

запровадження ефективної системи стратегічного управління в галузях паливно-енергетичного комплексу України.

Прогнозується подальший розвиток паливно-енергетичного сектору України. Запропоновано підходи до забезпечення енергетичної незалежності України та покращення інвестиційного клімату в енергетичному секторі. Спрогнозовано розвиток галузей паливно-енергетичного сектору України й запропоновано підходи до забезпечення енергетичної незалежності України та покращення інвестиційного клімату в енергетичному секторі України. Визначено, що рівень зниження енергоємності економіки, диверсифікація джерел і шляхів постачання енергоресурсів та нарощування їх вітчизняного виробництва сприятимуть підвищенню не лише енергетичної, а й економічної та екологічної безпеки, що приведе до оптимізації енергетичного балансу й дасть змогу створити міцне підґрунтя для сталого енергетичного майбутнього України.

Ключові слова: енергетична безпека, Україна, енергетичні ресурси, енергоефективність.

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CRIMEA VERSUS KASHMIR: A COMPERATIVE OVERVIEW

World is changing rapidly, but few conflicts are standing still for decades. Kashmir dispute is a clear example, which is unresolved for about 70 years now. Another territorial dispute is Crimea, which is now bleeding for more than 5 years. Due to several similarities “the Kashmir conflict” could be taken as a case study to understand the behavior of international politics on such territorial disputes. “Is Crimea going to be a Kashmir of Europe?” What is the essence of constant obstacles of Kashmir dispute that can reflect in Crimea also? What are the objectives and geopolitical importance of these disputes, what do aggressor forces claim and what is the reality behind several narratives? These question and similarities between Crimea and Kashmir issues are attempted to be highlighted in this paper. Historical development of core conflicts is focused in the overview, as it is extremely important for students of international politics to learn lesson from similar examples available. Solutions of basic problems are answered in conclusion.

Key words: Crimea, Kashmir, Dispute, Pakistan, Ukraine, Geopolitical, Freedom, Movement, Nuclear, Political, United nations

1. INTRODUCTION

It is very important for individuals to learn that patriotism is good in rational amount. Less patriotism may not be so harmful for a nation but an excessive quantity of it brings destruction. Nations can survive with fewer resources but satisfaction and mental health is bigger than the pseudo pride vehemently plundered by dividing nations and making human homeless.

Rulers who rules in the name of public but against the will of public are real enemies of their own nations, especially when they are crafting hatred in minds of common masses. Overenthusiastic nations spend their budget on inhuman activities rather than providing their people the needful. Racialism, lingual discrimination and religious biases at times play lethal role. However these three build the character of a nation and produce regional heritage but when ethnology is used as a brainwashing tool, the result usually appears in the form of Kashmir dispute and Crimea dispute.

It is not always the case that one must fight for a piece of land, but sometimes taking stand for the right and other times compromise can make things balanced and smooth. If a strategy fails, instead of continuing the same practice, a reasonable tilt can bring results. U-turns, in politics, are not defeat but a way back to restart things and make life easier. Kashmir issue is burning since 7 decades and getting more completed with time as both Indian and Pakistan’s nations are less rational when it comes to national pride. Crimean issue is becoming another sad story of diplomatic failure, but if benevolence is brought back by stakeholders, it might change the

whole scenario. The same could have been done with Kashmir, but states were seeking their own interests rather than public welfare. Crimea must not follow its footsteps, although the script is almost alike and just actors are different. It will get clearer in reviewing Kashmir dispute to make a contrast with Crimea.

2. RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

Origin/ background

The annexation of Crimea is a similar story which has had happened in Kashmir nearly seventy years ago. Crucial idea of this story is almost similar, ethnic differences between a state versus another state and states' interests versus public interests. There is an absolute urge on both sides to gain a territory due to its significant strategic value but highlighting it in the name of public-will. In 1947 Pakistan got independence from India. At the time of partition India was structured as a country under 562 princely States which were sovereign in status [3]. British masters were ruling the whole subcontinent, including these princely state but as an indirect ruler. British parliament was the designer of the partition and they provided rulers of these princely states the liberty to join either Pakistan or India. Partition changed the fate of millions of Indians living under the rule of hundreds of such states but the people of Kashmir faced an uncertain future. Hari Singh, Maharaja of Muslim majority princely state of Kashmir himself was a Hindu ruler who managed to be independent for about two months by signing a standstill agreement both with India and Pakistan which wanted him to join their states [3].

