Introduction
Unrest is a situation (though strictly political according to oxford dictionary) whereby people are dissatisfied with the existing socio-political system (which they consider undesirable) to an extent that they are motivated to resist/oppose\(^1\) it in order to modify/alter or over through it to bring a new ‘suitable’ order. Some theorists have attributed the emergence of rebellion, revolt and resistance to what they called relative deprivation. To them rebellion is caused when an individual/society fails to get/achieve an expected target of any Psychological/sociological nature he/they rebel against the hurdle which he/they believe was responsible for keeping him away from the target. Bringing into focus the causes of political violence\(^2\) (riot and rebellion), Robert Tedgurr rightly remarks: ‘the institutions, persons and policies of rulers have inspired the violent wrath of their nominal subjects throughout the history of organized political life’. When constitutional/peaceful/moderate methods (means of resistance) are blocked/thwarted/suppressed, discontent increases and thus violence becomes inevitable.

This radical politics that manifests in the form of militancy, insurgency, subversion and revolution are an integral part of the human history. The steps (initiative) to bring reformation/change in the existing political system by individuals or groups have often taken violent turn after the failure of peaceful methods. But its manifestation vary across the space and time because in addition to geographical and technological peculiarities of the confrontational regions/areas, the socio-economic matrix, nature of State response and support from outside together with the immediate and long term objectives the militant or insurgent groups aim at achieving, work in unison to devise and shape the strategies of the militant/ insurgent groups.

In modern world history militancy is a common phenomenon that seeks to overthrow the existing order with a new ‘just’ order. Since 1945, the violent attempts to over through governments have been more common than national elections. The coercive,

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\(^1\) See Ortwin Renn, Aleksandar Jovanovic and Regina Schröter Social unrest, EU-VRi - European Virtual Institute for Integrated Risk Management, Stuttgart, Germany, *This report was written as a contribution to the OECD project “Future Global Shocks”*. 14th January 2011.

\(^2\) Political violence refers to all collective attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actors- including competing political groups as well as incumbents or its policies.
wrong and unwanted policies of the political regimes increases rather than decreases the intensity of discontent and can facilitate the transformation of turmoil into a full-fledged revolution. However, the insurgencies or political violence have been differently named by scholars of different ideological predilections. It is therefore, not surprising to see that terms like militants, terrorists, guerrillas, insurgents etc have been coined, very often to refer to the same movement.

The 20th century experienced militant movements in pursuit of Nationalism, Democracy, Communism, Fascism, Nazism, and Religious Extremism. India has witnessed number of militant movements in its different states, geographical/linguistic areas in post independent era. These conflicts, insurgencies, militant movements in India have varying origins ranging from identity rights as in Kashmir, North-East and Punjab and class based ideological struggles in Maoist-Naxlite movement in some poorest districts in rural India. It is because of these conflicts that one-sixth of India’s citizens live in areas of armed conflicts.

The post 1947 Kashmir remained politically unstable and restless that got manifested in many ways. The nitty-gritty of the problem remained the failure of the Indian state to ensure the emotional integration of the region with the rest of the country and thus the prospects of peace remained dim and bleak. This has made the progress of Jammu and Kashmir its hostage. Besides it has converted the region in to crescendo of death and destruction.

After the exhaustion of the peaceful methods and failure of low level militant activities, large scale mass militancy broke down in Kashmir in 1989. Since then it did not remain static during its period of operation. It changed its forms and tactics according to the situation and the challenge that it confronted. Kashmir issue has also played an important role in shaping the domestic and foreign policies of India and Pakistan and the relation among them.

So it is interesting and imperative to understand and situate the chequered history of political unrest of Kashmir within the interplay of dynamic roles played by the major actors of the political history of Kashmir of the period namely, society, militants, state

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3. Because of the two opposite developments in 1947 i.e. independence and partition of Indian subcontinent which gave birth to tripartite Kashmir issue.
and international agencies culminating into a drastic change in the political environment of Kashmir when compared with the early 90’s of the last century. The changing nature of challenge and response between the contending parties make it a dynamic movement whose pros and cons are interesting to understand in order to get a holistic understanding of this whole phenomenon.

It will be interesting and will act as a guide to those societies who are facing the same situation and are thinking in terms of adopting militant/extremist way of reformation/change/achieving objectives to rethink their policy and strategy as the work will bring a clear picture about the consequences of militancy before them. It will also help the State policy makers and those who are engaged with these conflicts world over. Besides the period is very important and significant and will have its bearings for a long period on the memories and thinking of the people so developments/memories/folk of the period needs to be documented and thus its significance gets manifold owing to the short lived nature of human memory.

