior significance. Specific peculiarities of our area, high level of labour redundancy, developed agricultural and raw base plus traditions, mentality of our nation-all this objectively condition the necessity to progressively develop small and family businesses, private entrepreneurship. Small business is the manifestation of middle class entrepreneurship who provide normalized economic and political reality in the society.

The transformations in the agrarian sector are most significant in the whole chain of economic reforms. The development of market

Islam Karimov

mechanisms in village, revival of the feeling of ownership among farmers should go through improving property relations, reorganizing state farms into economies based on preserving for farmers a part of farms property, deepening of inter-economic rent relations, providing land for life-long use with the right to inherit and also on the base of broad development of farm and individual subsidiary farms.

Agriculture in itself can not provide jobs for all people who live in rural areas. The priority task for us is to create new working places in the countryside by establishing small mobile enterprises equipped with modern technology. Implementation of deep structural transformations in economy serves as the important condition to strategically preserve stability, to achieve economic growth, welfare of the population of the Republic.

The results of the past years, in particular of 1996, certify that: First, fixed macroeconomic stability was achieved as the main result of successful reform of our entire economy. Second, our own national monetary system is close to be completed. Third, at large the market infrastructure was formed, new banking, financial, tax systems were created as well as the net of stock and goods and raw materials exchanges, insurance, auditing, leasing companies and other market structures. Bases for wide functioning of securities market are in active process. Fourth, the scale of privatization has deepened and expanded. At present as the result of market reforms 70 per cent from the total amount of workers involved in national economy and the produced national income belongs to non-government sector, as well as 53.5 per cent of industry production and 97.7 per cent of agriculture products. Fifth, strategic tasks on structural reforms in economy are finding their practical embodiment. Entirely new branches of industry, such as automobile construction, microbiology, cellulose-paper and others were created. Sixth, mentality of our people is changing and the adaptation process to the changed standards of life is increasing.

**STRONG SOCIAL POLICY AND THE GROWTH OF SOCIAL
ACTIVITY OF THE POPULATION**

Social contradictions have always been the moving force of political, social and economic transformations. Implementation of the social motivation of public becomes very significant. Transition to market, as the experience of many countries shows, does not go smoothly, without consequences and the growth of social problems. For many people the breaking of usual way of living, change of life adjustments, stereotype of thought and social behaviour, eradication of dependent moods may become an acute social problem in the transition period.

One of the leading principles, on which the independence and renovation of Uzbekistan are based, is the implementation of strong social policy.

**GEOSTRATEGICAL POTENTIAL, NATURAL
AND RAW MATERIAL RESOURCES**

Uzbekistan is located between the Amu-Darya and the Syr-Darya rivers and has a favourable geostrategic situation from the point of view of establishing the international links and prospects of its development. Through the territory of Uzbekistan from the ancient times the Great Silk Road passed connecting the East and the West. The trade routes converged here. The intensive process of external contacts and mutual enrichment of various cultures took place here. Also today routes from Europe and the Middle East to the Asian-Pacific region cross here. The territory of the Central Asian countries stretches from the borders of China in the East up to Iran and the Caspian Sea in the West and connects Hindustan with Russia and Europe.

By such important minerals like gold, uranium, copper, natural gas, tungsten, potash salt, phosphorites, kaolin Uzbekistan by the confirmed stocks and prospective ores occupies the leading position not only within the CIS, but also in the whole world. So, the Republic occupies the 4th place in the world by gold stocks, and by the level of its output - the 7th

ranking. By copper stocks - the 10th-11th ranking, by uranium-the 7th-8th.

Uzbekistan has a unique stock of fuel and energy resources. The prospected stocks of gas make up about 2 thousand billion of cubic meters. There are available more than 160 deposits of oil, and more than 2 billion tons of coal. Uzbekistan has large stocks of coal and occupies the second place in Central Asia in its geological stocks.

Kaolin is of great interest for industrial development. Kaolin from Angren region may be used in many industries as a raw material to obtain alumina and aluminium, fire-proof materials, ceramic facing, ceramic tiles, porcelain and faience, electroisolators, drainage and canalization tubes, fill-ins in paper industry, white and coloured cement, highly resistant bricks and so on.

Uzbekistan is one of the countries possessing the largest resources of gold, silver and other precious and rare metals in the world. Alongside with the production of precious metals, Uzbekistan produces uranium, for which a large mineral and raw material basis has been created. The prospected stocks of uranium are sufficient for its production for 50-60 years. Uzbekistan has significant prospected stocks of non-ferrous metals: copper, lead, zinc, tungsten and other metals of this group. Lead and zinc deposits are mainly concentrated in Uchkulach in Djizak region and Khandiza in Surkhandarya region. The Republic of Uzbekistan has a reliable raw material base for the extraction and production of a number of rare and splited metals. Uzbekistan has unique stocks of rhenium, which is inside copper ores of the Almalyk deposits. 20 deposits of marble, 15 of granite and gabbro have been explored in the Republic. The Republic is rich in phosphorites. There are the largest deposits of potash salts in Uzbekistan: Tyubegatan in Kashkadarya region and Khodjaikan in Surkhandarya region. The Republic has rich deposits of rock salt. Unique soil fertility enabled to transform the Republic into a country with a powerful agro-industiral potential which is the main peculiarity of Uzbekistan. The Republic occupies a leading place among the CIS countries in fruit and vegetable production, fruits and grapes,

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

cocoons, astrakhan and wool. The Republic has large potential to expand the production of silk industry, astrakhan breeding, leather industry items using up-to-date technologies.