Muslim majority population of Kashmir sought to be a part of Pakistan and expecting Maharaja to follow public-will, as Muslim Majority areas of Western India were constituting Pakistan, and Kashmir also was a Northwestern state of India with clear Muslim Majority in Kashmir Valley (although Jammu Valley had a good number of Non-Muslim population as well) but things changed dramatically when Maharaja started to confiscate every single Armament from Muslim inhabitants of his state who had served in British Army. These weapons were later distributed among his Hindu subjects of Jammu valley. Maharaja with his private army along with the support of Indian Hindu extremist organization "RSS" planned a massacre of his Muslim inhabitants, in which 10000 to 20000 Muslims are said to be killed. This act of brutality provoked an Uprising across Muslim majority population of Kashmir Valley. Local uprising soon gained neighbor support of numerous Pashtun tribesmen who cross the borders of newly created Pakistan to help their brothers (in religion) in Kashmir. These tribesmen were acting as a private militia without any concern of Pakistan's regime (as government of newly established Pakistan was busy dealing with several other primary problems). Maharaja of Kashmir requested an urgent military assistance from India but the governor-general of India contended that it would be unlawful to send Indian state military to a neutral state unless Maharaja first legitimately pledged to join India instead of Pakistan. To secure his rule Maharaja signed a "temporary" agreement on October 26, 1947. Pakistan objected to this accession, claiming that Princely State of Kashmir has no right to sign any accession with India while Kashmir's standstill agreement with Pakistan is still enforce [3].

On October 27th, 1947 Indian military troops reached Kashmir to fight the native Muslims rebels and their allied Pakistan's tribesmen. This issue led to the first Indo-Pak War as by now Pakistan had started to play its due role. During the war, India's Prime Minister "Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru" assured a referendum to incorporate public will in the policy decision and to resolve this matter peacefully. As a result, after two months India took this matter to United Nations where a resolution was passed proposing both the countries to withdraw their forces from Kashmir and a referendum was suggested to be held. This way People of Kashmir were given a chance to choose their own prospect. According to said resolution of United Nations, Kashmir was observe to be a disputed territory and in order to stop any further aggression a temporary ceasefire line was made as a de facto border between India and Pakistan, dividing the unity of Kashmir into two. Sadly, armed troops of both countries were never withdrawn and the proposed referendum did never happen. In Indian administered Kashmir alone India maintains 950,000 military troops. Indian forces commit human rights violations like rape, torture, abduction and forced disappearances of Kashmiri youth, which is still continues today. The number of people killed in Kashmir estimated to be from 50000 to 100000. Pakistan also maintains a heavy military presence in the part of Kashmir that is administrated by Pakistan. Although no basic human rights violations such as torture, rape, murder of abduction is witnessed in Pakistan's administrated side of Kashmir Valley, yet a report by Human Rights Watch describes Pakistan administered Kashmir as a land of restrictions on political rights and civil liberties. Report published by Think Tank Chatham House states that

nearly half of the people living in Indian and Pakistani part of Kashmir want their disputed territory to be an independent country [9].

On the other hand, Conflict in Eastern Ukraine started a little late as compared to Kashmir. Ukraine regained its sovereignty from USSR in 1991, but conflict started in 2014. The encounter began in the end of 2013 when the Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich rejected an association with European Union in order to keep stronger ties with Russia. The deal would give Ukraine political and financial support but the president of Ukraine supported Russia instead of European Union, which was against Ukraine's own interest. Soon patriotic Ukrainian protesters flooded in the streets of the capital city Kiev and the crisis began, which is known as "Euromaidan Revolution". This demonstration eventually leads to president fleeing the country and later a Russian military intervention in the South East Ukraine.

