CHAPTER - IV

INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE SAARC COUNTRIES

Since Independence, the foreign policy of India has honoured peace and friendship with its neighbours as well as other countries of the world as of immense importance. This is the major element of India's foreign policy. One of the basic principles of India's foreign policy, was not to interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbouring countries. India has a democratic set up and it has been following an economic policy of self-reliance to the extent possible.

In South Asian region it is clearly pronounced that, India, Sri Lanka and Nepal are democracies, Bhutan is traditionally a monarchy, Pakistan and Bangladesh are military dictatorship and Maldives an authoritative one party state. It is difficult to see how common planning and fiscal and investment policies on a regional basis could be evolved in South Asia in the light of these facts.

In South Asia, India is the largest country, covering almost 78% of the total area, 73% of the total population and 77% of the gross domestic product of this region and it takes 59% of the regions imports and 62% of exports.

India's diplomacy was not to solve the problems by military means but by the peaceful negotiations on political settlements. India played a vital role as the chairman in
The negotiations which resulted in the ceasefire and establishment of the neutral nations repatriation commission for repatriated prisoners of war. India believes in the healthy process of cooperation or compromise or mutual concession and an effort to find solutions which contribute to the greatest good of the greatest number.

This has been equally true of India. J. L. Nehru said as early as 1949, recognizing the central position of countries bordering her by land and sea in India's foreign policy "The neighbouring countries had the first place in our minds, the second place went to the other countries of Asia with whom India was intimately connected". J. L. Nehru had no doubt in his mind that 'India and Pakistan had to have close relations in the near future, no matter how hostile they might be during a short period'.

India's relations with South Asian, Association countries (SAARC) are examined as follows.

1. **INDIA AND PAKISTAN**

The relations between India and Pakistan have been strained ever since the Independence of India and the birth of Pakistan in 1947. The root Cause of the basic conflict between the two countries is the Partition itself. As the demand for a separate state of Pakistan was based on the principle of separate homeland for Muslims in British India, there was bound to be a fundamental conflict of interests and approach between the two countries. The two countries have already fought three wars (1947, 1965 & 1971) ever
since the partition took place. The relations became more strained after the creation of Bangladesh. There is an atmosphere of mistrust and animosity.

The study of Indo-Pakistan relations is a study of conflict which emanates from a number of political problems between the two countries. At the base of this lay the conflict of interests, objectives of ideology image and power between the two countries. India and Pakistan since 1947, because of some bilateral issues such as:

1. Kashmir issue
2. Minority Problem
3. Pakistan and Military Pact
4. Friendship between India and the former USSR and
5. Siachen Glacier Issue.

1. Kashmir Issue

Kashmir is an important factor in conflict formation between India and Pakistan. The territory of Jammu & Kashmir state includes beside the valley, the area of Jammu, Ladakh, Baltistan, Bilget, Hunza and Nagar. Pakistan has links with the state through the Jammu valley road connecting Srinagar with Rawalpindi. But Kashmir is within the geographical limits of India. In 1947 the Maharaj of Kashmir said that Kashmir did not acceded to either India or Pakistan. Based on his statement, Pakistan decided that to have Kashmir by by hook or by crook. In 1947, Pakistan sent 50,000 troops and raided Kashmir. At this time, the Maharajah of Kashmir required India's help. On October 27,
1947, the Indian Government sent her troops to help the Maharaja of Kashmir. After the invasion, the agreement was made between the Indian Prime Minister and the Maharaj of Kashmir. According to their agreement, Maharaja stated that Jammu & Kashmir became an inalienable part of the Indian Union. Annulling the idea of confiscating Kashmir by India, Pakistan claimed that Kashmir is its part and parcel. In November, 1947, Lord Mountbatten held a meeting with Jinnah the leader of Pakistan at Lahore, to solve the controversy over Kashmir but failed. Again in December a meeting of the joint defence council of India and Pakistan was held at Lahore in which Nehru and Mountbatten's talks were completely failed.

On January 1948 the Indian representative to the U.N.P.P. Pillai, brought to the notice of the security council under article 35 of the U.N. charter, a situation in the state of Jammu and Kashmir the continuance of which was likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. On January 20, 1948 the resolution was passed by the U.N. Security council. The Security Council appointed a five member united Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) consisting of representatives of Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Columbia, Argentina and the USA to suggest an acceptable solution of the Kashmir issue in accordance with the resolution. The commission submitted its first report on 13 August, 1948, which was accepted by India, but rejected by Pakistan. Again in April, 12, 1950 the Security Council appointed Owen Dixon of Australia to implement MC Naughton's proposals for the demilitarisation of state but he too failed. When the issue was discussed in the United Nations Security Council, the U.S.A., openly supported Pakistan.
In 1952, the Soviet delegate Jacob Malik began to take an active initiation in the discussion in the United Nations Security council on the Kashmir issue, and strongly criticised the U.S.A and the U.K's, interference in Kashmir and gave strong support to India's stand. Finally the Soviet delegate stated that, the Kashmir problem should be solved through the bilateral relations without the interference of the third countries. But from 1953 to 1964 India and Pakistan tried to solve the kashmir problem through the direct negotiations. When Pakistan lost all hopes of annexing Kashmir though by the Security council, Pakistan started fomenting trouble in Jammu and Kashmir by sending infiltrators, and a sudden war brokeout between India and Pakistan in August - September 1965. After the 1965 war the U.S.S.R took the initiative and convened a meeting of the heads of the two states at Tashkent. Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin himself was at hand to nudge the two leaders, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and President Ayub Khan, towards agreement. Finally, after strenuous negotiations, through soviet intercession, the Tashkent Declaration was signed by the two countries in the hope and promise of peaceful future. The Tashkent Declaration signed in January 1966 was an attempt to solve the Indo-Pak problem in an amicable way. The Tashkent Declaration would help to generate an atmosphere of understanding between India and Pakistan. Troops of the two countries were withdrawn from the border with that objective.

But the Tashkent declaration did not solve the Kashmir problem and again the two countries were involved in the war on 3rd December 1971. At the end of the war in 1971, Z.A. Bhutto came into power. On July 2, 1972 Late Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Late Mr. Z.A. Bhutto signed a historic accord at Simla Known as the "The Simla Agreement". The
cord provided for the settlement of differences between the two countries by peaceful means through bilateral relations. The Kashmir issue was discussed in the Simla Agreement. India's aim was to have permanent settlement of the Kashmir issue but Pakistan did not give priority to the Kashmir issue. The reason was clear, President Bhutto's saddle war not safe until the prisoners of war and occupation issues were settled. Later on Gen. Zia himself raised the Kashmir issue at Harare Summit of NAM early in September 1986. Regarding Kashmir issue, Pakistan won the favoured vote in less number. At present, the members of the Muslim countries in the U.N. was 46. In that 46 countries, only two, Iran and Saudi Arabia supported Pakistan. Due to the tremendous changes in the world, the U.S.A., France, Japan and the United Kingdom also supported the Simla Agreement and asked India and Pakistan to solve the Kashmir issue in the spirit of the 1972 Simla Agreement.

Recently bilateral discussions were held in New Delhi, between India and Pakistan. In that, the congress, The National Front and The United Front Governments also decided that the Kashmir issue would be solved through the 1972 Simla Agreement. But Pakistan did not honour the 1972 Simla Agreement, rather it created the communal riots in the Kashmir region. Hence, the Kashmir issue is yet to be solved. Kashmir problem is still a hurdle in complete normalization of relations between the two countries. Pakistan still based on the principles of geographical contiguity, in order to achieve perpetual peace and normalization of cordial relations between the two countries. On the basis of 1972 Simla Agreement the two countries would have put an end to the conflict and confrontation that hitherto has marred their relations, and would have worked for the
formation of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of everlasting peace in the sub-continent, but what is mentioned above has become a mere statement so far which is out of form.

2. Minority Problem

When the sub-continent was partitioned into two separate independent sovereign states of India and Pakistan, it was not possible to establish two homogeneous and compact nation states. The two dominant communities, Muslims and Hindus moved shoulder to shoulder in the sub-continent that it was not possible to draw a definite frontier between the two and that any frontier line was bound to leave large number of Hindus in Pakistan and even a large number of Muslims in India. These religious groups were the worst sufferers of the partition and their localities were often in doubt. A Pakistani (now Bangladesh) scholar feels, that "Whatever the legal and constitutional frame work might be (or) whatever might be the professions of the two Governments they are never free from strains and stresses - worst of all, they live in perpetual fear and anxiety".

One of the factors which created uncertainty in the minds of the Non-muslims of Pakistan and Muslims living in India was the unfriendly relations between India and Pakistan. Hindu's and Muslim in both the countries were conscious of the fact that their safe and welfare in the country of their residence had always depended to a large extent on the safety and welfare of the minorities in the other.
From 1954, there was an exodus of Hindu minorities from East Pakistan and it continued till the end of 1965. The monthly average number of emigrants fluctuated from time to time. In late 1955 and early 1956, an influx of emigration into India increased considerably. In January 1956, 19,206 persons migrated and in February the number increased to 43,534. The Govt. of India was extremely worried. Nehru described the problem as more acute and complex than the Kashmir. Earlier, the Indian government requested Pakistan to take necessary steps to check the migrants and also remove the difficulties which the minorities were facing. Both India and Pakistan accused each other of dereliction of duty and deliberately fomenting communal disorder.

In 1950, Prime Minister Nehru invited Liaquat Ali Khan, the Pakistan Prime Minister, to Delhi for a discussion of the situation in order to evolve some way of an ending the vicious circle of communal riots. The Indo-Pak agreement on minorities - known as the "Nehru - Liquat Agreement", was signed on 8th April, 1950, which affirmed in clear terms the rights of minorities in their respective states. Minority commissions were set up in the two Bengals and government officials in both India and Pakistan and prominent non-official citizens issued reassuring statements from time to time. But from each side there were no tales of mistreatment of minorities. The problem of minorities still continues to plague the relations between the two nations.

3. **Pakistan and Military Pact**

When the government of Pakistan was made to realise that she would not be able to grab Kashmir with the help of the United Nations, she decided to take the help of
coercive methods and formally aligned herself with the U.S. and her allies. This act of Pakistan had affected the foreign policies of both the countries. A basic postulate of Pakistan's foreign policy since the beginning has been to defend itself against the perceived threat to its security from India. To shield itself, Pakistan first tried to achieve parity with India in military strength by joining the U.S. - sponsored military alliance, the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) and the South - East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), and later by seeking close friendship with China.

The intrusion of the U.S. into the affairs of the Indian subcontinent by signing military pacts with Pakistan had marred the prospects of an Indo-Pakistan detente, and led Pakistan to drift away from her northern neighbour. Pakistan joined the military pact because the Kashmir issue had not been solved and her leaders calculated that with a weak military position she would not be able to solve the issue. At that time Pakistan was prepared to do any thing to quantitative for the supply of arms from any source to be used against India.

4. Growing friendship between India and the USSR

The anti-Indian attitude of the government of Pakistan and her activities to strengthen herself military complicating the Kashmir issue by involving the western power in it were considered to be some of the reasons, which in the fifties strengthened the relations between India and the Soviet Union. The shift in the Soviet policy towards India started in January, 1952, when for the first time the Soviet delegate Jacob Malik made a
lengthy statement in the United Nations Security Council accusing of the United States of America and the United Kingdom of interference in the internal affairs of India. The Indo-Soviet relations were further strengthened when in 1955, the Indian Prime Minister (late) J.L.Nehru, visited the USSR. The Indo-Soviet friendship started growing rapidly when the Sino Indian border differences emerged on the surface, and the gap between them widened. To strengthen India's hands Soviet Union signed with India on 9th August, 1971, a treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation. When Pakistan went to war with India in December 1971, the soviet union condemned the government of Pakistan and supported India in and outside the United Nations. So, the Indo-Soviet friendship had drastically affected the relations between India and Pakistan because this fact has usually boosted the Pakistan leadership feelings to lean towards the western countries, China and the Muslim world.