Possession of huge mineral, raw material and agricultural resources, many of which are unique and are of great demand in the world markets, makes Uzbekistan not only attractive for the establishment of mutually beneficial economic and trade relations but also creates real conditions for the formation with interested foreign partners an advanced modern structure of economy that is capable to ensure in the nearest years a sustainable and progressive development of the country and a high level of well-being of its population prosperity.

HUMAN POTENTIAL, SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Hardworking, sympathetic and hospitable people of Uzbekistan are genuine riches and wealth of this country. High population growth rates are characteristic of Uzbekistan. Strong institute of family as a basis of the society constitutes another distinctive peculiarity of the social and demographic situation of our country. Today the Republic has powerful labour potential. Labour resources make up almost 50 per cent of the whole population and grow by 210-20 thousand people every year. A high education level is a distinctive feature of labour potential of Uzbekistan. It also has high level of both general and professional training of labour resources. Promotion of research and scientific infrastructure is of primary importance for the realization of projected objectives of the dynamic development of the country. The Republic owns a developed energy, communication and water systems, has a united supplementary net of railroads and automobile roads. Uzbekistan owns a developed gas transportation system.

GUARANTEES FOR LARGE-SCALE TRANSFORMATIONS AND COOPERATION

The first Constitution and an entire code of the basic laws adopted in the Republic serve as a solid legal guarantee for democratization in all spheres of our life, the irreversibility of our society's renovation processes and cooperation with many countries of the world that regard Uzbekistan as a reliable and perspective partner. The Constitution juridically fixes up that the law and state protect the foundations of our society: multistructural market economy and private property of the citizens. Stability of legislative basis is a major guarantee for the economic development, for the protection of invested capitals.

Foreign investments in the Republic of Uzbekistan are not subject to nationalization and requisition. Foreign investors are guaranteed to transfer profits and other assets in foreign currency obtained as the result of legal activity, without any restrictions, as well as unconditional conversion of profits obtained from the import of raw materials, components and modern technologies.

Free access to the state-owned property privatization process, including real estate sales is guaranteed to foreign physical persons. Foreign investors are entitled to purchase proprietorship rights, including proprietorship right on trading and services units, as well as houses with plots of land of their location, the right to own and utilize land and natural resources. Enterprises with foreign investments are entitled to export without licences products of their own production and to import commodities for their own production purposes, as well as to import duty free property as joint venture charter fund contributions. Alongside with guarantees, the current legislation grants foreign investors a broad range of tax incentives.

INTEGRATION WITH THE WORLD COMMUNITY

Today 165 states have recognized Uzbekistan. The official diplomatic relations have been established with more than 120 countries

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

of the world and 35 states have set up their embassies in Tashkent. The 2nd of March, 1997 marks the fifth anniversary of Uzbekistan's membership in UN. Integration with the world community through the United Nations activity for us is precisely a broad cooperation with such UN agencies as UNESCO, World Health Organization, International Labour Organization, UNCTAD, UNICEF and others.

CENTRAL ASIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21ST CENTURY

*Turkkaya Ataov**

After the disintegration of the USSR, Turkey suddenly cast a shadow in Central Asia, where Turkic people live. All of a sudden Turkey had an opportunity in terms of ethnic affiliation, geographical proximity, historical experience and potential. Turkish diplomacy started to make use of new economic priorities in foreign relations, and Turkish statesmen were accompanied by large groups of businessmen, sometimes about a hundred or more during official trips abroad to these countries. Now Turkey has special relationship with its long lost cousins in the Caucasus and in Central Asia who follow each other with large delegations in quick succession to Ankara. And their visits are reciprocated by even larger delegations. The Turks do not have nevertheless, all the resources to solve single - handedly the economic problems of all these countries.

Turkey did absolutely nothing to provoke the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Yet, Russia is afraid of Pan-Turkism. Ideas of Pan-Turkism, Turkic nationalism or some sort of federation/ confederation of all the Turkish people did not originate in Turkey, neither in the Ottoman empire nor in the Republic of Turkey. The idea of cultural affinity of Turks was worked upon by the Turkish people living in the diaspora. These ideas started with the Crimean Tartars, who are a Turkic people. They were under pressure of Tsarist Russia. They were among the Turkish - speaking people who were being pushed out of their homeland where they had lived for centuries. Consequently, the Crimean Tartars started moving towards the south, first to Romania, then to Bulgaria, the Ottoman empire and the Republic of Turkey. So, when they started writing about Turkish unity, they meant cultural unity, the unity of language, etc. These ideas were picked up by some Azeris in Azerbaijan who were under the same threat.