Russia, already waiting for the right moment, sent its Special Forces (unofficial) into the Crimean Peninsula of Ukraine which is strategically located in south most, dividing the Sea of Azov and Black Sea. This was the moment many Eastern Ukrainian inhabitants claimed Russian to be their lingual identity and displayed strong ties with Russia. Pro-Moscow protesters did violent demonstrations in Kiev. Russian government took the advantage of this situation and then sent Russian Military to the Crimea. It was not a sudden plan but it seems to be a continuation of nearly twenty years Black Sea policy homework, as there is a traditional tug of war between Turkey and Russia [13]. In March 2014, Russian separatist groups in Eastern Ukraine seized the cities of Luhansk and Donetsk and declared their independence from Ukraine. Ukrainian army moved to gain back the control of these cities but Russia supported the rebels and the result was in the form of resumption of a Furious battle. In 2015 both sides down to an agreement called "Minsk II". It was after a sixteen hours long negotiation in the capital city of Belarus among Russian President Vladimir Putin and Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko. However, German Chancellor Angela Merkel along with French President Francois Hollande played the role of mediator. According to "Minsk II agreement", thorough bilateral ceasefire was to be maintained, hostages were to be freed, and have weapons been to be removed by the parties. Furthermore, OSCE was given responsibility to observe implementation on the agreement [4]. Dialogues were to be proposed for the political future of Donetsk and Luhansk. Ukrainian control on its areas was to be restored with a promise of constitutional reforms in Ukrainian constitution.

The agreement was supposed to stop fighting under this conflict between Ukraine and separatist but five years later the security zone remained the most violent place in Ukraine. About 100,000 troops still stationed in disputed area which makes it one of the most heavily militarized areas in Europe. This constant violation of ceasefire put hundreds of thousands civilian lives in danger every single day. Over 1000 people have died in the conflict since 2014 and about 1.5 million has been displaced. Separatist rebels of the eastern borders of Ukraine so called Luhansk People's Republic and Donetsk People Republic were mainly responsible for most of the seize fire violations, while Ukrainian army was also supported by volunteers Ukrainian militias . These militias are funded by Ukrainian Oligarchs and Businessmen however they also act as interior pressure groups but the heaviest price is paid by the local civilians trapped between the two patriotic groups. Power and water supplies is often the main target of these groups [11].

The real conflict

In cloak of ethnical differences and public will, real bone of contention is the geopolitical significance of both Crimea and Kashmir. Other than its natural beauty and rich historical cum social heritage Kashmir is also an important trade route for central Asian supply line. In case of peace, tourism industry in Kashmir can provide in millions. But the main importance of Kashmir is its glaciers, which are the river head of almost all significant rivers of Indio-Pak region. Ruler of Kashmir can bend the flow of water and make fatal complications for rival nation. Additionally, High Mountain peaks of Kargil and Siachen provides a range to control enemy's hotspots and supply lines. The State which will settle in prime position in Kashmir would cripple the defense and economy of its rival neighbor. That is why both India and Pakistan acknowledge Kashmir to be vital for their security and existence [1].

Same is the case with Crimea. When Soviet Union dissolved 1991, its western territories were broken in the Independent states including Ukraine. They formed a buffer zone between Russia and Western Europe. But in 1990s and 2000s these countries started to join the EU, which means no more Russian influence on its former Soviet Union allies. Moreover, Ukraine specially paved a smooth land route to the Capital of Russia, which could be a real threat for Russia in future, if Ukraine became a full member of NATO or EU. Modern day Russia is again involved in Middle Eastern politics, while EU and U.S also keep their interest in the East. This is why, for Russia, Crimea again became crucial, as from here Russia could influence and destabilize

former Soviet Republic and other independent states of the region. Furthermore, Crimean peninsula is said to be the worth of about 10.8 billion US Dollars, while port and natural resources at Black Sea are also estimated to provide a worth of trillions of dollars as it is rich in energy resources [12].

What makes Crimea or Kashmir an international crisis

Kashmir and Crimea are current international crises. Apparently these two are simple territorial disputes but their roots are deep and complex. It is because in both cases multiple international laws and Human Rights were and are being violated. Both conflict zones have one weaker and one extremely powerful and influential party. Although in the case of Crimea, Ukraine is no more a nuclear power, but signatories of Budapest Memorandum who assure security to it, are all nuclear powers. On the other hand, the Countries which claim control over Kashmir are considered being nuclear powers. Complicating matter even further is the disputed Aksai Chin, an area at the northeast of Kashmir align the border with China where Republic of China has its own reservations, making it the third party in Kashmir issue. In 1962 China and India fought a brief war and only reached an agreement to respect Kashmir borders in the mid-1990s. China however continues to hold Aksai Chin in addition to that; there have been constant protest, military standoffs and deadly clashes across Kashmir. Crimea and Kashmir, both issues have had a great impact on international politics, yet sufferings could not be minimized. Although UN and several other peacekeeping organizations have already made several attempts to peacefully resolve the dispute, yet no significant advancement can be seen in the conflicts. Both issues, if mishandled, can turn into a deadly regional or even world war. These two flash points have all the attraction of international community but severity of issue has made issues to isolate.