5. **Siachen Glacier Issue**

The 76Km, long Siachen glacier in the Ladakh area has lately become the subject of another India- Pakistan controversy. It is strategically important to India, Pakistan and China. It is not a demarcated area. It is situated North - Eastern occupied Kashmir. Even during 1965-71 wars, this area never became a zone of conflict. Pakistan tried to occupy it in June 1984. But India punctured its plan, its efforts could not succeed. In February 1985 fighting lasted 17 days. These conflicts increased between India and Pakistan. A serious clash took place on 23 June, 1984 and Pakistani forces were beaten back. Pakistan made several reconnaissance flights over the region. Several clashes took place in the area during the summer of 1986.
Zia accused India of violating Simla Agreement by unilaterally occupying Siachen glacier and cautioned that it would mar the Indo-Pak relations. Benazir Bhutto too accused Zia of having lost territory to India in the Siachen Glacier area. In September, 1987 Pakistan launched major attacks in the Salotor range of the siachen sector. Pakistani forces suffered heavy casualties. Instead of agreeing to resolve the issue through talks, Pakistani spokesmen accused India of pursuing aggressive designs in the area. The line of control has yet to be demarcated. Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto in the SAARC summit agreed that the Siachen Glacier problem will be solved through discussion and mutual consultation. As a result on September 23rd and 24th, 1988, India and Pakistan took the initiative to solve the Siachen Glacier issue, but did not yield any positive results.

The Sino-Indian war further created rigidness in the Indo-Pak relations. Pakistan was strengthening her bonds of friendship with China. She was in search of an opportunity and it came in 1962. The U.S. and the U.K. Governments criticised the Chinese attack and declared their sympathies with India. The Pakistan government described Sino-Indian clash as a "Commonflag by India for getting more Western weapons to be used against it. "In March 1963, Sino-Pak border agreement was signed in Peking by the foreign ministers of China and Pakistan. The Indian Government strongly condemned the agreement. The Sino-Pak agreement, disturbed the Indo-Pak relations.

**Indo-Pak war of 1965**

India and Pakistan fought a war in August-September, 1965. That was another attempt by Pakistan to solve the Kashmir issue by force but her plans were failed. During
this time the relations between the two countries were more strained. During the 1965 Indo-Pak war, all the major powers played an important role. The U.S.S.R. and the U.S. remained neutral and both the countries tried to end the war. The U.K. and France were in favour of early ceaso-fire. China declared publicly her support to Pakistan, and China claimed India as an aggressor. The UN secretary general U.Thant also requested both the countries to stop fighting without imposing any condition on each other, but he could not succeed, but at the end India won the war. During this period the relations between the two countries were also strained and after the 1965 war the USSR took the initiative and convened a meeting of the Heads of the two states at Tashkent. The Tashkent declaration signed in January 1966 was an attempt to solve the Indo-Pak problems that emerged out of the August-September, 1965 war. Pakistan was determined to discuss the Kashmir issue at the conference but India was determined not to discuss Kashmir at the conference. The behaviour of the Pakistani delegation at Tashkent, showed that they were not in a mood to talk to the Indians in a gentle and cool way. The Tashkent declaration was warmly welcomed by various countries in the world. China was the only country which had not hailed it. India took the initiative to implement the declaration several times, but failed because of negative response from Pakistan. Though the USSR played a prominent role at the Tashkent conference, the Tashkent declaration did not achieve anything. Later the USSR also did not take any interest in its implementation.

**Indo-Pak war of 1971**

The Tashkent declaration could not break the ice between India and Pakistan and a full fledged war between the two countries started on the evening of December 3rd 1971,
when Pakistani air force and ground troops launched a massive attack on the western front stretching from Jammu and Kashmir to Rajasthan. During this time emergency was declared in India. The Indian Government offered unilateral ceasefire to Pakistan. During the 1971 the USSR was on the Indian side, the US and China supported Pakistan. The UK and France adopted a neutral attitude. The USSR supported India because the USSR knew that India was fighting to liberate Bangladesh. At this juncture the UN failed to do anything in the war. The 1971 war was a decisive war. It dismembered Pakistan, and changed the political map of the Indian-continent.

Regarding Bangladesh crisis India has formally approached almost every government in the world. Then India started retaliatory action in the East Pakistan with the help of Mukti Bahini. Finally on 6th December 1971, India recognised the Bangladesh Government. With the whole support of India, Bangladesh became a free country in the world in 1971. In the same year the Indo-Soviet treaty was signed. All this had brought Indo-Pakistan relations to their lowest point.

**Simla-Agreement - Indo-Pak Relations 1972**

The 1971 war created many problems adversely affecting the Indo-Pak relations. The emergence of Bangladesh changed the entire regional composition in South Asia. To normalise the relations between the two countries, a conference was convened at Simla\textsuperscript{32}. On July 2, 1972, (Late) Mrs.Indira Gandhi and (Late) Mr. Bhutto signed a historic accord at Simla known as "The Simla Agreement".
The Simla Agreement marked a beginning of a new phase in the Indo-Pakistan relations. In order to promote friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent the government of India and the government of Pakistan have agreed at Simla on July 2, 1972. The accord provides for:

1. That the principle and purpose of the charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two nations.

2. That the two countries are resolved to settle their difference by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations.

3. That the pre-requisite for reconciliation, good neighbour lines and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect of each others territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs on the basis of equality and mutual benefits.

4. That the basic issues and causes of conflicts which have believed the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means.

5. That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality.
6. That in accordance with the charter of the United Nations, they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other. This agreement marked a beginning of a new phase in Indo-Pakistan relations.

The Indian government welcomed the Simla Agreement. The reaction of the Indian Press was in favour of the agreement. The Hindustan Times described it as it represented a victory for the 700 million people of the sub-continent and it created new hopes for India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The Simla agreement had got world wide support. The USSR, the USA, China and Bangladesh etc., welcomed the Simla Agreement. All the countries in the world stated that, it is the only important or vital accord to solve all the problems between the two countries. The World Press also welcomed it.

The Manchester Guardian wrote "It set a chain of events in Motion". The Morning News (Dacca) welcomed the move towards establishing in the sub-continent.

India conveyed to the visiting Pakistani delegation that the Simla accord of 1972 was sufficient to maintain good relations between the two countries. Hence there was no need of a new "No war pact". The former Prime Minister Mrs. Benazir's stand was to resolve the bilateral issues through mutual cooperation. The Simla agreement according to her is the most significant to resolve various issues. The Simla Agreement emphasized
that Indo-Pakistan problems would be tackled in the future openly on a "bilateral" basis, i.e., to the exclusion of all third parties and external powers. Although there has been some difference between India and Pakistan in the interpretation of the "bilateral clause", it has been recognised on both the sides that third party interventions and/or involvement has not been conducive to the solution of any political-military problem between India and Pakistan\textsuperscript{38}.

\textbf{THE KASHMIR ACCORD (1974)}

Although the Simla Accord failed to solve the Kashmir issue yet it succeeded in defusing the issue for some time at least the dispute was placed at the back burner. After the birth of Bangladesh, Sheikh Abdullah, the leader of Kashmir, realised that he could no longer use Pakistan factor for greater concessions from India. Taking advantage of this mood, Indira Gandhi patched up with Sheikh. After three years of protracted negotiations both agreed to enter into what is known as the Kashmir Accord. Under this Accord, Sheikh was acknowledged the real leader of Kashmir, who in turn withdrew the demand for plebescite and wound up the plebescite front. The Government of India reiterated that the Kashmir shall continue to be governed by Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Further, an alteration and repeal of provisions of the constitution applied to the state with adaption and modification can be considered on merit. This accord has seriously undermined the Pak claim over Kashmir. "The Indian government's reconciliation with the Sheikh has taken much of the sting out of the Kashmir problem\textsuperscript{39}. As far as India is concerned it has made the Kashmir issue a closed book.
In 1977, by a strange coincide both the architects of Simla pact lost power. In July 1977, Z.A.Bhutto was removed from power by military coup. He was imprisoned and finally executed in April 1979. He was succeeded by General Zip-ul-Haq. Ironically, it was a case of the deposing the patron. Likewise, in India, too, the government of Mrs.Gandhi was replaced by the Janata Government headed by Morarji Desai in March 1977.

The new leaders of both the countries gave assurance to further normalise relations. Significantly, the Indian External Minister, A.B.Vajpayee, paid a visit to Pakistan in February 1978 to clarify the stand of the Janata regime. In fact, it was a goodwill mission. The two countries agreed in principle on wider economic relations, greater and free exchange of citizens and ideas. In 1978, India and Pakistan reached an agreement on the Salal Dam Project, which had been taken up in 1969. Under the agreement India agreed to cut the height of Salal Dam to 32 feet as against 40 feet, as first proposed. The period between 1977 and '79 is nostalgically recalled as `golden period' of Indo-Pak relations.

Following the fall of the Janata Government, Indira Gandhi bounced back to power once again. In July 1980, Agha Shahi (Pakistan Foreign Minister) paid a visit to New Delhi to share Pakistan's perceptions on the Afghan issue. To reciprocate it, the Indian foreign minister P.V.Narasimha Rao, visited Islamabad in June 1981 with a mission to probe Pakistan's protestations of peace and to build confidence. Agha Shahi paid a second visit to India in 1982 with a formal offer of no-war pact. India placed an
counter offer - a Treaty of Peace and Friendship to Pakistan. By 1983, the exchange of Foreign Ministers visit led to the establishment of a Joint Commission and four subcommissions. But the contact at the highest political level remained confined to formal diplomats. India announced its support for the anti-martial law campaign in Pakistan, much to the embarrassment of the Pakistani political parties leading the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) there. President Zia-ul-Haq, however, reacted to India's stance with relative restraint and defended his policy of talk with India for a friendship treaty. As the Pakistani media launched a strident attack on India, accusing it of interference, Mrs. Gandhi assured Zia that India had no such designs.

Ironically, one of the main concerns of late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi's final year rule had been threats to peace and stability at home. The increasing incidence of conflict and disturbance across the country had been a major preoccupation for Mrs. Gandhi and Congress party leaders, throughout 1984. The leadership referred to a "Foreign hand" behind the uprisings, and the patchwork of trouble had been as part of a grand strategy to destabilise India. The implication was that the United States was responsible for the generally worsening situation in the country and that Pakistan along with US, was behind the Punjab upheaval. A further leadership warning of a "hostile strategic environment" and a heightened threat to India's security, again implicated Washington. This was taken as a clear reference to the US presence and plans in the Indian Ocean and its military aid to Pakistan.

During the year 1984, India's uneasy relationship with Pakistan deteriorated.
Although an agreement was signed between New Delhi and Islamabad on 17 January, 1984 to promote trade and economic relations, both sides failed to break the five year deadlock over a comprehensive trade agreement. On 20 May they agreed on a protocol for group travel, but there was little improvement in tourist traffic. There was hardly any progress on the rival proposals for detente. India's comprehensive treaty of peace and friendship and Pakistan no-war pact. The two are very similar with the exception of two clauses in the Indian draft which Pakistan finds unacceptable. One clause requires Pakistan to guarantee it would not provide a military base to any foreign power; the other requires that all issues would be settled bilaterally. India's belief that Washington's supplying of arms to Pakistan has been aimed directly against its security and that Pakistan has been acquiring a nuclear capability, were major setbacks to any progress. A chain of events during the year 1984 further complicated relations between the two nations.

On 4th July, 1985 India and Pakistan took a small step towards increased bilateral cooperation without being able to end the deadlock with regard to trade and industrial partnership. A three-day meeting of the Indo-Pakistan joint commission ended in New Delhi after signing an agreement on cooperation in Agricultural research. It finalised a cultural agreement and formulated a cultural exchange programme. It also decided to ease travel by businessmen and transit visa holders. As a result of decisions taken by the Joint Commission, rail travel between the two countries would become more convenient and additional telecommunication services would be commissioned soon. The commission also decided to facilitate exchange of official and non-official visits by various groups, organisations, old boys associations and exhibitions of Urdu books would be held in
Pakistan. A co-axial cable linking will provide additional substantial telecommunication facilities between the two countries. No agreement had not been reached on the exchange of News papers. There will be an exchange of Radio, T.V. programmes by establishing AIR correspondent between the two countries. 