* *Professor of International Relations, Ankara University, Turkey*

CENTRAL ASIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

Azeris and some Tartars who came to Istanbul and other places of Turkey, after running away from the extending Russian imperialism, initiated the ideas of common cultural characteristics. And some Turks too got interested in this. This is how Turkism started. It was a movement in the diaspora outside of Turkey whether it was the Ottoman empire or the Republic. Besides, the Turkish government, especially during the republican era, did not want to antagonise the Soviet Union, its strong neighbour. The Turkish authorities, arrested the Pan-Turkists and stopped their publications. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Turkish business views Russia as the biggest market for Turkey, where they can use their capital and technology. Russia is seen as a bigger market than Central Asia because Turkey has lost its Middle East market. Now very few Middle East countries trade with each other. For instance, the Maghriban countries, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, trade with Western Europe, especially with France. Libya trades mostly with Italy, and Iraq with Germany and sometimes Japan. Syria trades with France and some other countries in Europe, and very few of the Middle-east countries trade with each other. Turkey is an exception because Turkey could offer expertise, men, workers and machinery. It has geographical proximity. Before the second Gulf war Turkish trade with Saudi Arabia was about 27.6% but now it is only 2.1%. Now after the second Gulf-war, Turkey lost not only Iraq and Kuwait as a market but the whole of the Middle East, including Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and the rest. Some Turks wonder whether this was one of the objectives of those who started the war against Iraq. The Turkish government officials supported that action on the basis that Turkey was a member of the United Nations. Articles 24 and 25 of the United Nations Charter oblige us to support such action. But our loss so far is 27 billion dollars. The United States tells us that there still is an Iraqi threat and that we should extend the embargo against Iraq. So, the leading Western exporters sell the Saudis, UAE and others heavy tanks or heavy artillery, sophisticated war planes and the like, with the consequence that the Middle Easterners no longer buy from Turkey as much as they used to do.

One result of this development is that the Russian market has become

Turkkaya Ataov

more and more important for us. The Turkish business and press circles describe the Russian market as contractors' paradise. The initial step was taken by the late President Ozal who paid an official visit to Russia in 1991, the first at the Presidential level after a 22-year interval. He led a large delegation to the capitals of Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan culminating in a number of agreements. One of them aimed at sweeping increase in the total trade volume between the two countries reaching 9 to 10 billion dollars by the year 2000. The increasing trade got a support from the credit given by Turkey's Export-Import Bank (or the Eximbank). It supplies Turkish contractors with investment credit to be used in projects in the CIS and gives purchasers' credits to Russia, the Central Asian republics and the Caucasian republics to enable them to finance import. The new agreements and the financing of private and official banks injected a new dynamism into relations with Russia and created new opportunities for the Turkish entrepreneurs. Turkish firms as Gama, Anka, Gurish and Mir are quite active. The Gama is the 97th biggest firm in the world. They have completed housing complexes, health facilities, tourist centers, hotels and the like. They have exemplary reputation in Russia for fine work done even before the deadline. The Turkish firm Gama undertook the restoration of the Russian parliament building after it was damaged during the August 1991 coup. It received a special award .

After the Soviet demise the new Republics started experimenting with pluralism, nationalism, religion and market economy, and Turkey considered its present and future role in Central Asia and Azerbaijan in the Caucasus (where five Turkic republics are situated) as a duty and responsibility as well as an opportunity and interest. Turkey presents the model of a secular democratic and economic liberal state. Islam is also on the rise in Central Asia, and Iran sends religious leaders to Central Asia and Azerbaijan and invites young men to Qom. One may point to Iran's overt activities of "exporting Islamic revolution" in Turkey as the Iranian ambassador had to leave Ankara.

Turkey's secular and cultural influence is also resented by some other Sunni Muslim conservatives, such as Saudi Arabia. Besides, there

CENTRAL ASIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

is competition in the choice of alphabet. To replace the Cyrillic letters, Iran and Saudi Arabia recommend a return to the old Arabic script offering for instance, free press and other facilities. Turkey suggests the Latin alphabet which suits the Turkish phonetic and is easier to learn. The Arabic script does not suit the Turkish language. Only Kazakhstan with a large Russian population in northern Kazakhstan seems content with Cyrillic letters because any change will offend the large Russian population. Now Turkey is willing to help the Turkic republics in terms of utilizing its economic potential, transferring technology, establishing banks, giving scholarships to young students, setting up joint companies, repairing historical monuments and sometimes building new mosques. Turkey was the first to recognise the CARs and Azerbaijan, sponsored their membership in international organisations. Almost everytime a high - ranking Turkish delegation went to Central Asian states, Turkey alleviated some hardship of that country by making gift of food or credits or outright financial aid. Uzbekistan handed over its foreign minister's building to Turkey to be used as the Turkish embassy. The priority areas of Turkey's economic cooperation with Central Asia are the production and transportation of agricultural produce, building of light industrial complexes, the search for minerals, operating food industries and beating of competition from French, Japanese and other rivals.

A new Turkish television station was set up, and it started telecasting to all Turkic republics. Turkish technicians went to these newly independent states in order to build their stations for reception. According to the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency figure, Turkey has now about 9000 businessmen in Central Asia, the second largest after the United States. Turkish enterprises in Central Asia have an annual turnover amounting to 10 billion dollars. Turkey is the number four donor with around 400 million dollars and Turkey established joint banks, joint universities, and opened 200 schools in the four Turkic republics of Central Asia. English as well as local Turkish languages are also used and taught. About a thousand officials from Central Asia came to Turkey for training. Turkey gave 10, 000 scholarships for young students.