Native's stand on dispute

According to a historian Prof. Siddiq Wahid, the annexation agreement of Kashmir with India was conditioned on the basis that Hari Singh, The Maharaja, who was the authority in his state under British rule, would consult his people and this was something that was imposed on him by last British viceroy in India Lord Mountbatten and Nehru, the first prime minister of India, but Maharaja never consulted Kashmir's people. People were not in favor of Kashmir being annexed by India, but some little minority, who supported Shaikh Abdullah, a Muslim leader of Kashmir to be Prime Minister of Kashmir under India by winning the elections. Later, Shaikh Abdullah, the puppet Prime Minister of Kashmir was sent to jail in 1953 by Indian mighty Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on sedition charges. Though he was freed in 1964 but the relations between Indian Top Leadership and Kashmiri Top political leadership remained bitter. In 1965 a full scale war was fought between India and Pakistan on Kashmir issue but remain indecisive, but Pakistan successfully defended its territory. Another big war was fought in 1971, in which Pakistan lost its eastern part now known as Bangladesh. Till then no full scale war is fought but Kargil and Siachen were major military conflicts, remembered as frontline battles. 2004 to 2008 was a period of intra Kashmir dialogs, initiated by RCD [2].

Other than state to state faceoff, liberalist movements are always alive in Indian administrative Kashmir. The 2016 Killing of Burhan Vani by Indian forces, a commander of Kashmiri separatists group "Hizbul-Mujahideen", triggered an unprecedented level of violence. The separatist's leader with a large fan following among Kashmiri youth and a famous social media presence was killed by Indian government forces. Thousands of people took to the street and hundreds killed in protests and demonstrations that followed for long period. Among those killed was veteran journalist who was shot dead along with one of his bodyguards.

In June 2018, The United Nations published its first ever report on the ongoing and rest in Kashmir that states, *"this is not a conflict frozen in time it is a conflict that has robbed millions of their basic human rights and continues to this day to inflict untold suffering. It is essential that the Indian authorities take immediate and effective steps to avoid a repetition of numerous examples of excessive use of force by security forces in Kashmir"*.

But despite the United Nation report including a call for a major investigation into human rights abuses, fatal violence had sustained in the disputed territory of Kashmir. At least 324 freedom fighter and security personnel were killed in 2018 alone making the year one of the bloodiest in Kashmir recent history [8].

In 2019 India one-sidedly changed the status of Kashmir and annexed it. It had to face a wave of rabble by Kashmir's inhabitants due to which Kashmir is suffering from almost an yearlong curfew which itself explain the will of Kashmiri people [6].

Similar events were happening in Eastern Europe. On 22nd Feb.2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin held a secret meeting about extracting President Victor Yabukovy and annexing Crimea from Ukraine. Heavily armed pro-Russian gunmen occupied the Crimean parliament and apparently forced the so-called emergency

and declared a new pro-Russian Prime Minister. March 2014, the new Crimean Prime Minister Sergei Aksenov takes control of Ukraine security forces and officially asked Russia to provide assistance in ensuring peace. On March 6 2014, a planned referendum, what some people call a referendum at gunpoint, held. People said to be overwhelmingly voted to leave Ukraine and join Russia. The UN General Assembly, Ukraine and many other countries rejected the referendum mentioning many international treaties where Russia has pledged to uphold the geographical integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine but Russian president Vladimir Putin defended the change claiming it as the will of the people [7].

“The Independent” claimed that Crimean’s overwhelmingly voted to leave Ukraine and join Russia in Contentious Referendum. Many people were happy and eagerly got there Russian passport. Furthermore Media reports claimed that people were happy and they were hopeful to return to Russia as they were expecting the previous glory of fatherland but Human rights activists counter claimed that there are several victims of Russian detention centers who are observer of brutal behavior of Russian forces to, mainly pro- Ukrainian people. There were reports of Russian turning Crimea to be a police state [10].

In 2017 Ethnic Tataries were ordered from Moscow to stop teaching Tatars as an educational Language in schools. Tatars are majority Muslim ethnic group living peaceful with Ukrainian, Russian and many other ethnicities in Crimean peninsula.