India and Pakistan were to cooperate in the field of health and family welfare, under an agreement signed in New Delhi on 19 October 1985 between the two countries. Both sides agreed that there should be exchange of information in biomedical research, medical education, training and seminars and workshops at national levels, collaboration in communicable diseases control, particularly Malaria, Tuberculosis, Leprosy and control of Goitre; research collaboration in health fields through the two respectively national research councils; exchange of information and experts in specialised fields of health and family welfare.

After the death of Mrs.Gandhi in 1984, her son Mr.Rajiv Gandhi won the elections and became the Prime Minister of India in 1985. Mr.Rajiv Gandhi met the Pakistani President Gen.Zip-ul-Haq, on 22 October, 1985 in New York, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the UN. Mr.Gandhi conveyed to Pakistani President his concern and worry over Islamabad's nuclear plans. He further stated that, India believed to have taken up the Pakistan's purported encouragement of Sikh extremists in the Jammu valley.

During Gen. Zip-Ul-haq's six hour stop in New Delhi on 17th December 1985, India and Pakistan arrived at a mutual understanding not to attack each other's nuclear
facilities. The announcement was made by Gen. Zip-Ul-haq and Prime Minister Gandhi at a Joint News Conference. The mutual undertaking, the details of which will be worked out by officials later was described as a step towards confidence-building by Mr.Gandhi who classified that there was no agreement over the nature of their respective nuclear programmes. Gen.Zia asserted that Pakistan's nuclear programme was entirely peaceful. In reply to a question, he said that Pakistan might review its acquisition of sophisticated weapons once there was an improvement in bilateral relations.43

But in 1986 India's uneasy relationship with Pakistan became worse. Continued US military aid to Pakistan, despite the knowledge (according to India), the Pakistan was engaged in a nuclear-arms programme, has inhibited New Delhi relation with Washington. But Indo-US relations remained contingent on Indo-Pakistan relations, which were stalemated during the year 1986.

India alleged that Pakistan was training and assisting Sikh terrorists in Punjab, while Pakistani politicians began making reference to anti-Muslim riots in India. Gen.Zia repeatedly asserted that India was helping Benazir Bhutto's political campaign against him. A meeting of the Indo-Pakistan joint commission for cooperation, set for 15 February, 1986, was cancelled. A visit by Mr.Gandhi to Pakistan, expected earlier in the year 1986, did not occur. The military tension at the Siachen Glacier continued for a second year. The move to combine Pakistan's offer of a no-war pact and India's counter proposal for a comprehensive friendship treaty was said to have succeeded - but the accord did not materialise. A new source of friction was the seizure of a Pan-Am Jumbo Jet by
identified terrorists at Karachi air port on 5 September, 1986. Gandhi charged Pakistan with bungling the seizure, in which 22 people died, and causing needless deaths. Pakistan began to revive the Kashmir dispute. This, and Pakistan alleged involvement in Sikh terrorism in Punjab, have made a détente with India difficult.

The first round of the Indo-Pakistan Secretary level talks on the de-escalation of border tension opened in New Delhi on 31 January, 1987. The delegations were led by Mr. Abdul Sattar, Pakistan's Foreign Secretary and Mr. A.S. Gonsalaves, officiating Foreign Secretary of India substantive differences over the purpose and the scope of these discussions, especially the definition of disengagement and de-escalation relating to the prevailing border situation were reported to have cropped up. However, on 1 February, 1987, after formal and informal proposals regarding the phased withdrawal of troops on both sides and guidelines for the further deployment of troops. As the Indo-Pak talks, discussions, intensive and internal consultations continued on 2 February, an effort was made to mesh the Indian and Pakistani proposals into a mutually acceptable formula. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was reported to have reviewed the progress of talks. After Marathon negotiations, on 4 February 1987, India and Pakistan reached a limited understanding along with a firm commitment not to attack each other or engage in any provocative action. The agreed minutes of the understanding signed by the leaders of the two delegations provided for the withdrawal, within fifteen days, of all offensive and defensive forces by both sides to verify their peace time locations in the Ravi and Chenab corridor extending from the Shakargarh bulge to Akhnon in the Jammu area. At a press conference of journalists from the Common Wealth in New Delhi on 5 February, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi
said that "the Indo-Pak agreement to de-escalate the border situation was a step towards normalisation. It is moving forward, inching forward. It is good that it is moving forward he added". In Pakistan the agreement was acclaimed by the people as in official and diplomatic circles.

The Pakistan President arrived in New Delhi on 21 February on his "cricket for peace" mission. At the dinner hosted by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in honour of President Zia, the two leaders met separately to discuss bilateral ties and then continued their conversation over dinner. Trade was a major issue in the exchange of views on bilateral relations. The de-escalation of border tensions was also discussed. Speaking to newsmen on his arrival at Jaipur on 22 February, Gen.Zia said the recent developments on the border were due to some communication gap between the two countries. Raising the slogan of "cricket for peace", he unleashed a diplomatic offensive, denouncing war, aggression and terrorism. He maintained that India and Pakistan had been able to resolve the crisis on the border and were making efforts not to renew it in future. On his return to Islamabad on 23 February, General Zia praised the Indian President Mr.Zail Singh, and the Prime Minister, Mr.Rajiv Gandhi, for their positive response to his peace overturn and also he expressed the desire to visit India again in a "much better atmosphere". He described his visit to India as 'successful'45.

India has consistently sought to develop friendly and good neighbourly relations with Pakistan in accordance with the Simla Agreement. India welcomed the emergence of a democratic government in Pakistan, with a hope that it would facilitate the normalisation
of bilateral relations. The SAARC Summit in Islamabad (December, 1988) provided the first opportunity for both the countries to look at building better bilateral relations. Mr.Raiv Gandhi visited Islamabad from 29 to 31 December 1988 to attend the 4th SAARC Summit. There he had intensive discussion with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on bilateral and other issues of mutual interest. These talks culminated in the signing of three agreements namely 1. Prohibition of attack against Nuclear installations and facilities, 2. Cultural Cooperation Agreement and 3. Avoidance of Double Taxation of Income derived from International Air Transport.

In order to maintain a continuous dialogue with Pakistan to help, improve bilateral relations, a number of important official level meetings were held during 1981 and 1989. Third meeting of Indo-Pak Joint Commission was held after four years, besides another meeting at Foreign Secretary level. Special Envey of Pak Prime Minister and her Foreign Minister visited India in January, 1990. India has taken note of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's statements that she wants to resolve all outstanding bilateral problems within the framework of the Simla Agreement and that Pakistan would not like to interfere in India's internal affairs. It was in this spirit that India and Pakistan held bilateral talks in 1979 over the Siachen issue. Mr.Rajiv Gandhi again visited Islamabad in July, 1989. Bilateral talks between Mrs.Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi led to the establishment of an institutional mechanism under which foreign secretaries were to meet periodically to discuss a wide range issues.

In the general elections held in 1989, Mr.Gandhi's Congress party lost power and was replaced by National Front led by V.P.Singh. Under the leadership of V.P.Singh has
reiterated that it would spare no efforts to resolve outstanding bilateral issues with neighbouring countries consistent with India's national interest. In an interview on 3 December 1989, Prime Minister V.P. Singh stated that he favoured a dialogue with Pakistan to ensure that a nuclear race does not start in the sub-content. He added, we should certainly avoid the path of going nuclear. Otherwise, it is going to be a tremendous strain on our resources. Hence, during 1988-89, the relations between the two countries began to show some improvement. Although overshadowed by sharply heightened tension with Pakistan and by a fumbled reaction to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the year witnessed quiet improvements to India's ties with its neighbouring countries. Successive talks with Pakistan by foreign secretaries, during 1990, resulted in better forewarning of aerial reconnaissance. The dismissal of Benazir Bhutto's government in October, her defeat in national polls in 1991 brought a little change, the underlying basis of antipathy, shored up by Kashmir dispute.

At a deeper level the basic Kashmir problem bedeviling Indo-Pakistan relations came no-nearer solution. Whatever Islamabad might do, Kashmir separatists, alienated by Indian repression, could and did procure weapons from Peshawar and Pakistan. But ultimate aim of the separatists - Independence from both India and Pakistan - remained a long term threat to both the countries. In one outburst before losing her government in August, Mrs. Bhutto publicly insisted that Jammu and Kashmir had only one future if it left India, and that was with Pakistan. For all the unhappy continuity in Indo-Pak relations the reappearance of Kashmir arises after years of comparative quietude brought home the realities of the changing global power balance to both New Delhi and Islamabad. Both
powers favoured India. By reinforcing Indian position that Kashmir had to be discussed within the content of the Indo-Pakistan Simla Accord of 1972 (in effect an agreement which, in Indian view keeps Kashmir within a bilateral context), the public position of the major powers China, Japan and West European countries favoured India. During the year 1991, India's relations with Pakistan continued to be under stress and strain on account of its undiminished support to terrorism in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, directed against India, and its attempts to internationalise the Kashmir issue in violation of the Simla Agreement. Pakistan has also continued with its hostile anti-India propaganda, misrepresenting the situation in Jammu and Kashmir, and seeking to spread distorted and exaggerated accounts of alleged atrocities by security forces.

Convinced of the imperative necessity of establishing a tension-free and good neighbourly relationship with Pakistan, India has persisted with efforts to reduce tensions with Pakistan and carry the bilateral dialogue forward. In accordance with this approach, India proposed a confidence building package in May, 1990 and in its pursuance five rounds of Foreign Secretary level talks have been held between the two countries. In April, 1991, during the fourth round of discussions, two agreements were signed on (1) advance notification of military exercises and manoeuvre and (2) prevention of air space violations by military aircraft. Both sides have agreed to consider a joint declaration and a bilateral agreement banning the production, development, deployment and use of chemical weapon. The lists of nuclear installations and facilitates, to be covered under the agreement on prohibition of attack against Nuclear Installations and facilities, were exchanged on 1 January, 1992.
The Prime Ministers of the two countries met in Harare on 17, October, 1991 and in Colombo on 21 December, 1991 and reiterated the need to reduce tensions and resolve issues bilaterally and peacefully. The Indian Prime Minister reminded his counterpart in Pakistan that despite assurances, Pakistan continued with its support to terrorism, and that these actions of Pakistan do not match with Pakistan stated desire to improve bilateral relations with India. The two Prime Ministers had another useful meeting at Davos (Switzerland) on 2 February 1992. However, immediately thereafter, the Government and the National Assembly of Pakistan regrettably chose to associate themselves with statements and actions that vitiated the atmosphere in bilateral relations.

During 1993, Indio-Pakistan relations continued to show a negative trend. Pakistan's support to terrorism directed against India and its tendency to interfere in India's internal affairs was manifested in the bomb blasts in Bombay in March, 1993. Pakistan's aid to and abetment of terrorism directed against India on the states at Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab and other parts of the country vitiated the atmosphere and has had a negative impact on bilateral relations. Pakistan's complicity in the planning and execution of the bomb blasts in Bombay resulted in an increased perception of the public in India of Pakistan's designs to interfere in India's internal affairs and to engineer conditions of instability. This issue was firmly taken by the Prime Minister of Pakistan in April in Dhaka during the SAARC Summit. In turn political developments in Pakistan including frequent changes in government through most of the year also precluded any meaningful interaction between the two Governments. In this congratulatory message to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on 19 October, the Indian Prime Minister offered wide ranging
and sustained bilateral discussions at the earliest to progressively normalise the relations. Foreign secretary level talks were announced on 24 November and were held in Islamabad from 1 to 3 January, 1994. There were four rounds of delegation-level talks. The discussions were intensive and wide ranging and both sides reiterated the need to engage in a meaningful dialogue with a view to addressing all outstanding problems.