When the end of cold war was being celebrated in many circles as an end to era of conflict and beginning of the era of peace and greater cooperation,4 4th Generation War (4GW)5 in the form of evolving mass insurgency was making a beginning in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Erupted in 1989, militancy in Kashmir manifested with full public support in 1990 (witnessed by mass rallies and mass border crossing to get in with arms and training). Started by the pro-independence JKLF in late 1980’s, the other parties soon jumped into the fray and thus caused the mushroom growth of militant organizations. With the changing mood of militancy and militant organizations whose loyalties ranged from azadi to accession with the Pakistan, the state response also showed its twisted nature.

Earlier the government did not take the disturbance activities serious and blamed their political opponents for such acts and thus left the ground free for militants. However

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4. Even Frankis Fukyama’s advanced thesis has termed the end of cold war as leading to end of history- that is the end point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalization of western democracy.

soon after as the conditions deteriorated the government woke up and suspected what they called the ‘hidden hands of Pakistan’. This obsession with “foreign hand” always proved counterproductive in many ways. Kanthi Bajpayee rightly remarks -viz- the internal processes that cause the rebellion were pushed into the background, externalizing internal conflicts helps anaesthetize the people from protesting against curtailment of their freedoms and this downplays the danger posed by communal-fascists to the ‘democratic republic’ system of India.

The mushrooming of militant organizations in the very nook and corner of the state with varying ideological foundations (and some were with no-ideology at all) created the opportunistic environment for the government’s counter insurgency agencies and thus the inherent defects of mass militancy came to the surface. The graph of the militancy fell as quickly as it rose in the earlier days. From force to persuasion, overt to covert operations, the Indian state pursued all possible ways to bring the nearly seceded population back into its lap and thus had to change its response according to the changing scenario of the challenge. The Indian government used several strategies and paradigms to tackle insurgeries and armed conflicts while taking insights from the experience which its counter insurgency agencies had gained in Punjab and other armed conflict areas. The dominant strategy is based on the security paradigm. It consists of maintaining the statuesque and putting down insurgeries with the use of force to regain control and enforce law and order. Other strategies include initiating development projects; making-in offers for engaging hostile groups in talks on the conditions of ending violence but it negotiates ceasefire and peace accords. In between the two opposing forces the common people and the outside international community also changed their mood vis-à-vis the developments in the state.

The heydays of militancy also saw a move by the upper ground anti-Indian parties to fight the cause on political front resulting into the formation of APHC in 1993. The challenge was responded by the state to restore the Indian mainstream political structure which was crumbled by the outbreak of militancy in 1990. While the Kashmir battle was fought during this period by the bullets but the political pan was also kept boiling. On the one hand the military pressure was mounted on the militant activities but efforts to address the petty socio-economic issues were also tried. Besides the negotiation tables were also joined by the two neighbouring countries to
address the different dimensions of the problem. Thus through the changing tactics the Kashmir canvass was always kept warm. With the expansion of militancy and the resultant escalation of violence Kashmir attained the international attention but as a human rights issue. To avert the international criticism, India strictly began to allow the international organizations to visit Kashmir which till then were banned. Besides the government’s efforts to revive the political process succeeded after more than six year of governor’s rule and thus the elections, though under huge military apparatus, were conducted to legitimize India’s ‘legal’ hold on Kashmir. After the elections of 1996 many steps were taken to revive the negotiations on Kashmir issue by the two countries.

By 1994-95 the introduction of ‘gun culture’ in Kashmir because of the presence of politically shallow people, opportunists, and criminals among militant ranks, Kashmir began to feel sick of growing criminal tendencies among proliferating armed groups. In 1996-97 the pioneer of militancy in Kashmir, JKLF was already out of stage, most of the other local guerrilla groups formed in early 1990’s had disbanded or become defunct, and the sole survivor, HM was facing an offensive. With the weakening of local militants, the jehadi groups from Pakistan, Jash-e-Mohammad (JeM) and Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) jumped-in to keep the struggle alive.

Kashmir again attracted the world attention in 1999 not because of internal militant activities but because of war on Indo-Pak border at Kargil. The post 1999 Kargil war saw a new development in Kashmir. The new militant tactic was what they called as fidayeen and suicide attacks (originated from LTTE and then even adopted by Hamas of Palestine) from 1999-2002. On diplomatic front the two countries reached at an agreement in 1999 at Lahore after Indian premier travelled to Pakistan on the first run of Delhi-Lahore bus service. After the civil government was deposed the military ruler of Pakistan visited India in July 2001 at Indian Prime Minister’s invitation for talks which proved inconclusive.