However, Turkey cannot provide all the investment and all the technology requirements of these cash - starved Central Asian republics. Therefore, Turkey accepts and encourages the participation of others. Other external actors in addition to Russia, China and Iran are India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Israel and also the United States, Japan and some Western European countries.

RUSSIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

The power of Russia, which used to dominate the region, is in doubt in many parts of Russia including its Far East. One of the key questions is whether Russia itself can hold together as a single unified political - economic state. Turkey's businessmen do not want the Russian Federation to disintegrate. It is a very important and a big market for Turkey. Russia's global military capability is badly eroded. It can not even pay its officers, monthly salaries. There is no discipline in the army, and Russia's ability to project power effectively even into the Russian borderland is problematic. Its economy is in deep trouble, and industrial infrastructure is crumbling. Now Russia is a subordinate player in international relations. While it is doubtful that Russia's capability can support Russian ambitions, one can expect Russian leaders to move aggressively to narrow the gap between its intentions and reality / capabilities. The residual Russian population in Central Asia and the problem of common borders particularly with Kazakhstan are some issues that can stimulate these intentions. According to the 1989 census, there is a total of 25 million Russians living outside the Russian Federation. Almost half of Kazakhstan's northern part is Russian. There is also a brain drain from Central Asian republics to Russia. But these countries do not rely only on the Russians and for their technology requirements Turkey is another alternative. India also has enough technology and can help them. As far as Russia is concerned, some political parties and statesmen want the Soviet Union to be back but not as a communist state. They feel that Russia has lost so much of territory and has little access to the Black Sea. So, they want to change things by having a sort of confederation within the CIS. They want to have a sort of political, economic and

CENTRAL ASIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

military integration. Then, there is the Liberal Democratic Party of Zhirinovskiy, which is neither liberal, nor democratic. It wants the pre-1917 imperial frontiers. Now the Yeltsin leadership compares CIS integration process with the European Union integration. Keeping in mind the Russian interests, the guidelines for Russian policies towards the CIS were outlined in a Presidential decree in 1995 which describes the CIS as the zone of Russian interest. The Russian leadership since 1993 has fostered the development of the integration process. Russia is very much interested about security on its southern borders but some of the states resent the presence of Russian border troops on their external borders and in March 1996, an agreement to deepen integration was signed between Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan and it was followed by separate bilateral agreements in April 1996 between Russia and Belarus creating a community of southern states apart from the CIS. Now, Transcaucasia remains strategically important for Russia, which wishes to have close relations with Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia for the following reasons :

1. Close ties will help Russia to maintain control over the northern Caucasus and secessionist tendencies in southern Russia.
2. Close ties will help Russia to maintain its interests in the Black Sea and Caspian Sea.
3. It will help Russia in defining a better position in the oil and gas pipelines crossing Transcaucasia, Russia and Turkey.
4. It will help Russia to be near Turkey and Iran with whom Russia's relations are very important.

Azerbaijan has close relations with Turkey and it has oil reserves which makes that country a constant target of Russian attention. The Azeris are a Turkic people. Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Azerbaijan took care of the other eleven CIS republics during the Soviet period (there were 15 republics). Azerbaijan was on the losing side all the time. They gave more to the Soviet Union than they took. Azerbaijan's former President was inclined towards Turkey and was prepared to sign an agreement with western oil consortium to develop oil deposits of the

Turkkaya Ataov

Azeri shore of the Caspian Sea. It prompted Russia to support another person, Aliev, who is now Azerbaijan's President. But Aliev too has been safeguarding Azerbaijan's interest. Now, Russia claims that the Caspian Sea is a lake, whereas Azerbaijan regards it as a sea. Azerbaijan argues that the Caspian Sea can be divided into national sectors. This view is shared by Kazakhstan which is also rich in oil. However, Iran and Turkmenistan disagree with this view. Baku opposes Russian military bases on Azeri territory and also Russia's security ties with Armenia with which Azerbaijan has certain conflicts. Kazakhstan wants to avoid antagonism with Moscow mainly because the Russian population there living in the north is too big, i.e., 33%. Secondly, Kazakhstan also wants to counter possible threats from China and is happy to have Russian guards on its external borders. In January 1996, the then Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev visited Kazakhstan and signed 16 military cooperation agreements. Both sides agreed to build oil pipeline from Tengiz to Novorossiysk, another Russian sea port on the Black Sea. But even Kazakhstan is determined to uphold its sovereignty and about 800,000 Russians have left Kazakhstan for Russia.

Uzbekistan is the only Central Asian state that does not have Russian border guards to guard its frontiers. Uzbekistan has a large population of more than 20 million, and it also opposes the CIS integration and development of the Russian presence in Central Asia. Tashkent feels that it is strong enough to establish its own sphere of influence there. However, Russia is a strategic partner for Uzbekistan in opposing Islamic fundamentalism.

Kyrgyz leadership gives priority to developing relations with Russia. In 1996, Russian was made an official language along with Kyrgyz. Kyrgyz economy is closely tied to Russia. That country signed the four-power agreement with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Kyrgyzstan sees China as a possible threat to its security, and Russian border forces guard Kyrgyzstan's border with China. Turkmenistan is opposed to the CIS integration and due to its oil and gas reserves, Turkmenistan feels that it can afford that luxury. For Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan may one day be a security threat.