As indicated during the Foreign Secretary level talks, India handed over six non-papers over to Pakistan on 24 January 1994. These papers covered almost all aspects of bilateral relations. These papers related to (1) ensuring peace along the line of control in Kashmir, (2) withdrawal from Siachen Glacier, (3) Confidence building measures, including the extension of the 1990 agreement on prohibition at attack on nuclear facilities and a proposal for an agreement not to use (or) threaten to use nuclear capability against each other, (4) revival of Indo-Pakistan for joint conversion, (5) settlement of maritime boundary off the kutch region and (6) solution of differences of Tulbat project in Kashmir, Pakistan presented the 'non-papers'. One of them dealt with various aspects of the modalities of organising a plebiscite in J & K and the other outlined the steps India should take for a propitious climate for bilateral talks on Kashmir. These papers were presented at the beginning of 1994. Neither country replied to the non-paper of the other. When the Indian Foreign office sounded Islamabad about these papers, the Bhutto Government said that it would be able to evaluate the latest signals of India's reported willingness to discuss Islamabad 'non-papers' only at New Delhi officially communicated its position on the subject.
India's relations with Pakistan did not improve in 1995, despite attempts by some Western nations early in the year to bring the two traditional enemies to the negotiating table. The subject of their old dispute i.e., the state of Kashmir, remained on the agenda as a primary one of the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's foreign policy. Kashmir - the Muslim state perplexed by Indo-Pakistani wars - was the reason for the continuing deterioration of relations between the two neighbours in 1995. In February, 1995 about 100 elites from Pakistan and India met at New Delhi, to draw a curtain over the problems of two countries. The two day dialogue dealt with Kashmir issue, drop in the quality at Governance; spurt in ethnic and Sectarian violence; nuclear issues and reduction in arms. In March, 1995, the Pakistan Government decided unilaterally to close down its consulate at Bombay. India pleaded Pakistan to reconsider such drastic decisions which could adversely affect public life over commercial and cultural relations.

In order to express Pakistan strained relations with India Ms. Bhutto decided not to take part in the SAARC Summit at New Delhi in May, 1995. However, Mr. Leghari was deputed to participate at the meeting, since Pakistan did not want to create an obstacle in the onward march of the SAARC. The Pakistan president took part in the summit almost in a formal manner. The occasion was not used for any bilateral talks between India and Pakistan.

In 1996, there were no significant changes in relations with Pakistan even after the induction of a new government in New Delhi. Although leaders of both the countries expressed the desire to re-open talks, stalled since 1994, India refused to accept Pakistan's
demand that the divided state of Kashmir top the list on any agenda for talks. Moreover, Bhutto's accusations that India intelligence was behind the series of bomb blasts that rocked. Pakistan over the year, and Indian accusations that Pakistan was continuing to back Kashmiri militants, raised the volume of public rhetoric between the two countries.

India made considerable headway in diluting the traditional support that Islamic countries have given Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. And a further setback for Pakistan came from China, a key ally-Beijing remained adamant that there should be no change in the status quo in Kashmir, as it feared repercussions from Islamic militants in its Muslim majority province of Xinjiang.

In July, the United Nations Security Council dealt Islamabad a major blow by removing the Kashmir issue from its agenda. The Security Council said that the Kashmir issue had not been raised in the forum for several years. There was swift protest from all of Pakistan's opposition parties, which denounced the Bhutto Government and the Foreign Ministry for incompetence.

Tensions increased in September, 1969 when India's State Legislative elections were held in Kashmir. The massive Indian troop deployment resulted in much fighting on the border. The heaviest clashes took place in the Siachen Glacier, both sides exchanged upto 800 shells in a day at heights of 7,400 meters in the snowbound terrain. Pakistan troops shot down an Indian helicopter over Siachin on August, 26.
However, inspite of positive gestures on both sides from time to time, it would be extremely naive to expect the legacy of conformation and conflict, suspicion and hostility and under-currents of deep distrust and adversarial perceptions deeply ingrained into the subconscious of the ordinary people could be cast aside with the change of regimes on either side. There are number of outstanding issues and irritants between the two countries which will continue to trouble their relationship.

In conclusion, no single path to the improvement of Indo-Pakistan relations appears plausible. Rather, three complementary pathways must be pursued more or less simultaneously. Limiting non-regional interference in the bilateral relationships; softening if not solving traditional bilateral quarrels; and reforming or restructuring the state and mobilising civil society.

INDIA AND BANGLADESH

India and Bangladesh are close door neighbours and much interaction between the two is visible in the politico-socio-economic and cultural fields. The relationship between India and Bangladesh is like Sunshine and clouds, sometimes a little more sunshine than clouds and other often more clouds than sunshine. Bangladesh emerged on the world map as sovereign Independent country on 6th December, 1971, with the whole hearted material and moral help of India. Bangladesh emergence was a major historical incident occurred in the Indian sub-continent after the second world war and it affected the power balance in the sub-continent. For the people of Bangladesh it was the end of a night
mare of terror and torture, a reassertion of their individuality and personality and an opportunity to decide their own future development.\textsuperscript{86}

To strengthen the relations with India, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared that "Friendship between the two countries, would remain in fact for ever and no power on earth would be able to destroy it."\textsuperscript{87}

India and the Emergence of Bangladesh

After the general elections in Pakistan in December 1970, a struggle for power started between the Awami League (AL) and the Pakistani peoples party and also led to the liberation struggle in East Pakistan. India was very much concerned at the events in East Pakistan which is close to the Indian border. During the 1965 Indo-pak war East Pakistan was completely isolated from West Pakistan. The Government of India was in favour of the political solution of the East Pakistan problems and continued her efforts in this regard. The Indian Government sent several Union Ministers to the capitals of various countries in the hope of finding some solution of the problem. Late Mrs. Indira Gandhi approached the USSR, the USA, the U.K., FRANCE and GERMANY and also the UN security council to solve the problem. The efforts which India made to mobilise the public opinion in favour of crisis saved her from the charge of interfering in the domestic affairs of Pakistan. On 3 December 1971, Pakistan declared war on East Pakistan, and when the war was in progress the government of India recognized the new state of Bangladesh on December 6, 1971. While announcing recognition of Bangladesh, the Prime

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Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi quoted Jefferson's famous words "It accords with our principles to acknowledge any Government to be rightful which is formed by the will of the nation, substantially declared."\textsuperscript{88} She stated that the government of Bangladesh is supported by the "will of the nation substantially expressed."\textsuperscript{89} As for the legitimacy of the Government of Bangladesh, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi observed that "the whole world is now aware that it reflected the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, which not many Governments can claim to represent."\textsuperscript{90} So India has played a decisive role in carving Bangladesh out of Pakistan.

But there are a number of unsolved problems, which continue to raise their head and cause strain in their bi-lateral reactions. They are:

**Farakka Issue**

The Farakka issue is a source of tension between the two countries. It played a vital role in widening the gulf between the two countries\textsuperscript{91}. After the liberation of Bangladesh and the role played by India in it, it was hoped that the dispute would be settled amicably and honourably at the satisfaction of both the countries, but they failed.\textsuperscript{92} India wants to resolve the Farakka issue through bilateral negotiations and was much annoyed when Bangladesh took the Farakka issue to the U.N.O. Thus the Farakka issue was internationalised. This was the first time that in the brief period after its birth "Bangladesh had gone to the U.N.O against India."\textsuperscript{93} India took a serious view of Bangladesh move. Most countries including the big powers and the Arab nations made it
clear that the Farakka issue was a bilateral matter and that its internationalization would only delay the solution. India wanted the issue to be settled through bilateral negotiations. Ultimately, Bangladesh agreed to it. An accord was signed between India and Bangladesh on 5th November 1977 regarding the Farakka issue. As a result of the agreement, 130 crore Frakka Barrage was commissioned.

**Ganges Waters**

Another cause for main differences between India and Bangladesh is about the sharing of Ganga waters. The waters of the Ganges were of vital importance in sustaining the agricultural, industrial and commercial economy of very large areas of India. A short term agreement was reached on 18 April 1975 on the sharing of the waters of the Ganges which allowed India to draw water at the rate of 11,000 cusecs in the last ten days of April increasing flow of water going to Bangladesh. Again the agreement was held at Dhaka in November 5, 1977 sharing the Ganga waters. Both the agreements did not solve the problem. An indication of progress in this respect came after the visit of Mr. Shivshankar, Late Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's special envoy to Dhaka at the end of July, 1985. India has offered to extend the existing arrangements for sharing the Ganga waters for five years at a stretch rather than agreeing from year to year as was being done since the expiry of the 1977 accord. India made yet another effort to deinternationalize the issue. In a verbal note on 3 September, India renewed its invitation to the Bangladesh High Commissioner for discussion of the issue of the Ganges water despite Dhaka's bid to internationalize the problem. Earlier on 30 July India had requested Bangladesh to strengthen the process of

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direct negotiation and find mutually satisfactory solution of the problem. The talks held in New Delhi in early September were, however fruitless and a compromise solution continued to elude the two sides. For a more permanent solution India proposed joint studies for augmenting the Ganges and the Brahmaputra with a link canal. But the Dhaka team demanded that the Farakka Barrage be shut down till such augmentation and the increase in water resources from the Ganges itself. India did not find the Bangladesh demand reasonable, as in its view the Ganges covered about 2000 kilometers of its flow through India with a catchment area of over 75 million square kilometers of territory as against about 140 kilometers of flow through Bangladesh with some 5,600 square kilometers of catchment area.  

On the other hand, a Dhaka white paper issued on 13 September spoke of the adverse consequences of the unilateral India withdrawal of the Ganges flow at Farakka on the country's economy, its agriculture, irrigation, fishery, forestry, navigation, industry, health and ecology. The leader of the Bangladesh delegation told the General Committee at the 31st session of the UN General Assembly that the question of "the unilateral withdrawal" of the Ganges water at Farakka was above all a humanitarian one, affecting the fate and welfare of 25 million people. The situation, he said, was fraught with the danger of potential friction as it involved a direct threat to the economic sovereignty of Bangladesh and could lead to potential strife. This was the first time that in the brief period after its birth, Bangladesh had gone to the UN against India. In reply, the Indian External Affairs Minister Y.B. Chavan told the UN General Assembly that any discussion of the issue at the UN would only complicate the situation and stall bilateral negotiations.
between India and Bangladesh and reiterated India's desire to develop, on the basis of equality, close and friendly relation with Dhaka. However, the Ganges water question was removed from the agenda of the General Assembly session on 25 November following the adoption of a consensus statement by the special political committee announcing the decision of India and Bangladesh to meet urgently in Dhaka "with a view to arriving at a fair and expeditious settlement". But the issue was not susceptible of easy or quick solution. It was not merely a technical question, the problem was also caught up in the general relationship between the two countries. The external affairs minister Mr. I.K. Gujral visited Bangladesh in February 1990 to promote good relations with the neighbouring countries. New Delhi and Dhaka have agreed to resolve the Ganga waters controversy and the return of Chakma refugees.

Yet another divisive issue was a fresh territorial dispute over a small Island in the Bay of Bengal known as the New Moore Island, also called Purbasha by West Bengal and South Talpatty by Bangladesh. In a written reply the External Affairs Minister told Lok Sabha on 2 April 1981 that Bangladesh appeared to be under the impression that New Moore Island and Purbasha were two separate Islands. The Bangladesh Foreign Minister had declared the Islands as disputed in a statement on 29 December the preceding year. Mr. P.V. Narshimaha Rao said that, the New Moore Island was in Indian territory and this would be conveyed to the Bangladesh authorities. In order to settle the dispute the government of India conducted the survey but the Bangladesh Government rejected the Indian Government survey. The issue was discussed by the foreign ministers of both the countries in New Delhi in the second week of September 1981, but failed to resolve the
The contrived controversy is a very minor issue in the entire spectrum of Indo-Bangladesh relations. It was a "diplomatic tug of war\textsuperscript{104}, between the two countries which cooled down after the murder of president zia-ur-Rahman. India wants to resolve the issues through bilateral negotiations but Bangladesh rejected India's proposals.

The interaction between India and Bangladesh is marred by different areas of co-operation where both the countries honourably joined together.