Assembly elections again were held in 2002 during which the political violence was directed by the militants against NC activists. The post-election era saw a new development which brought the two opposing nuclear powers close on diplomatic front. In January 2004 the first formal meeting between a high level political
functionary and Kashmiri secessionist leaders occurred, when L. K. Advani the then deputy PM met a pro dialogue faction of APHC in Delhi. January 2004 also saw the meeting between Indian PM and Pakistan president at SAARC summit in Islamabad which helped in restoring the dialogue process. As a Confidence Building Measure (CBM) the two countries started the famous Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service in 2005. The emergence of PDP-congress coalition met the ugly fate in the course of new intifada of Kashmir in 2008.

The boiling situation started with protests against the land lease to Shri Amarnath Shrine Board, the ‘Hurryats’ saw the land lease as a conspiracy to change the demography of Kashmir and thus a vicious cycle of violence against protesting population led to not only the withdrawal of the allotment of land but also the breakdown of coalition government. This was followed by the blockade of Kashmir from Jammu which made some observers to smell the rat of communalism in it. The subsequent years saw the outburst of mass protests in which the dominating trend was the clash between youth stone palters and security forces which gave birth to vicious cycle of violence. The new intifada highlighted the different issues as in 2008 people marched to open the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad road after the Jammu-Srinagar highway was blocked. Though many efforts on both sides and on international level have been made to resolve the issue but they are still in vain as the conflict continues. After 2010 intifada the appointment of interlocutors by Delhi government and their resultant report submitted in late 2011 proved unattractive and what Hurryat leaders had predicted as nothing but time consuming.

In the present research project the history of political unrest and its ever changing nature has been discussed. The role of different actors like militants, State, Society, Pakistan and the international agencies and their interaction and encounters with each other has been discussed. The emergence of militancy with its roots in what is called as incomplete partition of 1947 and the nourishment of this sentiment due to Delhi’s constant politickimg like political engineering of regime changes and poll rigging has been dealt with. The takers and carriers of this sentiment with their dynamic and ever changing strategies succeeded in keeping the sentiment relevant and alive throughout the period since 1947. This sentiment manifested in different forms/ways at different
times like mass agitations, protests, anti India or pro-Pakistan slogans and even in the form of low level militant movements in many decades prior to 1989.

The world developments in late 1980 especially the disintegration of Russia developments in Afghanistan, fall of Berlin wall etc and some local events gave a new lease of life to the descent sentiment and thus the emergence of militancy in Kashmir. India pushed the Kashmiris away and Pakistan provided only the gun to the discontented carriers of the sentiment. Soon after the emergence of militancy in 1989 it soon engulfed the whole valley and other parts of state and thus mass militancy with lakes of people coming on roads braving bullets for Azadi.

The popular support in the form of mass border crossing, mass processions, protests and receiving heroes and adieu to ‘martyrs’ declined as quickly as it rose in the early years of militancy. The state’s policy of collective punishment to a disloyal population, the orthodox and immature approach of militant organisations with creeping in of counterinsurgency agencies in their ranks and the resultant realisation of the costs of the long conflict wiped away the dreams of the ‘Azadi around the corner’. The mushroom growth of militant organisations with jumping in to the fray of religious organisations changed the meaning of Azadi which now came to mean accession to Pakistan. The marginalisation of independence ideology, clashes for group domination and personal vendetta and ego with tactical withdrawal of masses due to many pressures and apprehensions changed the cantors of Kashmir militancy.

In post 1995-96 Kashmir militancy began to be increasingly dominated by militants from outside especially PAK, Pakistan, Afghanistan and other Muslim countries known in Kashmir as Mehman Mujahids (guest militants) first under local commanders and later began to control the movement. These foreign militants gave very tough challenge to the Indian forces on the one hand and provided enough material to India and its agencies to defame and tag the movement as foreign sponsored and linked it with what they called international terrorism on the other.