CENTRAL ASIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

Tajikistan is like a Russian protectorate. The ruling regime in Dushanbe can not survive without the Russian support. There are 25,000 Russian soldiers guarding the border and the main installations are inside the country and in the future Uzbekistan may play a greater role in Tajikistan.

CHINA AND CENTRAL ASIA

While Russia declines, China experiences economic growth. China may be a key player and may be number one in Central Asia, but also in the Russian Far East. While China enjoys unprecedented economic growth, it needs natural resources and territories for its growing population. Due to the absence of strong Russian counter - pressure, China's interest in the resources and lands of Central Asia will probably grow. There is increasing trade between China and Central Asian states especially with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. At first the collapse of Soviet power in Central Asia heightened Chinese concerns about ethnic separation and Islamic fundamentalism spilling over the borders. Much of Central Asia can rely on China as an important trading partner. China has adopted a policy of economic offensive and is after economic opportunities in Central Asia. China has sensitivity over Turkish and Iranian activities. China has even cultivated Iran to balance Turkish influence in Central Asia including providing Iran with military equipment, technology, and missiles. China is trying to influence and build the strength of Iran. China is also concerned about the Turkic minority separatism of the Uighurs and Kazakhs, in Eastern Turkestan. But in spite of this, China has its own priorities. Their first priority is integration with Hong Kong and Taiwan, not Central Asia. Next priority is to overcome problems of large pockets of under - development and over - population.

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

Of all the Central Asian actors, India probably suffered most from the collapse of the USSR and it is renewing its relations with Moscow and working vigorously to revitalise its ties with the individual Central

Turkkaya Ataov

Asian states. India re-established its military relationship with weakened Russia which will result in India receiving substantial number of advanced Russian weapon systems and training. This move is an evidence of India's desire to have regional allies to advance its position in Central Asia. Its immediate objective may be to upset Pakistan's growing number of bilateral links and to gain access to region's trade and resources, a search complicated by confrontation with Pakistan and by chaos in Afghanistan which denies India an overland route to Central Asia. But Turkey may be another partner of India. Our relations are growing, and there are certain principles behind the establishment of our state such as secularism which are important in the Caucasus and in Central Asia. Turkey is open to cooperation with other states. Turkey can not solve the problem in Central Asia just by itself. Its capital and technologies are not enough for that.

IRAN AND CENTRAL ASIA

In the absence of strong Russian counterpart, Iran is working actively to rebuild as a regional economic and military power. Iran has special relations with Turkmenistan because there are some Turkmens in Iran. They have common borders south of the Caspian Sea, and they have agreed to jointly exploit oil and transport natural gas. Though Moscow frequently accuses Iran of running training camps in favour of Chechen fighters, current Russia-Iranian relations include expanded trade, gas, oil, food and technology transfer covering weapon and nuclear power material as well.

OTHERS

Saudi Arabia has financial positions and possibilities but it is more interested in reintroducing the Sunni ideology. The United states is interested from a number of angles, to stop nuclear proliferation, drugs and to fight against Islamic fundamentalism. Israel has acted faster than its other counterparts, and they were there before the Palestinians for instance as they try to establish economic relations with CARs. Israel

CENTRAL ASIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21st CENTURY

offers solution for the need of water because they have been trying to solve that problem in their own country. So when some high ranking Israeli officials were in Kazakhstan, the Kazakhs listed 120 projects of possible cooperation. And the Israelis are making use of the Turkish connection and Turkish cooperation. South Korea and Uzbekistan made an agreement to turn out about 200,000 automobiles a year. This is going to pose a very serious challenge to Russian car market in Central Asia. They will be cheaper and better and 200, 000 is just a beginning.

CENTRAL ASIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Seminar Report

The Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation organised a Seminar on the theme **Central Asia on the Threshold of 21st Century** at India International Centre, New Delhi on May 20, 1997. Prof. Turkkaya Ataov, Professor of International Relations, Ankara University, Turkey made a detailed presentation on the theme. The seminar was well attended by academics, diplomats and media-persons. Prominent among the participants were Sh. S.K. Singh, former Foreign Secretary, who presided over the function, Sh. N.N. Jha, former Indian Ambassador to Turkey, Dr. V.P. Vaidik, Mr. Rashid Talib, both media persons. The participation of a number of academics from Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi University and Jamia Milia turned the Seminar into a lively and meaningful dialogue. Prof. K. Warikoo, Secretary General of Himalayan Foundation while introducing Prof. Turkkaya Ataov highlighted the role of the Foundation as a forum for dialogue and academic / cultural interaction between India and Central Asian countries at non-governmental level. Prof. T. Ataov dilated in detail on various developments in Central Asia, particularly the emerging relationship between Turkey, Russia, China, Iran and the Central Asian Republics. Text of his lecture is given in the preceding pages.