To strengthen the relations between the two countries, the Governments of India and Bangladesh signed on the pattern of Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation of 1971, a 25 years treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Peace on 19th March, 1972. The twelve article treaty had a long preamble which stated that both the countries were resolved to contribute in strengthening world peace and security and make efforts to bring about a relaxation of international tension and eliminating the vestiges of colonialism, racism and imperialism. The treaty was considered as "the first formal and certainly unique step taken by the important Asian Countries for the stabilization of peace in the sub-continent\textsuperscript{105}."

In July 1973, a trade agreement was signed between the two countries, to strengthen economic co-operation. With regard to the production of raw jute and export of jute goods. India agreed to purchase 6,00,000 bales of jute from Bangladesh on prices to be derived from the international price level, rather than the landed price at Naraingarh and the transport cost\textsuperscript{106}.\n
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In 1974, the border agreement was signed between the two countries. It was a bilateral in nature. The agreement could set a pattern for cooperation between countries of the region and ushered in a new era of peace and solidarity. A short term agreement was also reached on 18 April 1975 on the sharing of the waters of the Ganges which allowed India to draw water at the rate of 11,000 cusecs in the last ten days of April increasing it to 16,000 cusecs by the end of may, with the remaining flow of water going to Bangladesh. As a result of the agreement, the Rs.130 crores Farakka Barrage was commissioned on 12 April. The agreement together with the new and more specific economic arrangements and the border demarcation accord and the joint political declaration were hopefully expected to mark a new advance in resolving the problems of the subcontinent, constituting an important mile-stone in the process of normalization in the region. The border demarcation agreement between India and Bangladesh was believed by many in India to be the most outstanding achievement which resolved" issues that had eluded solution for a whole generation". The 1975 trade agreement extended the trade relation between the two countries, to promote science and technology, both the countries co-operated with each other and signed a number of agreements during Mr.Sheikh Mujib and in Post Mujib era.

The economic relations are to be further strengthened because India is the only country from where Bangladesh can import items of her choice more easily and comparatively at cheaper rates. On 15th August 1975, an army adventure killed Sheikh Mujib and his family, an army coup was staged, and a gruesome struggle for power ensued. The minister for commerce and trade, Khandakar Mushtaq Ahmed took over as
president. On 24 August 1975 sweeping changes were affected in the army and para
military forces and major General Ziaur Rehman was appointed chief of staff in place of
major general K.M. Shafullah. A day earlier 26 prominent leaders of the Awami League
and of the struggle for Bangladesh - all of them friendly to India - were arrested on various
charges of corruption. India watched helplessly these horrendous and grisly goings-on in
Dhaka. The developments came as a shock to the country and it appeared as if all that was
being patiently built up since the end of 1975 had collapsed. Indias important adversary
neighbours were gratified at the set back to Indian policy. The Government of India in a
statement on 16 August expressed "deepshock" at the assassination of sheikh mujibur
Rehman whom "We held in high esteem in India as one of the outstanding personalities of
our time". The statement pointed out that Bangladesh developments were an internal
matter for the people of Bangladesh to decide but India could not remain unaffected by
them. During 1977-79 Indo-Bangladesh relations were improved. In June 1981 Gen.
H.M. Ershad took power after the assassination of Ziaur Rehman. In October 1982 Lt.
General H.M. Ershad signed two accords with the Government of India. They are

1. India agreed to give on perpetual lease base the Tin - Bigha area and

2. Both countries agreed to terminate the 1977 Farakka agreement under a
memorandum of understanding. The joint river commission of the two countries
were given 18 months time to complete studies on way to augment the flow in the
Ganga and evolve a mutually satisfactory arrangements.

The effort to stabilize Indo-Bangladesh relations was taken another step forward
with a three-day visit of Lt. General Ershad to New Delhi 6-8 December, 1982. The Bangla Martial Law Administrator described his talks with Late Mrs. Indira Gandhi as historic and successful. Historic "in the sense that serious efforts have been made to improve relations between the two countries" and successful because we are making progress towards resolving the problems\textsuperscript{112}. The Indo-Bangla trade pact was renewed for the other three years in July 1984, evisging an annual trade of about Rs.100 crores. The two sides also agreed to narrow the imbalance against Bangladesh which had now climbed to rupees 510 crores since bilateral trade between the two began in 1972. India exported engineering goods, machinery, transport equipment, textile yarn, and coal and imported newsprint, blue leather, bitumen and paphatha\textsuperscript{113}. The earlier agreement signed in October 1980 had reiterated the most favoured - nation treatment for each other.

The positive movement in Indo - Bangladesh relations continued under late Rajiv Gandhi's stewardship as Prime Minister. General Ershad came to New Delhi to express condolence at the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi and be present at the funeral. Rajiv made a major gesture of regional solidarity, which was considerably appreciated in Bangladesh, when he along with Sri Lankan president Jayewardane flew to Dhaka on 2 June 1985 to express sympathy and solidarity with Bangladesh devastated by a severe cyclone leaving in its trail death and destruction on a large scale. The two Heads of government surveyed along with general Ershad the affected areas and India offered aid in the work of rehabilitation\textsuperscript{114}. Between 1982 and 1985 India increasingly collaborated with Bangladesh for promoting regional cooperation through the creation of SAARC, for which Bangladesh had taken initiative and worked assiduously, the roots of tension between India and
Bangladesh had not been eradicated and trouble could erupt again but it had been demonstrated that given good will on both the sides the issues were not intractable\textsuperscript{115}.

Addressing a new conference in Dhaka on 1 March 1986, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, Mr.Humayun Rasheed Chowdhary, said his country had no doubt whatsoever that India was making efforts to strengthen Indo-Bangladesh ties. He, however, mentioned some issues like the non-implementation of the Tin Bigha accord and the plan to erect a barbed-wire fence along the border by India and said these were not expected to be conducive to good neighbourlines.

Again, India and Bangladesh agreed on 16 May 1986 to extend the existing trade pact between the two countries for three more years, till October 1989. Under the Agreement, India will import additional quantities of Urea, newsprint, leather, books and bamboo pulp. India is also likely to enter into long-term arrangements for procuring commodities of interest to it. Similarly, export of coal, refractories and wheat from India to Bangladesh is also likely to take place. The Bangladesh president, H.M. Ershad, arrived in New Delhi on 14 July 1986 on a two-day state visit. His hour-long meeting on the same day with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi covered the entire gamut of bilateral issues including the transfer of the Tin Bigha corridor, the river water dispute, and demarcation of the maritime boundary. The two leaders agreed to resume negotiations to demarcate the maritime boundary. They also discussed the issues before SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation).
At a banquet hosted in his honour by President Zail Singh, the Bangladesh President referred to the problems and differences between the two countries and stressed the need to end "confrontation, acrimony, or pressure". Mr. Zail Singh assured Zen. Ershad of India's earnest desire to work for a further improvement in bilateral relations and to seek to resolve all remaining problems in a cooperative and friendly spirit. In their banquet speeches, the two leaders voiced their concern over the global economic and political crisis and called for urgent measures to tackle them. They also agreed on the need to realise the full potential of SAARC for fulfilling the aspirations of the peoples of the region. During this period (1985-86) there was some success in solving problems with Bangladesh.

The minister for external affairs, Mr. N.D. Tiwari, arrived in Dhaka on a three-day goodwill mission on 6 January, 1987. During his stay, he held discussions on bilateral issues and regional matters with various Bangladesh leaders, including President H.M. Ershad. At the end of the visit it was announced that India and Bangladesh had agreed to continue their cooperation in dealing with the insurgency problem on both the sides of the border. Mr. Tiwari said Bangladesh had agreed to take back the Chakma refugees. The repatriation of over 24,000 refugees, whose antecedents had already been verified, would begin from 15 January 1987 through the three border outposts.

On 1 March, 1987 India and Bangladesh signed in Dhaka a cultural exchange protocol aimed at encouraging collaboration in the field of higher education. Under the protocol, India will offer scholarships to Bangladesh students for higher studies in India in
the field of education, arts, culture and literature. Bangladesh will offer 20 scholarships to Indian students in similar fields. The agreement will be valid upto 1988.

India and Bangladesh discussed the border problem in a three-day meeting beginning 4 April, 1987 in Dhaka. The Director General, Border security force, Mr. Mahesh Chandra Misra, led a 15 member Indian team while the Director-General of Bangladesh Rifles, Major General Chowdary, led the Bangladesh side. The issues of trans-border 'miscreants' and the early repatriation of chakmas figured prominently at the talks. The two sides also discussed different trans-border crimes as well as the law and order situation in the two Bangladesh enclaves of Dahagram and Angarpota. The question of the early transfer of the Tinpigha land corridor to Bangladesh came up. The three-day meet ended without reaching an agreement on ways of ending the guerilla war in Southern Bangladesh and of repatriating thousands of refugees. An official announcement said that the two sides agreed to cooperate in resolving the issues in a spirit of friendship and cordiality.

On 1 January 1988 India strongly objected to a statement made by Mr. Shah Moazzam Hussain, Secretary General of the ruling Jatiya Party in Bangladesh. It was Mr. Hussain's contention that the agitation of opposition parties in Bangladesh started after a particular country was refused transit facilities for its troops. The reference is clear to India. We have at no time asked Bangladesh for transit facilities for our troops, nor even hinted at such possibilities, an External Affairs Ministry spokesman told newsmen in New Delhi. He said the assertion is thus bluntly false. If the insinuation is that such facilities are
required to engage China, with which India is improving its relations, it is clearly the product of a fertile imagination. He hoped these offensive and unfriendly allegations about India would stop.

Speaking in the Hills Tracts province at the scene of the massacre of muslims settlers. Bangladesh president Gen H.M. Ershad on 5 may accused India of arming tribal insurgents in the troubled Chittagong Hill Tacts and sending them on terrorist missions into Bangladesh. Twenty - six settlers of Kurmaripara and Malugipara villages in Bangladesh were killed on 1 may by rebels of the outlawed Shanti Bahini. He also accused India of preventing the return of an estimated 30,000 Bangladesh tribals who had crossed the border in 1986 in the wake of counter - insurgency operations. On 6th may, 1988 India strongly protested against the statement of Gen H.M. Ershad. The Indian High commissioner, Mr.I.S.Chadha, met the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, Mr.Humayun Rasheed Chowdhry and conveyed to him India's deep concern at such baseless allegations.

During the meeting between Bangladesh president, Gen. H.M.Ershad, and Indian Prime Minister, Mr.Rajiv Gandhi, in New Delhi on 29 September 1988, both the countries agreed on a time - bound approach to harness the massive quantities of water that flows down the rivers common to them. It was also agreed to set up a Task Force to take a fresh look at the short and long term measures already proposed by experts to deal with the floods in the Ganga and Brahmaputra rivers. The Task force will be co-chaired by Indias water Resources Secretary. Mr.Naresh Chandra and Bangladesh Irrigation and water Development secretary, Mr.Syed Shamin Ahsau. The Task Force was given six months to submit its report.
Addressing the Bangladesh Jatiya sangsad on 16 October, Gen. Ershad once again rejected the Indian Proposal for a Ganga - Brahmaputra link canal stating in clear terms that it was unacceptable under any circumstances. He stressed on regional cooperation as a solution to the recurring flood problem affecting hundreds and thousands of people of Bangladesh at regular intervals.

At the end of the Indo-Bangladesh border talks at Chittagong on 27 November both the countries agreed upon strengthening the operations against trans-border crimes. The representatives of the B.S.F. of India and Bangladesh Rifles took part in the discussions. During this period, efforts to further improve friendly relations with Bangladesh continued. On July 7, 1989 H.M.Earshad said that, he had always advocated good neighbourly relations with India.

During 1990, Indo -- Bangladesh relations remained somewhat lukewarm as New Delhi did not take any initiative to settle outstanding issues why because Bangladesh improved bilateral relations with China. The long standing territorial dispute with India, that of the Teen Bigha Corridor, remained unresolved. New Delhi difficult ties with Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Nepal also reduced the chances of cooperation with Bangladesh this time. The advent of Democracy in Bangladesh gave a new impetus to Indo-Bangladesh relations. Bangladesh Foreign Minister paid an official visit to India in August 1991. Wide-ranging discussions were held on bilateral issues and both sides agreed to further strengthen their relations by removing immediately some of the outstanding irritants through dialogue and by adopting a fresh approach for enhancing economic co-operation.
A credit Agreement and an avoidance of Double Taxation Agreement were also signed\textsuperscript{120}.