The project also deals with, the policies and programmes of the Indian state with its ever ready armoury of strategies and counter insurgency tactics which it used to tackle the challenge in Kashmir. How in addition to their hardware military apparatus the state make use of carrot and stick policy and the different strategies of
manufacturing and buying consent to regain and retain control over nearly ceased state and its population. How to make a forward moment on Kashmir on international level, Pakistan and Kashmiri leaders began to raise the issue on different international forums and even militants used different tactics to turn the international attention towards it. APHC, a conglomeration of different parties with a stand on Kashmir as a disputed region to provide an upper ground representation to the militant movement was formed in 1993. How the constant foot dragging and leg pulling to each other, frequent split to it and the failure of it to become a strong organisation has casted its prestige dearly and reduced their possibility of playing an important role in this long standing dispute.

Besides how these actors who were directly or indirectly involved with Kashmir problem and the resultant unrest tried to address its different dimensions. It deals and discusses how Kashmir problem was handled from a gun totting guerrillas to diplomatic both at national and international level. The research project has made an in-depth analysis of the apparent ‘decline’ of militancy and has tried to expose the myth and reality of the resultant lull. It has made an attempt to process the various peace processes initiated by the central and state governments and the extent to which they succeeded in easing the tension and addressing the issue. In addition to it the present political scenario of Kashmir which is the product of the past events has also be discussed. Besides it also analyzes the post 9/11 world developments and their impact on Indo-Pak relations as well as on Kashmir.

Kashmir problem has always been victimized and exploited by the biased role of scholars and the writers of their respective leanings. Though the issue has remained a big concern of writers, scholars, academicians and political analysts but most of them have touched only those aspects of the problem which suited their ideology and were motivated by their own interests. There are usually two biased approaches representing the official positions of India and Pakistan and an independent view of researchers, scholars and academicians. Literature supporting the Indian official discourse on Kashmir include: 'Jihadis in Jammu and Kashmir', a portrait gallery by K. Santhanathan Sreedhar Sudheer Saxena Manish, Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, New Delhi, 2003, Salman khurshid’s Beyond Terrorism, New Hope for

The Meadow, Kashmir 1995, where Terror Began by Adrian Levy and Cathy Scott-Clark, Penguin 2012, through a valuable light into the abduction of five tourists and the dramatic events that led to their murder. Besides it sketches out the story as to how Kashmir looks like a “chessboard for a large game of intrigue” and where the official truth is always a manufactured narrative. Anuradha M Chenoy and Kamal A Mitra Chenoy’s, Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts, (Penguin Books) 2010 describes how insurgencies are propelled by a complex mix of issues: the denial of justice and rights, identity concerns and the breakdown of the social and symbolic order rather than merely lack of education and poverty. Besides, how the implications of draconian laws created a sense of collective victimhood and how long-term use of force leads to militarisation of the state and society and thus flourishes illegal economy. It describes many insurgencies of India ranging from identity conflicts to ideological wars.

Christopher Snedden, the Australian politico-strategic analyst, author and academician has come up with a latest book Kashmir the unwritten story (HarperCollins India). The book is an in-depth study of the real Kashmir problem, with the focus on “Azad Kashmir”, backed by facts and figures. The book not only deals with the twisted nature of the Kashmir problem rooted in the partition of 1947, but also discusses the possible solutions with a people centric approach. A G Noorani’s two volumes entitled The Kashmir Dispute (1947-2012), Tulka Books, Delhi, 2013 describes in length the history of the dispute and the engagements between the two countries at both war and diplomatic level.

Besides there has emerged a lot of literature in the form of biographies and auto biographies of the resistance leaders, memoirs and anthologies based on first hand information and experience in both journalistic and scholarly style. Mention may be made of S A S Geelani’s Vullar Kinare 1st and 2nd volume, Altaf Hussain’s Shabir Shah: A Living Legend in Kashmir History, Zahir-u-Din’s Flash Back, Kashmir Story Since 1846, Sanjay Kak’s Until My Freedom has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir, Hameeda Nayeem’s Demystifying Ideology: Identity, Gender and Politics in Kashmir, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2011 etc in which the period under study and its different aspects has been described.
However the focus on multi-casual approach of militancy has left the twisted nature and the changing facets of militancy untouched. The non-static history of the period has not been given the attention which it deserves. The role played by the different actors especially the society and its different structures and institutions have been left so far. In addition most of the books have been authored by the outsiders on the basis of secondary sources. So while keeping this thing in view there is a lot of scope for this project to bring out the internal dynamics of the militancy and its changing history. The basic objective of the proposed project is to situate the chequered history of political unrest of Kashmir within the interplay of dynamic roles played by the major actors of the political history of Kashmir of the period namely, society, militants, state and international agencies culminating into a drastic change in the political environment of Kashmir when compared with the early 90’s of the last century.