President Vladimir Putin demanded that school must stop teaching Tatars as all Tatars known Russian, which makes Tatars a useless language. While according to media reports interviewed Tatars students claimed that it is a most important language to learn in Tatars neighborhood as many Tatars shopkeepers can just speak Tatars and it is also important to preserve their unique cultural heritage. Some Tatars also claim abduction and missing of their youth under Putin’s regime. So unless complete social freedom is not provided, such statements and legal modifications don’t count considerably, as there might be very less truth. If everything was ok, then it mustn’t be a conflict zone today [5].

3. CONCLUSION AND PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Crimea emerged as an issue about 65 years later to Kashmir, yet both have many similarities. Henceforth taking the example of Kashmir, which is a high conflict zone for past seventy years, it can easily be predicted that the future of Crimea could be more or like identical to Kashmir. Russia is a much mightier than Ukraine. It is crystal clear that Ukraine must need some true and mutual friends which can bring Russia to a point where deadlock can be cracked. Both disputed regions are annexed by big powers, both aggressors claim that the annexation is for the betterment of locals but in both cases the native population is protesting and facing severe human rights violations. Both the regions have high geopolitical and strategic value. In both cases international community seems to be handcuffed. If provoked, eruption of lava is expected from both burning regions.

To resolve the issues, sanctions may not be very helpful to keep Russian aggression away as sanctions couldn’t even stop India or Pakistan to test their nuclear capabilities and got recognized. These partial sanctions may just provoke more tensions. If international community really wants to put a real pressure, it must collectively impose every possible restriction to the parties till they agreed upon a solution, but it is neither realistic nor possible as their alliance will not leave them. So the prime effort should be made to resolve the matter on the basis of public policy making. Furthermore, states which are responsible to protect security and territorial integrity of any country by any pact contracted, must not waste unnecessary time, and must try to nip the evil in the bud because the example “justice delayed is justice denied” fits in every scenario. When the border violation is completed and an aggressor has plenty of time to settle, then its next step is solely to annex this region. In the present condition, an attractive mediation should be done and every stake holder should be given some benefits from the potential and strategic attribute of the region. An attractive bargain deal from international community may be a better solution for Russia and Ukraine against the disputed territory, but sanctions may not work, especially to a country like Russia which has such great area and influence. Same may be the case with Kashmir. UN should offer some incentives from itself to bring everyone on the table, so that the antagonism of the parties could be reduced. Mutual friends can play a vital role in the present situation to bring positivity in the behaviors and to disarm the conflict zone. To avoid such problems in future, If possible, a unanimous law should be passed in general assembly that any area, big or small, having dispute with state, must be given under direct control of The United Nations. UN will be responsible to organize a referendum to know free will of public and UN will take care of locals. VETO power must be abolished and all the signatories should oblige the UN as the supreme actor, then only uniformity could be achieved against an aggressor state.

Furthermore, complete support must be provided to the inhabitants to be independent if they want. It will be much better than prolonged disputes like Crimea and Kashmir and playing political games over it. People must have all the liberty to live as they want to live under equal International laws.

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Матеріал надійшов до редакції 20.12.2019 р.

КРИМ І КАШМІР: ПОРІВНЯЛЬНИЙ АНАЛІЗ

Світ швидко змінюється, але мало конфліктів стоїть на місці протягом десятиліть. Суперечка про Кашмір є яскравим прикладом конфлікту, який не вирішується вже близько 70 років. Ще одна територіальна суперечка – Крим, який нині кровоточить вже понад 5 років. Через кілька подібностей «кашмірський конфлікт» можна взяти як тематичне дослідження, щоб зрозуміти поведінку міжнародної політики у таких територіальних суперечках. «Крим стане Кашміром Європи?» питання, що стоїть на порядку денному. У чому суть постійних перешкод у кашмірській суперечці, які можуть відобразитися і в Криму? Які цілі та геополітичне значення цих суперечок, на що претендують сили агресора та яка реальність декількох наративів? Ці питання та схожість конфліктів в Криму та Кашмірі намагаємося висвітлити у цій роботі. Історичний розвиток основних конфліктів зосереджується на огляді, оскільки для студентів міжнародної політики надзвичайно важливо винести уроки на подібних прикладах. Рішення основних проблем даються у висновку.

Ключові слова: Крим, Кашмір, Суперечка, Пакистан, Україна, Геополітичний, Свобода, Рух, Ядерна, Політична, Об'єднані Нації