Bilateral relations gained further momentum with the successful visit of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh to India in May 1992. Indo - Bangladesh relations received some set backs since September 1992 following controversies with regard to the issue of illegal immigration from Bangladesh and also due to the violent reactions in Bangladesh in the wake of the Ayodhya incident on 6 December 1992. Normal deportation of Bangladesh nationals illegally living in India was disrupted since 17 september 1992 as Bangladesh immigration authorities refused to accept any further consignment of deportees. India has emphasised on the need for a dialogue to resolve the issue in a cooperative manner. India has also expressed concern to Bangladesh about the magnitude of the problem created by the illegal immigration from Bangladesh. The initial reaction of the Government of Bangladesh to the Ayodhya incident was of restraint. However, it soon became more critical and bold. Indian diplomatic premises came under attack by an agitated mob and the High commission Library and Indian Airlines Office in Dhaka were set on fire. In the widespread violence all over the country, scores of Hindu temples, shops and houses were attacked and damaged. Bangladesh Parliament held a lengthy debate from 17 to 20 January, 1993 on the Ayodhya issue and passed a resolution condemning the demolition of the Babri mosque at the conclusion of the debate. This attracted a strong and critical response from the Government of India\textsuperscript{121}.

During 1993 the level of interaction with the Government of Bangladesh remained grim despite difference of opinion on some important bilateral issues such as the sharing
of river water, repatriation of Chakma refugees to Bangladesh and illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. Indian Prime Minister visited Dhaka on 10 and 11 April 1993 to attend the Seventh South Asian Association for Regional cooperation (SAARC) summit. During a bilateral meeting with the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, bilateral issues such as sharing of river waters, demarcation of Indo-Bangladesh land boundary and maritime boundary, transit facilities and economic cooperation were discussed. The Bangladesh Ministers of Communications and Foreign Affairs visited India from 2 to 9 May 1993 and 11 to 13 June 1993, respectively. However, there were some setbacks in the relationship due to critical statements by the Bangladesh on the river water question in the UNO General Assembly on 1 October 1993. It was alleged that economic structure of Bangladesh was facing disaster as a consequence of the Farakka Barrage which had created unimaginable adverse effects on their economy and environment. In a statement issued on 8 October 1993, India noted with considerable regret that Bangladesh thought it fit to raise the bilateral issue of river waters at UNO General Assembly. References to the Farakka Barrage and related issues neither did justice to the documented facts nor referred to the understanding reached in May 1992 between the two Prime Minister on the principles and frame work of solution. India remains committed to devising an equitable, long-term and comprehensive arrangement on water sharing with Bangladesh through bilateral discussions.

In January 1994, the Bangladesh Foreign Minister A.S.M. Mostafizer Rehman told a meeting of envoys that Bangladesh should get its due share of water, particularly because of the extremedry conditions in the western part of the country. When a Bangladesh
official team visited New Delhi in January for talks on some of the outstanding issues, the suggestions of the Indian Government that they should visit the refugee settlements, was ignored because Bangladesh was not yet inclined to take back the refuges. The Government of India has made a clear distinction between illegal immigrants and refugees. The chakma refuges in Tripura numbering 60,000 have been living in camps for more than a decade. They are unwilling to return to Bangladesh since the Chakma leaders are not yet convinced that the Bangladesh Government will treat them with dignity and impartiality. But the problems of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh has become quite serious since the students unions in all the North Eastern States have seriously protested against the continued presence of these immigrants in their states. The AASU started the Assam agitation on the ground that about 2 million illegal immigrants were residing in Assam. The most significant improvement in Indo-Bangladesh relations occurred soon after Mr. Upendra Lal Chakma, the leader of the Chittagon Hill Tracts Tribal Refugees Welfare Association signed an agreement with the Bangladesh administration for the repatriation of the Chakma refugees in batches, commencing February 15, 1994. The first batch of 282 chakmas crossed over to their home land after 7 years of stay in India. They were sent off by the Indian Minister, they were received by the Bangladesh Minister.

As Bangladesh happened to be the Chairman of the SAARC during the year 1994 the Indian Ministers and officials frequented Dhaka. Bangladesh Prime Minister Begum Kaleda also visited India, as the chairperson of SAARC was expected to meet the other heads of state or Government once in the course of the year.
The leader of the opposition in the Bangladesh parliament and president of the Awami League, Sheikh Hasina said in March 1994, that the Indo-Bangladesh Treaty which her father had signed soon after the birth of Bangladesh. She wanted that the accord should be allowed be expired. The Indo-Bangladesh joint working group met at New Delhi in March and reviewed the existing visa regime, scrutiny related matters, the issue of repatriation of the Chakma refugees and illegal cross border movements. The Bangladesh Foreign Minister said, in April that his country would think over the renewal of the controversial Indo-Bangladesh Treaty at the appropriate time. After having raised the issue of water sharing in different international fora, in April the Bangladesh Government renewed its interest in bilateral solution.

The Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh underlined the need for solving the outstanding bilateral issues including the Ganges water sharing, demarcation of maritime boundary, completion of demarcation of land boundary, removal of trade imbalance. Towards the end of April there was some tension across the Indo-Bangladesh borders. It was alleged that the BSF had massed troops near the border and dug bunkers. So in the border town of Buri-Mari, the BSF of India and Bangladesh rifles held a flag meeting and took corrective steps to reduce tension. In May, there was a major anti-Indian protest at Dhaka in which about 5000 Bangladeshies clashed with the police, while protesting against India for creating water shortage in the country. The Bangladesh Finance Minister called upon India to offer a cooperative gesture. The second meeting of the Bangladesh - India Joint Business council, held at Dhaka in August, the business leaders and
entrepreneurs of India and Bangladesh discussed the area of trade and economic collaboration.

In January 1995 the Bangladesh Prime Minister accused the opposition of conspiring to put the country into bondage again. Obviously she was referring to the Indo-Bangladesh Treaty. In March 1995 Begum Khaleda Zia attended the SAARC summit at New Delhi, and relinquished the leadership of the association in favour of India

Two rounds of Foreign secretary level talks held in the Indian capital on the issue of sharing Ganges river water in April 1995 failed to resolve the issue. A third round of talks in Dhaka in June 1995, however, ended on a more upbeat note. Both sides agreed to come to an understanding on the permanent sharing of river waters without setting any conditions for further talks.

During the year 1996, India's relation with Bangladesh received a big boost, with talks on sharing Ganga waters being favourable. The talks were held during a Foreign Minister level meeting in New Delhi in early November 1996. Both India and Bangladesh need to resolve the water dispute quickly as both need access to each others markets to further enhance export trade. India also needs to develop easy access to its North Eastern States, which would be possible through a Bangladesh corridor.

In spite of their differences on some bilateral issues, both the countries are maintaining the brotherly relations.
INDIA AND SRI LANKA

India's ties with Sri Lanka are rooted in deep history and mythology. Sri Lanka is located off the coast of South East India. It is well known that Ashoka sent his son Mahendra and his daughter Sangh Mitra for the propagation of Buddhist religion in this Island country, which still continued to be a predominant religion of the country. A large number of Indians are settled in Sri Lanka. They are mainly employed in the tea and rubber plantations of the country.  

India and Sri Lanka have always been very good neighbours and friends, and politically, socially, economically and culturally their cooperation is even praise worthy in all fields. Both are members of the Non-aligned movement and share identical views on most of the international problems. Their approach towards the bilateral problems is thoroughly peaceful. India treated Sri Lanka like a big brother.

In 1957, the visit of Jawaharlal Nehru to Colombo both India and Ceylon reaffirmed their faith in five principles of panchasheel recognised the importance of United Nations as an instrument for securing world peace and called for immediate cessation of Nuclear Weapon testing supported chains admission in to the U.N. These factors have made India's and Sri Lanka's mutual bond more fruitful.

India and Sri Lanka are the members of the commonwealth, the Non-aligned movement, and the South Asian State conference. Before their membership came into
existence, both the countries, having nullified the proposal of Dulles J.F., regarding the question of Indonesian independence. Britain and France on Egypt (Suez Canal) in 1956, and the USSR intervention in Hungary, opined a common view on the liberation of colonies, disarmament and resistance to regional military pacts, having a close unbattered relationship each other. The policies taken by the Egypt were backed up by India and Sri Lanka⁵⁷.

From 1958 to 1962, the relations between the two countries were further strengthened. On October, 1959 when the crisis in West Asia was developing Mrs.Bandaranaike kept herself in close touch with India. On September, 1960, Nehru conferred with the representatives of Pakistan, Burma and Sri Lanka in New Delhi and requested their powers to keep close contact with one another⁵⁸. A result of the Suez crisis was that Sri Lanka's Common Wealth Association underwent a significant change and Sri Lanka which strongly opposed the policy of the senior members of the common wealth, moved closer to India during the period before and after the invasion of Egypt. Inspite of cordial relationship, the government of India has never interfered in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka and almost every Prime Minister of India has no intension to harm her sovereignty, territorial integrity, and India has never denied Sri Lanka and has given equal importance in the decision making of Sri Lanka's foreign policy, coming to Sri Lanka's rescue only when the political system of that country has been confounded.
Sri Lanka and Sino-Indian War of 1962

At the time of Chinese aggression in 1962, the Government of India looked out for sympathy and support all over the world. She received political and substantial material support from the old common wealth countries which were members of the western bloc. On the contrary, the reaction of Sri Lanka towards India remained neutral. Ceylon being a Non-aligned country could have condemned the Chinese aggression and did not want to antagonise China or India by siding either of them.\(^5\)

Similarly in 1967, when war was brokeout over the rights of passage in the Gulf of Aquaba and the strait of Taiwans, India and Sri Lanka supported the Arab countries. In a letter to the Indian Prime Minister, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka expressed deep concern over the deteriorating situation in the area and showed her deep concern over the questions, which if not solved, might endanger the peace and security of the world.\(^6\)

Bilateral problems between India and Sri Lanka

The Indo-Sri Lanka relations have sporadic problems. Some of which are of minor importance in the sense that they would hamper the close relationship between them. They are: 1. Smuggling, 2. Illegal Immigration, 3. Kachchativu and 4. Ethnic problem.

1. **Smuggling**

It is not too easy to check smuggling effectively between Sri Lanka and India because of their long coastlines. Most of smuggling between the two countries occurs
along the Palk Straits and involves the exchange of luxury goods from Sri Lanka for Indian gold and silver. Considerable amounts of opium was also smuggled one-way from India to Sri Lanka for further transportation to Europe. The Government of India has taken steps to put a curb to it. It has tightened measures with the creation of a preventive collectorate of the customs department at Madurai and the establishment of radio-links and the US of fast moving sea-craft in the anti-smuggling operations. Recently, both the countries have agreed on a joint programme to combat this menace.

2. Illegal Immigration

In 1939, the Government of India banned the exodus of unskilled labourers to Sri Lanka. Since then Indians can go to Sri Lanka either with valid passports or as illegal immigrants. The waves of illegal immigration continued emanated even after independence and threatened to inundate the socio-economic fabric of Sri Lanka. According to Sinhalese-scholar, the threat of population pressure from India and lowering of living standards of the people of Sri Lanka due to unauthorised immigration from India—was so "real and immediate" that such a problem constituted "if not the most controversial, at least the most significant aspect of Ceylon's relations with India". Illegal immigration to Sri Lanka, however, is automatically on decline with stricter surveillance over Sea costs, better employment opportunities being available in India and the progressive "Ceylonisation" of jobs in Sri Lanka. The Indian Government is making all possible efforts to check it, if which the Government of Sri Lanka is also convinced and even then, if it goes on at present, it is almost negligible. Those who are caught, are deported to India.
3. **Kachchativu**

The island of Kachchativu about 3/4 of the square mile in extent issued in the Pak bay. It is about 10 miles from the nearest Indian shore. It has always been an uninhabited Island. Neither Sri Lanka nor India has had any permanent presence there. During the long colonial period, the question whether Kachchativu belonged to India or part of Sri Lanka was frequently discussed and both the governments claimed their sovereignty over the Island\(^{65}\).