For the compilation of this research work the news papers, periodicals and journals both local and Indian and the pamphlets published by the cross section of the society were the primary sources. However, since news papers for many weeks were not available owing to the turmoil, long span of curfew imposed by the State and censorship imposed on the local media therefore, there was a need to gather information from news papers published either in Jammu or outside the jurisdiction of the State. However, the self imposed censorship of most of the organs of Indian mainstream media particularly print media in the early phase of militancy under the patriotic considerations and a partial tinge shown by the local media (print media) towards militancy and militants exaggeratingly reporting the militant activities further complicated the problem.

In the same way the Indian news papers after initial self imposed censorship began to report the militancy related incidents but with a partial approach. If the local press presented the militancy in good colours and gave least publicity to the other side in the same way the Indian press gave much publicity to the events which went against the militants and militancy. The repressive policies of the government had been given much publicity by the local press while as the Indian press had to a large extant ignored it and the intergroup clashes were reported by the later while as former gave
least publicity to it. Besides I have consulted the different reports of the state, civil society groups and Human rights organisations produced from time to time.

To work on this project was challenging, not only because of its nature and sensitiveness but also because of the material collection. Being the contemporary topic with heaps of material available not only in the form of, news papers, magazines, journals, periodicals, pamphlets, articles, books- both journalistic and scholarly, but also in the form of oral sources. With people associated with militancy or effected by it in one or the other way with fresh memories alive, they are the living fossils of conflict and thus the primary source for a researcher. It will not be an exaggeration that being in Kashmir, travelling in its different areas with burning structure, rough graffiti and the existing and deserted security camps is itself a treasure house of source material for a researcher. But the quandary is that viz-a-viz sensitive (read political) issues people are having double (and sometimes multiple) narratives-public and private to be narrated at diverse stages and situations. So it is not only difficult to extract private out of public, but problem is also how to authenticate whatever information one gets out of interaction as prescribed by the research ethics. So the cross checking of the sources in order to separate the chaff from the grain was a challenging one.

For a holistic understanding, I cross checked these different kinds of sources. Because of the sensitivity of the issue, people hesitate to express their viewpoints regarding different aspects of militancy however, there is no denying the fact that interviews across the different sections of the society not only helped in establishing/checking the authenticity of the print sources, news papers and other periodicals, but also helped in understanding the general public psyche and peoples understanding of the oppressive structures. Secondary sources i.e books, papers and articles written by both the Kashmiris and outsiders helped greatly in putting the things in right perspective.

The present thesis is divided into seven chapters and the eighth one is the conclusion. The first chapter describes how partition of the subcontinent in 1947 sowed the seeds and the subsequent government’s policy to control and dictate the democratic institutions in Kashmir culminated into a full-fledged mass discontent and thus caused the emergence of militancy. This chapter also describes the early phase of militancy
and the mass euphoria which led to the mushroom growth of militant organisations and thus militancy and militant organisations expanded numerically and geographically in the nook and corner of the state. The emergence and the heydays of militancy have been elaborately discussed in this chapter.

The second chapter describes the various phases of militancy in Kashmir ever since its emergence in 1989. The various trends and tactics of militancy have been described in this chapter. All the tactics from Attrition to Intimidation, Provocation to Spoiling and Outbidding which the militants used during their operations have been dealt with. The various modes of fighting from target killings and grenade attacks in market places to face to face engagements with the state forces, from land mine blasting to *fidayeen* and suicide attacks have been described and debated up on in the chapter. It describes the stages whereby the different militant organisations with different ideologies from *Azadi* to accession and pan-Islamism dominated the scene. The chapter discusses the tactics, strategies and policies of militants and their ideologies critically.

The third chapter describes the dynamic nature of the state response to militancy. From coercion to consent the various measures and the modus operandi which the state used to deal with the militancy have been described. Because states view these movements through the paradigm of national security and thus the ideology of militarisation becomes dominant. The response of the state, which becomes the primary actor in the armed conflict and the laws which the state used to crush and curb militancy have been dealt with. After maiming militancy by the strong jackboots of its military apparatus state also invites the groups for talks and negotiations. The different tactics and policies like coercion, carrot and stick and buying/manufacturing consent were used to deal with the problem which the state was facing. The military and diplomatic strategies followed by the state to tackle the militancy have been dealt with in this chapter.