Prof. Devendra Kaushik asked as to why Turkey is not including India in the ECO. Prof. Ataov was critical of Erbakan who wanted to visit some Islamic countries in order to satisfy his own electorate. "One can not base foreign policy on Islam. For instance during Khomeini's time, Iran through third parties received Israeli weapons. Yet, Iran seems determined to erase Israel from the map of the world. Iran did use the Israeli weapons because they needed them. This is national interest superseding religion. And if Iran can do it why can't other countries? Is Spanish foreign policy a Catholic foreign policy, or is Polish foreign policy a catholic foreign policy, so why should

Turkish foreign policy be Islamic foreign policy. Pakistan is very friendly to Turkey. But this is on the basis of mutual interest. All countries interested in Central Asia should come up with economically feasible national proposals. In the northern Kazakhstan so many Russians live. Now Kazakhstan wants to build up a new oil pipeline to Novorossiysk and the Black Sea just to satisfy the Russian population in Kazakhstan. There is no other explanation for that”.

S. K. Singh asked Ataov as to how Turkey will move in next three years in its internal politics in terms of Islam and politics and also in terms of Turkey moving towards Europe and OIC. Prof. Ataov said that no one can prophesize as to what was going to happen in Turkey or elsewhere. He added : “I can only talk of alternatives only. Turkey has a certain identity. The Turks of Turkey are Asians, they are Central Asians, they are Muslims, they are eastern Mediterraneans. They are a Black Sea people, they are a Balkan people and they are Europeans. All of these things are part of their political or sociological personality and none of that contradicts the other. Turkey is part of European history, we have territory there. We took our political institutions from there. The Turkish Republic is based on the ideals of the French Revolution and we have our people living on European soil. But we have originated from Central Asia. We are also Asians. We are also a Black Sea power and we have now longer than Russian sea shore on the Black Sea. We have the longest sea shore on the southern part of the Black Sea. So, Black Sea is also our identity. Islam is also a part of our identity. We are a member of OIC, but we are a secular state. We cannot be expected to be bound by some decisions that contradict our secular constitution. And we got certain advantages, for instance, the identity of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was accepted by the OIC, though not as an equal. There we had a better chance of explaining our point of view on the Cyprus issue. But this does not mean that we are just like Saudi Arabia or Pakistan or some other country”.

Dr. Shamsuddin disputed the view of Ataov that Turkey was not prepared for the disintegration of USSR. He pointed out that

HRCF FILE

Mustafa Chukaev, Togan and other scholars in Turkey were great repository of Central Asian culture and politics and they played great role in early Soviet period after which they fled and took refuge in Turkey. As regards Turkey's relations with Russia, Central Asia and other republics based on business or trade relations, it would have been in the interest of Turkey and Russia to coordinate their policies rather than coordinate its policies with the western world. Shamsuddin argued that Iran's role in spreading Islam in Central Asia is marginal. Iran has strong relations only with Turkmenistan and to some extent with the war - torn republic of Tajikistan. With other republics it has very least relations. Moreover, the Shia and Sunni divide come in the way of Iran to spread its influence in Central Asia and they do not see eye to eye on this. The more important actors are Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and other countries where they are sending regular *Tablaji -Jamats*. Iran's role is highlighted only as the overall western perspective is to isolate Iran from Central Asia.

Prof. Ataov replied that Turkey is in some way the combination of all those people who abandoned their original homelands and came to live there, initially in response to the shrinking of Ottoman Empire. Even non-Turks have come, for instance some Slavic people; they are not even Turks but they are Muslims. So those who wanted to save their lives from the Austrian Empire and afterwards from Yugoslavia came and started living in Turkey. Some Libyans came after the Italian-Libyan war. But Turkey was not prepared, not even the USA for the disintegration of USSR. Culturally, ethnically, and religiously, we are close and similar. The Central Asians accept that they are Turkic people. We come from the same roots and we will cooperate with Russians economically. There is ethnical affinity, a cultural affinity, religions affinity and we are not denying that but economic relations are very important.

Iran has an ideology but it is also a state that goes back to 2,500 years. Iran is one of the oldest civilizations in the world. They had a state all the time even before Islam. So they are realists. They know what they are doing. They were not ruled by Mullahs throughout their history. Yet they did not participate in the Tajikistan

civil war. They know how far they should go. Now they have a very large Azeri minority that runs into millions and these are Turkic people. Yet they volunteered to recognise Armenia and acted as go-between Azeris and Armenians. Iran tried to ease the problems of Armenia inspite of the fact that Armenia took territories from the Azeri brothers who constitute a very huge minority in Iran. In other words everything that they do not necessarily spring from the Quran.



*From left to right, Prof. K.Warikoo, Prof. T.Ataov, S.K.Singh,
Prof. Devendra Kaushik is on extreme right*