The issue was taken up whenever the leaders of both the countries met to resolve the bilateral problems. When Mrs.Bandaranaike visited India in January, 1974, the issue once again was a subject of bilateral discussions\(^{66}\). The agreement was signed by the then Prime Minister Mrs.Indira Gandhi in New Delhi on 26th July, 1974 and by the Sri Lanka Prime Minister Mrs.S.R.D.Bandaranaike in Colombo on 28th June 1974. The issue was finally settled on June 1974 when both the countries signed a comprehensive agreement demarcating the boundary between the two countries in the Pak Bay. Under it the uninhabited island of Kachchativu became part of the territory of Sri Lanka. This boundary falls one mile off the west coast of uninhabited Island of Kachchativu, with mutually satisfactory provisions have been made regarding navigation, pilgrimage, fishing and mineral exploration in the area\(^{67}\).

The 1974 pact was described as a "historical step towards consolidating the friendly ties between the two countries". It will also give a major blow to the mischievous

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propaganda in Pakistan that, in dealing with its smaller neighbours India is apt to behave like bully". It was a gesture of good will on the part of India and it was hoped that the government of Sri Lanka would reciprocate in the same way and would try to remove other irritants. Sirimavobandarnaike remarked that with the settlement of the Kachchativu dispute "the Indo-Sri Lanka relations attained a new high".

4. Ethnic problem

The ethnic problem in Sri Lanka has created grave misunderstanding between India and Sri Lanka. The seeds of discord between the Sinhalese and Tamils were sown in 1956, when ignoring the Tamil Sentiments, Sinhalese was declared the official language of Ceylon. The Sinhalese were given key posts and efforts were made to degrade the Tamils in every field.

Actually, the Tamil Issue is largely Sri Lanka's internal problem but India is deeply interested in promoting a settlement of the ethnic problem because lakhs of Indian citizens are involved. The rioting, the violence and the massacres by Sri Lanka military authorities and the hostile activities of LTTE (The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam) have caused considerable strains.

From 1956 to 1977, most of the Tamilians were massacred by the Sri Lankan authorities, this time the Sri Lankan Government supported the Sinhalese. The Tamils have reacted angrily to the oppressive measures adopted against them by the Jayawardene regime.
The 1978 constitution of Sri Lanka reaffirms its position as a unitary state. But the main Tamil Political Organisation, Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has been pleading for federal set up. Till 1973, TULF, stood only for regional autonomy but later they started demanding a separate Eelam for the Tamils. The Tamils have been putting for the following demands.

1. Recognition of a separate national identify of the Tamils;
2. Respect for the integrity of the traditional Tamil home land;
3. Recognition of the right of self-determination;
4. Citizenship to all Tamils who had chosen to make Sri Lanka their home land; and
5. Joining of the Eastern and the Northern Provinces (where Tamils are the majority) of the Island.

The Tamils in Sri Lanka have close links with the people of Tamilnadu and they speak the same language. There is an intense bitterness between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. A solution of the Tamil problem has to be found within the framework of the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka.

India has a vital interest in a peaceful settlement of the ethnic problem, and the Tamils in Sri Lanka look to New Delhi for assistance. The Government of India's policy regarding Sri Lanka and the Jaffna Tamils in India does not favour, the formation of a separate state in North Lanka, though it is certainly anxious that the rights of the Tamils be
recognised and they be given not to wish to allow itself to be sucked into Sri Lanka's complex ethnic conflict. First violence brokeout in a terrible inhuman manner on 25th July, 1983.

The Tamilians and the Sri Lankan army clashed at many places all over the Island Amidst the persistent violence being used against the Tamil minority, the Sri Lankan Government proposed early in July 1986, what it described is the "Final alternative formula" for resolving the ethnic crisis. The scheme provides for a three-tier system of local self-government but rejects a federal structure. This formula could not stop the ethnic crisis.

On 29 July 1987, India and Sri Lanka took a major step by signing a peace accord in a bid to end the prolonged ethnic strife in Sri Lanka. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Jayawardene signed the vital agreement at the presidential palace in Colombo. The accord provides for:

1. Merger of Northern & Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka into a single Tamil dominated province with one Governor, one Chief Minister and a Board of Ministers.

2. The people in the Eastern provinces have a right to opt out in a referendum completed by 31 December, 1988.

3. Immediate cessation of hostilities between Tamil militants and Sri Lankan security forces.

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4. Surrender of arms by Tamil militants and confining of Sri Lanka security forces to the barracks.


6. Stationing of an Indian peace keeping contingent in the Northern and Eastern provinces to guarantee and enforce cessation of hostilities.

7. Recognition of Tamil as an official language by Sri Lanka along with sinhalese and English.

8. Non-use of India territory for activities prejudicial to the unity, integrity and security of Sri Lanka.


10. Denial of bases or transmission facilities by Sri Lanka to any outside country.

11. Denial of transmission facilities by Sri Lanka to the voice of America for military and intelligence purposes; and

12. Return of Tamil refugees to their homes in Sri Lanka. 75
After the accord was signed, India sent a peace keeping force to establish harmony in the strife-torn Tamil areas in the Northern and Eastern provinces. However, LTTE guerilla tactics were too much for IPKF. Both Colombo and New Delhi indicated their readiness to negotiate with the LTTE provided the Tigers co-operate in the implementation of the accord.

The Indian peace keeping force (IPKF) has wrested Jaffna town from the military control of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) on October 25, 1987. On July 29, 1987 troops of the Indian army landed in Jaffna's palalay airport as the IPKF to assist the Sri Lankan authorities in implementing the Indo-Sri Lankan accord.

The first phase of IPKF action was to supervise the surrender of arms by the militants and to halt the internecine conflicts that had torn the Island airport. The main militant group, the LTTE was not satisfied with the IPKF actions. The LTTE Leaders decided that it would not abide by its provisions and prepared to battle with the IPKF if necessary. Due to this reason the LTTE received sophisticated weapons from other countries.

The goal of the IPKF was to wrest Jaffna town from the control of the LTTE. The IPKF's first task was to "disarm" the militants, it went through a soft phase of trying to persuade the militants to handover their weapons voluntarily.
The second task was the brigade from Kulam moved down the Western coastal road and linked up with the IPKF which had moved out of the Jaffna fort. The IPKF strength in Sri Lanka thus arose to around 18,000 Men. The IPKF began the operation in four directions.  

One was from Kankesanturai to Tellipalai Mallagam and Maruthana. The second was from Kankesanturai to Chullipuram and swinging east wards to uduvil moving to kulam. The third direction was from palaly to urumpiri. The fourth from Achuveli to Koppai North and the last Westwards. During the fighting, about 1,000 Indian peace keeping force personnel and 2,500 suspected militants have been killed in the IPKF operations. The political influence of the military engagement between the LTTE and IPKF was felt soon enough in Tamilnadu. The DMK was the first political party to seize the issue. Addressing a public meeting in Madras on October 11, 1987, Mr.Karunanidhi said that "The IPKF was boasting of capturing Jaffna", whereas, the former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu late M.G.Rama Chandran supported the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement.  

In December 1988 provincial elections had become a final test of strength and strategy between democratic faith and violent organisations. For its part, the IPKF in Sri Lanka successfully carried out operations, through Mehan Kartavya to ensure the peaceful conduct of polls. Hence, IPKF played a vital role in Sri Lanka.  

The new President Premadasa had opposed the Indo-Sri Lankan accord right from the beginning and was keen to replace it with a friendship treaty on the lines of the treaty
between India and the Soviet Union. Under domestic compulsions Mr.Premdasu
unilaterally demanded the exist of all the entire IPKF by July 29, 1989 an impracticable
dead line. The withdrawal of troops had begun by January. Actually the SAARC summit
was to be held in Sri Lanka in 1989, but was not held because of the presence of a foreign
army on its soil.

On 18th September, 198979 India and Sri Lanka reached an agreement on the
complete withdrawal of the IPKF by December end and the suspension of military
operations from 20th September, 1989. Three bodies were set up for the transitional period
peace committee security, co-ordination group and an observer group. On 20th September,
1989, according to the agreement both IPKF and LTTE ceased operations in North-East
Sri Lanka. The agreement on completed pull-out of the IPKF and allied issues reflected
the spirit of good neighbourlines.

On March 24th, 1990 the Indian peace keeping Force withdrew completely from
strife-torn Sri Lanka. The Indian army did what was deemed to be its duly and fulfillment
of a commitment. But it paid heavily for the military operations both financially (about
Rs. one crore daily during 2 years) and in terms of lives of military personnel lost (1155
killed and hundreds of others injured). But still the ethnic problem is going on and India
paid heavily towards this.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord came in for heavy criticism from various quarters. It
was pointed out that sufficient and serious home work was not done before the accord was
signed that prior assurance from the LTTE leadership was not received about their commitment to the accord; that the military misadventure in Sri Lanka can have a dangerous domestic fall-out, and that better ways should have been found to ensure the security of India, without injuring the sovereignty of Sri Lanka. But the most striking fact about the agreement was that the resolve of both the governments to implement the accord in letter and spirit was further intensified by the end of the year\textsuperscript{80}. However, intervention by the Indian peace keeping force (IPKF) ended in failure. The fallout of the intervention was far reaching, even leading to the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi by Tamil Tigers.

The Indian policy is to support the legitimate aspirations of Tamils in Sri Lanka but within the frame work of Sri Lanka’s territorial integrity and sovereignty. At the same time, India is equally committed to develop bilateral relations with Sri Lanka in the widest sense. particularly in commercial, economic, industrial, scientific, technical and cultural fields. It was against this background that both India and Sri Lanka signed an agreement in July, 1991 during the visit of Sri Lanka Foreign Minister, Mr.Harold Herat, to establish Indo-Sri Lanka joint commission. Its sub-commission on trade investment and finance and on cultural, educational and social matters met in Colombo in October, 1991 and discussed measures to strengthen cooperation in various spheres. A cultural exchange programme was signed between the two countries for the years 1992 to 1994. The process of voluntary return of Sri Lankan refugees back to their home land, based on the assurances received from the Sri Lankan government regarding their safety and appropriate arrangements for their rehabilitations, commenced on 20th January 1992 and is continuing according to the schedule\textsuperscript{81}.
The assassination of President Premadas of Sri Lanka by the forces of violence on 1st May, 1993, was a grave loss not only for Sri Lanka, but for the entire SAARC region, as President Premadasa had played an active and significant role in promoting regional cooperation under the auspices of SAARC. The new Government under President D.B.Wijetunga Shris India's desire to continue the process of further strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries. The visit of the new Prime Minister, Mr. Ranil Wickremesighe, to India in June 1993, shortly after his assumption of office, provided a very useful opportunity for interaction at the highest level. During 1993, there was an active interaction between the two countries in economic, commercial and technical areas.

India continued to favour a peaceful solution to the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka within the framework of the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. The successful completion of the resumed phase from 12th April to 6th September 1993, of the voluntary repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees to their country, has been a matter of satisfaction for both the countries. During the phase, nearly 7,000 refugees returned to Sri Lanka. the total number of refugees who have returned so far is about 36,000. The problems pertaining to fishermen from both the countries straying in to each others waters and related matters continued to be a subject of consultations between India and Sri Lanka. India conveyed her concern on reports of attacks on Indian fisherman in the Palk Straits in September, 1993 and the proclamation by the Sri Lanka Government in October, 1993 of a prohibited zone in Sri Lankan territorial waters. Talks were held at the Foreign Secretary level in New Delhi on 15th October, 1993. Both the countries agreed on the need for
effective measures to prevent such incidents in future. So, the year 1993 saw a remarkable turn around in Indo-Sri Lankan relations.

In 1994, there was a major change of Government in Sri Lanka. But, the fear that the Indo-Sri Lankan ties would be affected if the Sri Lankan freedom party (SLFP) came to power was far fetched. There is no such border dispute between the two countries. But the attack of fishermen from Tamilnadu by the Sri Lankan naval personnel has become a serious issue which has not yet been settled. It is true that the Indian fishermen unknowingly cross into the Sri Lankan waters. But they deserve to be dealt with on humanitarian considerations.