The chapter fourth deals with the societal response with its different structures and institutions to the militancy. The encounter between different organs of the state and society, the relation between militancy and the society and the changing dynamics of this relation has been discussed at length. How different institutions and structures got
effected by militancy and the consequent response to it has been debated up on. The open and dormant stages of public support and the fluctuations which it brought to militancy have been described in this chapter.

The fifth chapter deals with the political face of militancy. It deals with the role of different political forums which were formed to provide a political leadership to the militant movement. Muslim United Front (MUF) popularly known in Kashmir as Mutahida Mahaz was formed by the anti accession parties in 1987 to contest elections against the pro Indian parties. Tehreek-i-Hurriyat was formed in 1990 and the APHC was formed in 1993. The role played by these political forums and the difficulties which these conglomerations faced have been discussed in this chapter. The role of APHC in giving the political outlet to Kashmir militancy and its ups and downs has been critically discussed.

The sixth chapter deals with the role of the international power politics and its repercussions on the overall Kashmir dispute. It discusses the role of Cold War politics and powers which has divided the world into two blocks and the way the two countries drifted towards the divergent blocks to gain ascendency and strategic tinge over each other in the world politics. The strategies/policies followed by the two countries to win and turn the world opinion in their favour and the role of world super powers in the times of war and peace have been discussed. The role of UNO, its organs and other regional forums like SAARC have been debated up on. It also discusses the important world events and their impact on the Kashmir dispute. The intervention of USA in West Asia, the 9/11 scenario and the American war on terror and the way it influenced the policies of great powers towards the Kashmir issue has been discussed in this chapter. It discusses how the failure of Indo-Pak and Kashmiri leadership to solve the dispute provided outsiders an undue advantage to play a dominant part to further their own interests.

The seventh chapter debates and discusses the present political scenario of Kashmir which is the result of long history of conflict. The changing nature of resistance movement especially after 2008-2010 intifada has been stressed in this chapter. How people’s mood viz-aviz movement have reshaped the present political scenario of Kashmir and the direction in which it will lead in the future. The American war on
terror which given birth to Islamophobia, the 2008-2010 mass agitations, exposition of rights violation beyond political sphere and the suffocative policies of the government and continuous muzzling of basic rights deepened and took the resistance movement to the gross root level.

The eighth chapter concludes the whole political unrest with its historical threads. The failure and the lack of will of Indo-Pak leadership unorganised and divided nature of Kashmiri both Indian mainstream and resistance leadership led to continues lingering of the seventy year old dispute. The international developments with emerging India and weakening Pakistan and the resultant repercussions forced the Kashmiri people to think that they have to fight for their rights themselves. This realisation is getting manifested in many ways like the spontaneous mass protests which has become the order of the day since 2008-2010. Since many years the young educated Kashmiris are turning to militancy and the people are spontaneously coming out to participate in the funeral processions of militants like the early 1990’s. In the Kashmir movement the shift is now from armed militancy to people’s struggle.
The political theatrics of regional parties in Kashmir reflect inherent contradictions. Clearly representing Indian state's authority over Kashmir, none of them openly championed the Indian national discourse of integration of Kashmir with the Indian union. Kashmiri society has a long history of protest on landownership rights. In fact, the organised political response in the 1930s by the first political party in Kashmir, the Muslim Conference (which later became the National Conference), was mobilised against the ruler's exclusive right over land, culminating into some of the most radical reforms in the subcontinent in the early 1950s. Ethnic conflict appears to be a permanent form of social and political struggle in the modern world. No major region is free from it. In its more acute manifestation, it may turn into murderous, destructive violence. About the special case of Baltic States, see Rein Mullerson, The Continuity and Succession of States, by Reference to the Former USSR and Yugoslavia, The International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 42, 1993, pp. 480-483. See Marc Weller, The International Response to the Dissolution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 86 American Journal of International Law, 1992, 569. 36 Conference on Yugoslavia Arbitration Commission, Opinion 1 (7 Dec. 1991), 31 International Legal Materials, 19921, 494, 1495. Federal State Educational Standard of Higher education on the division of international relations (Bachelor's and Master's Degrees) points out the activities of students including international and political, economic, scientific and technical, informational, political and cultural arena of the world as well as the spheres of diplomatic and foreign affairs activities of RF and international relations of Russian regions. Promising both political and economic reforms, Putin set about restructuring the government and launching criminal investigations into the business dealings of high-profile Russian citizens. In September 2001, in response to the terrorist attacks on the United States, Putin announced Russia's support for the United States in its anti-terror campaign.