Some participants at the lecture in India International Centre

UZBEKISTAN ON THE THRESHOLD OF 21ST CENTURY AND THREATS TO REGIONAL SECURITY AND STABILITY

Imperatives for India

The Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation organised a discussion on the theme *Uzbekistan on the Threshold of Twenty first Century and threats to Regional Security and Stability : Imperatives for India* at India International Centre, New Delhi on December 9, 1997, which was well attended by diplomats, academics and media persons. This occasion was used for the presentation of Uzbekistan's President, Islam Karimov's book titled "Uzbekistan on the Threshold of twenty first Century", by Mr. I. Nematov, Ambassador of Uzbekistan in India. The Main participants in the discussion included T. N. Kaul, former foreign Secretary, Mr. Nematov, Mr. Ibraev, Ambassador of Kazakhstan in India, Mr. Masood Khalili, Ambassador of Afghanistan in India, Mr. Khodorovsky, Ambassador of Ukraine in India, Ms. Rustomova, Minister Counsellor in Turkmenistan's Embassy in India, Prof. K. Warikoo, Prof. Devendra Kaushik, Dr. Shamsuddin, all from Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Uzbekistan's Ambassador in India, Mr. I. Nematov while presenting the book recently written by Islam Karimov, President of Uzbekistan, expressed his happiness that the holding of this function in Delhi on December 9, coincided with the Constitution Day of Uzbekistan. He said that "the adoption of the Constitution of Republic of Uzbekistan on 9 December 1992 was an event of paramount political importance in the life of our country, a major step forward in the process of the consolidation of new Uzbekistan". Highlighting the centuries old friendly relations between Uzbekistan and India, Nematov pointed out that India was one of the first countries to recognise independent Uzbekistan and that one of the first visits of the President of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov was to India. Nematov stated that "Uzbekistan highly evaluates the place that

India occupies in the modern world and also its role in providing regional security. Therefore, the presentation of the book is an extremely important event and an evidence of the proximity of both India and Uzbekistan”.



I. Nematov, Ambassador of Uzbekistan in India releasing President Islam Karimov's book at India International Centre

In his presidential speech T.N. Kaul, the President of the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation expressed satisfaction that “President Karimov has hit on the most important aspects of his country’s problems, hopes, aspirations, possibilities and prospects in the 21st century”. He noted that retention of geo-political balance through mutually beneficial cooperation is one of the most urgent needs of Central Asia as well as South Asia, East Asia and West Asia. Kaul concurred with Islam Karimov’s views on ethnic, regional and secessionist trends and conflicts as the main threats to universal security in the post-cold war era especially when such conflicts are being used by some states as instruments of political influence to extend their zones of domination. He stressed that “Karimov’s analysis of the Afghan situation and its causes particularly ethnic intolerance, drug trafficking and external interference, is shared by us in India”. Kaul explained as to how “some of the Afghan mercenaries and fundamentalist Islamic extremists and terrorists have

HRCF FILE

been used to interfere with our internal affairs and disturb the socio-cultural setup in Jammu and Kashmir. These terrorist elements have not even spared historic mosques and shrines such as the Sufi saint Sheikh Noor-ud-din Rishi at Chrar-i-Sharif, who represented the synthesis of Indian and Islamic cultures through Sufism”.

T.N. Kaul commended Islam Karimov for rightly and clearly drawing a distinction between the spiritual and cultural importance of Islam and for deploring the misuse of Islam for gaining and exercising political power. Kaul further said that “President Karimov has rightly underlined the threat posed by Islamic fundamentalism to the stability of Uzbekistan and to democracy, secularism, civic and inter-ethnic harmony. He has rightly rejected the idea of politicisation of Islam and Islamisation of politics. President Karimov has rightly observed that change of borders on ethnic principles will lead to horrifying consequences as have been witnessed in Bosnia and Herzegovina”.

Speaking on the occasion, Prof. K. Warikoo, the Secretary General of Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation stated that “contemporary developments in the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan region in South and Central Asia and Afghanistan call for a comprehensive, in-depth and specialised approach to the study of various problems, which can help in a better understanding of the issues involved”. He described President Karimov’s book as an inside and authoritative view of the situation in Uzbekistan.

The Ambassador of Kazakhstan in India, Mr. Ibraev welcomed the presentation of Islam Krimov’s book in Delhi as significant. Recalling the publication of a similar work by Nursultan Nazarbaev, the President of Kazakhstan earlier, Ibraev pointed out that both Karimov and Nazarbaev have expressed their concern about the identities of the newly independent Central Asian countries. He referred to the uniqueness of the Central Asian region having different peoples but common traditions, cultures and history. Ibraev explained that about one million Kazakhs



From left to right, Rashid T. Ibraev, Ambassador of Kazakhstan in India, I. Nematov, Ambassador of Uzbekistan in India, T.N. Kaul, President of the HRCF and Prof. K. Warikoo, Secretary General of the HRCF



A view of the audience

HRCF FILE

are living in Uzbekistan and half a million Uzbeks are living in Kazakhstan.

The Ambassador of Afghanistan in India, Mr. Masood Khalili expressed his happiness over the independence of Central Asian Republics, pointing out that it became possible only after the sacrifice of Afghans (1.5 million killed) against the Soviets. Khalili concurred with Uzbek President, Islam Karimov's perception of the threat to stability and security in Central Asia emanating from instability and turmoil in Afghanistan. He supported Uzbek President Karimov's ideas against "Politicisation of Islam" and "Islamisation of politics". Khalili stated that "Afghanistan has been threatened by external interference so open, which has jeopardised the national security of Central Asian Republics and also threatened regional security and impeded progress". Khalili ascribed the disunity among the Afghans as yet another factor contributing to what Islam Karimov has described as "unmanageable crisis" in Afghanistan. Khalili stressed that our friends - India, Russia, China, Iran, Central Asian Republics- all need to be united and have one strategy for bringing peace in Afghanistan".

The Ambassador of Ukraine in India, Mr. Khodorovsky explained that all the CIS states are encountering the same problems. He underlined the importance of the process of integration of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine into the world community and in the European community, as key elements in their foreign and domestic policies.

Minister Counsellor of Turkmenistan's Embassy in India, Ms. Rustomova was of the view that the problems discussed by President Islam Karimov are not only concerning Afghanistan but the entire Central Asian region as well. She stated that "the war and the political crisis and instability in Afghanistan are having a negative impact on the stressed economy of the region as a whole". Rustomova stressed that till war goes on in Afghanistan, we cannot realise our project of exporting gas from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan to rest of the world. There is a big question mark hanging on this project as of now. We wish speedy restoration of peace in Afghanistan".

Mr. Alok Sen, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs stated

that President Karimov has lucidly mentioned the strategies sought to be employed in Uzbekistan for construction of a secular state, renaissance of national identity, cultural and spiritual values, strengthening democracy and social reform, which are similar to those adopted in India. Explaining “India’s view of Central Asia as our extended neighbourhood”, Sen said, “We want a clear, clean, good and positive friendship with Central Asian states”.

Prof. Devendra Kaushik of Jawaharlal Nehru University stated that President Karimov has taken “a very comprehensive view of threats to security-threats from regional conflicts, inter-ethnic, and inter-clan rivalry, localism, ecological crisis etc”. Kaushik was of the opinion that Uzbekistan has made the “right choice of independent development, the choice of forging a secular democracy which is going to be of great importance not only for the entire Islamic world but also for other countries in Asia and beyond”. While agreeing with President Karimov’s view on the need for geopolitical balance in the region, Kaushik suggested that the geopolitical space should not be confined only to Central Asian Republics but also extended to Eurasia.

Prof. Shamsuddin of Jawaharlal Nehru University described the book by Islam Karimov as full of new thoughts and ideas, dealing with the crucial issues of security, stability and sustainable development. Shamsuddin shared Karimov’s concern over the challenges of terrorism, drugs and arms trafficking and sovereignty of nation states. Shamsuddin pointed out that there has been a significant change in Uzbekistan’s policy towards Islamic fundamentalism and religious extremism, after the Taliban took over Kabul in September 1996 posing a direct threat to the security of Uzbekistan from the south.

There was a consensus among the discussants that the continuing conflict in Afghanistan is a serious threat to regional peace and security in South and Central Asia.

HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES is a quarterly Journal published by the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation, which is a non-governmental, non-profit research, cultural and development facilitative organisation. The Journal is devoted to the study of various issues pertaining to the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan region in South and Central Asia or parts thereof, connected with its environment, resources, history, art and culture, language and literature, demography, social structures, communication, tourism, regional development, governance, human rights, geopolitics etc.

While the principal concern of the Journal will be on its focal area, i.e. from Afghanistan to Myanmar including the Central Asian states of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, China, Mongolia, Nepal, Bhutan and the Indian Himalayan states of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Utrakhand and North East states; papers with a broad sweep addressing environmental, social, cultural, economic, geopolitical and human rights issues are also welcomed.

The objective is to make a scientific appraisal of the issues confronting the Himalayan and adjoining region in South and Central Asia or parts thereof, and to make specific policy oriented studies and need based recommendations as the means to promote the human, educational and economic advancement of the peoples of the region besides preserving and enriching their ethno-cultural, literary and historical heritage. Promotion of human rights, social justice, peace, harmony and national integration are the other key areas in which the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation has been active.

**CONTRIBUTIONS FOR PUBLICATION AND ANY ENQUIRIES
SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO :**

Prof. K. WARIKOO

Editor and Secretary General,

Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation,

Post Box- 10541,

Jawaharlal Nehru University Post Office,

New Delhi - 110067

Tele : 0091-11-616 2763, 0091-11-617 9408

Fax : 0091-11-616 2763

Books for review should be sent to the same address.

HRCF PUBLICATIONS

AFGHANISTAN FACTOR IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIAN POLITICS

Edited by K. Warikoo

New Delhi, Trans-Asia Informatics, 1994. 73 pp.

Price Rs. 75/- . ISBN (81-9004420-7)

SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE HIMALAYAS

Edited by K. Warikoo

New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, 1995. 316 pp.

Price Rs. 295/- . ISBN (81-241-0308-9)

CENTRAL ASIA : EMERGING NEW ORDER

Edited by K. Warikoo

New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, 1995. 352 pp.

Price Rs. 395/- . ISBN (81-241-0303-8)

JAMMU, KASHMIR AND LADAKH : LINGUISTIC PREDICAMENT

Edited by P.N. Pushp and K. Warikoo

New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, 1996. 224 pp.

Price Rs. 295/- . ISBN (81-241-0345-3)

HIMALAYAN RESEARCH AND CULTURAL FOUNDATION

Post Box-10541, Jawaharlal Nehru University Post Office,
New Delhi-110067 (India). BA/1G, D.D.A. Flats, Munirka, New Delhi-110067.

Tele : 0091-11-616 2763, 0091-11-617 9408

Fax : 0091-11-616 2763