In January, 1994 India lodged a strong protest with the Sri Lankan Government regarding the recent naval attack on Indian fishing boats. The Indian Government sought compensation for the families of the affected fishermen. In February, the Sri Lankan Navy gunned down two Indian Fisher men of Katchativu. The Tamil Nadu Government protested strongly and urged the Central Government to take back the Katchathivu, which was ceded to Sri Lanka in 1974, as a goodwill gesture. According to the agreement, the rights of fishing pilgrimage and navigation which the people of both countries enjoyed in the past would be fully safe-guarded. The Indian fishermen have the right to land at and dry their fishing net at this uninhabited Island. The official level talks on the problems at Indian fishermen began in Colombo in March, 1994. The Sri Lankan side explained that there was no deliberate and wanton firing on any fishing vessel. At the end of the talks, the joint communiqué was issued, conveying India's strong concern over the recent incidents.
affecting the fishermen. But there was deep disappointment in Tamil Nadu that the Government of India was not able to wrest any assurance from the talks.

In April, three containers of Phosphorous Penta sulphide from India were detained at the Colombo port. The port authorities informed the defence Ministry since the chemical was one of the banned items under the chemical weapons convention. It was also one of the 'dual purpose' chemical which is used for the production of fertilisers normally but can be used for making explosives. However, the Sri Lankan Government defused tension over this incident as the Indo-Sri Lanka Joint Commission was to meet at Colombo on April 21 and 22, 1994. The two day meeting of the Indo-Sri Lanka Joint Commission held at New Delhi enabled an exchange of views on the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka. The Indian side raised the problem faced by the Indian fishermen in Palk strait. One of the conflict points of agreement was that an institute of technology and management to deal with environment protection should be set up in Sri Lanka.83

In 1995, the Government was changed in Colombo, Kumararatunga administration worked to improve relations with India, damaged in the previous years. The Indian Government sent the message of goodwill to Mr.Chandrika, when she became the President in November. The new foreign Minister of Sri Lanka Mr.Lakshman kadirgamar visited India and held talks with the Minister of State for External Affairs Mr.R.L.Bhatia and the Prime Minister. Trade and Economic matters were the main thrust of the negotiations. India expressed support for a peaceful negotiated settlement of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka and did not express any opposition to talks between the Sri Lankan
Government and the LTTE. In March, 1995, Mrs. Chandrika was on a four-day visit to India. This was her first official visit to any country, as Head of State. She had elaborate talks with the Indian Prime Minister and the Indian President. She invited groups of intellectuals, academics and Sri Lankan friends in India for a dialogue. The Sri Lankan President mooted specific ideas for increasing trade and investment between the two countries. She wanted India to offset the trade imbalance by purchase of more commodities from Sri Lanka by India. The leaders also discussed proposals to strengthen the SAARC to activate the SAPTA. There were informal talks on the issue of extradition of the LTTE Chief Mr. V. Prabhakaran, maintaining good relations with India remained special focus.

In June, 1996, Lakshman Kadirgamar was the first foreign Minister to be received by Indian Prime Minister Deve Gowda's new United Front Government, a clear demonstration that the changing of the guard in New Delhi would not affect the cordial bilateral relations built up in the recent years. Deve Gowda assured Kadirgamar that the new Indian government "supported the independence and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and respected the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states, particularly of Sri Lanka". Deve Gowda also ruled out Indian support for the Tamil Tigers, who had sought New Delhi assistance.84

A brief account of Indo-Sri Lanka relations, as mentioned above, clearly reveals that both the states are very happily placed at present and have no problems which would affect the amity and goodwill existing between them. Problems of Kachchativu, the
irritations of smuggling and illegal immigration are also under control. Ethnic problem is still going on and India paid heavily towards this problem. Remaining problems are internal problems of Sri Lanka. Finally, India's relations with Sri Lanka have been cordial.

INDIA AND NEPAL

The history of India's policy towards Nepal would show a process of adjustment with the new developments after the Second World War. Given a very complicated nature of Indo-Nepalese relations and the departure of the British from India, it was natural that the two countries could not continue with the earlier relationship which involved isolation of Nepal from the British India and rest of the world. However, independent India did not face any immediate security problem on the northern border with the result that for a new years it could not evolve a well co-ordinated and long-term policy towards Nepal. Consequently, when the communists came to power in China and their forces advanced to occupy Tibet, India was not prepared with a well thought out policy. For Indian foreign policy-makers, Nepal was just an Indian state with slightly different relationship. Nehru recognised Nepal's Sovereign status but ambiguity in India's approach crept in because she also regarded Nepal as an essential part of India's security system.

The first step taken in this direction was the conclusion of a "Stand Still Agreement" with Nepal in 1947 wherein it was agreed by the two countries that until the conclusion of a new treaty the old treaty of 1923 signed between the British and the Nepalese Governments would continue to remain the basis of their relationship. Another
step was the agreement regarding the Gurkha's recruitment in the Indian army. The practice had been introduced by the British Government as early as May 15, 1815. The Indian Government too entered into a tripartite agreement with the Government of U.K. and Nepal in November, 1947, whereby Nepal agreed to allow twelve Gurkha battalions to be employed in the Indian Army and eight in the British.

From the point of view of the political system of Nepal, India, however, had a different approach. Since India regarded the democratic movement in Nepal as a part of her national movement, it affected New Delhi's attitude towards Nepal. Moreover, Nehru's acute faith in the democratic system induced him to impress upon the Ranas, the desirability of making their system broad-based. However, India's efforts in this direction were every cautious, with the result that the feudal system of the Ranas remained what it was.

The emergence of a strong China, with an international ideology on the north of Nepal just in the beginning of the fifties changed the entire course of politics in the Himalayan region. The Chinese soon asserted their territorial claims on Tibet as well as on the three Himalayan states. With the importance of Tibet as a buffer disappearing, it prompted India to take keen interest in Nepal in order to make her exposed frontiers more secure. She, therefore, gave up the earlier attitude and evolved a new policy towards Nepal to safeguard India's basic interests in the Kingdom.
The first step taken in this direction by New Delhi was the conclusion of a new treaty of "Peace and Friendship" with Nepal in July, 1950. While the treaty recognised each other's sovereignty and independence, the two countries agreed to mutual consultations on matters relating to each other's national security. Obligations for mutual consultation in matters of each other's security were further emphasized in letters exchanged with the treaty. Besides concluding the treaty Indian Government also established 'Military Checkpost' on Nepal's northern border so as to safeguard the passes between Tibet on one side and Bhutan and Nepal on the other.

The range of Indian diplomacy was not confined to security arrangements alone. New Delhi, in view of danger of Communism in the north and very narrow social base of the Rana Power, also thought it is necessary to ensure stability in strategically important frontier state. Since India believed that stability could be ensured in Nepal only through a political system more responsible and responsive to the people, she tried to establish a more democratic system by supporting the anti-Rana forces. Nehru's bold initiative during the 'Revolution of 1950' proved decisive in bringing about a change in the political system of Nepal, thereby turning her into a bastion of India's northern security system.

The years following the revolution stand out for cordial relations between India and Nepal, which have often been referred to as "special relations" between the two countries. Nepalese ruling elite looked towards India for guidance not merely in external but internal affairs also. Simultaneously, India maintained her position in Nepal by reaching a political understanding with China over Nepal and Tibet. New Delhi also made
efforts to bring Nepal further closer to it and put the defence and foreign policies of the two countries on a more formal basis. The attempt did not succeed; but in practice, the two countries remained in close touch with each other and co-ordinated their foreign and defence policies. Nepal adhered to the Indian advice not only on the Chinese issue but also welcomed India's stand on the ceasefire in Indo-China and condemned the United State's military aid to Pakistan.\footnote{127}

**India's Quest for Democratic Set Up**

In the year 1955, some new developments took place in the politics of the Himalayan region which had far-reaching repercussions on Indo-Nepalese relations.

The most notable development was the accession of King Mahendra to the Nepalese throne which added a new dimension to the politics of Nepal. Till now India had eminently succeeded in its foreign policy objectives except some anti-Indian sentiments in Nepal which were expressed through press, party resolutions and even public demonstrations. But the situation changed due to the entrance of China into the Nepalese political scene, and the ideology of the new King who made positive efforts to assert Nepal's independence and identity and to have equal friendship both with India and China.\footnote{128} Moreover, the new King was disenchanted with the democratic system, with which India was rather too closely identified.
New Delhi tried to face the situation with astute diplomacy. On the one hand, Nehru tried to cultivate friendly relations with China to maintain peace in the entire region and on the other tried to impress upon the King that only a Government which had a popular mandate could bring political stability and accelerate economic development of the country. As a result, the elections were finally held in 1959, and the parliamentary democracy was established for the first time in the Nepalese history. This was indeed a remarkable achievement of Indian diplomacy in Nepal.

**Closer Understanding with Nepal**

The next phase of Indo-nepalese relations started with a different setting. China's military activities in Tibet gave a new dimension to the politics of the Himalayan region. This led to an open rivalry between India and China in the Kingdom. Political developments in Nepal made it possible for the Indian Government to face the situation with confidence. With the introduction of parliamentary system in Nepal, New Delhi found the political system and the leadership closer to its ideology. This development proved helpful to India in retaining and safeguarding its basic interests in the Kingdom. Nehru once again asserted India's special position in Nepal by citing and disclosing the secret letters exchanged between the two countries while signing the Treaty of 1950. He even observed in the Lok Sabha that "any aggression on Bhutan or Nepal would be considered as aggression on India." It was not a casual remark but a deliberate warning to the Chinese to keep their hands off Nepal and also a reminder to Nepal of its treaty obligations. The Nepalese Prime Minister B.P. Koirala also did not contradict Nehru's statement and observed that:
"I take Mr. Nehru's statement as an expression of friendship that in case of aggression against Nepal, India would send help if such help is ever sought."\textsuperscript{130}

It may also be mentioned here that during the period, the Chinese made persistent efforts to wean Nepal away from India. But Nepal while dealing with China did not only take India into confidence at every stage but also successfully resisted any Chinese move to undermine Indo-Nepalese friendship. Nepal maintained close ties with India and China and Chinese demand for the withdrawal of Indian technicians from Kathmandu. From the economic point of view, the treaty of trade and transit brought the two countries closer to each other and to their mutual benefit. Thus, the period witnessed deep cordiality between the two countries as it was prevalent during the Tribhuvan period.

\textbf{Crisis and Consolidation}

The closer understanding between India and Nepal suffered a serious setback as in December 1960 King Mahendra not only dismissed the Koirala Ministry but also dispensed with the parliamentary system,\textsuperscript{131} which resulted in a period of stress and strain between the two countries. While part of the strain that affected the Indo-Nepalese relations was India's concern at the lack of non-representative character of the Government, the main reason was the positive efforts on the part of the king to adopt new foreign policy postures, which as India saw it, did not take into consideration its vital interests in the kingdom. New Delhi tried to meet the situation first by mildly pressuring the king to retrace his step. But, in view of Nepal's counter pressure by using China as a
leever against India, New Delhi took recourse to more effective measures. She now used
the Nepal Congress workers, who had taken shelter in India and were working against the
King, as a pressure to induce the King to restore the parliamentary system in Nepal. She
even employed economic means to achieve her objectives. The King, however, succeeded
in asserting his position due to the eruption of Sino-Indian conflict, which made India
hurriedly retract its steps.

After the Sino-Indian conflict process of readjustment started between the two
countries. India now decided not to exercise its influence to change or support a particular
type of system in Nepal and displayed greater regard to Nepalese sensitivities. She also
extended more and more economic concessions to Nepal in the hope that it would keep
the Royal regime satisfied and favourably disposed.

**India's New Approach**

Obviously the Indian policy adopted after the Chinese attack was born out of a
contingent situation and nervousness, which could be fully exploited by Nepal. By 1969,
situation had gone to an extent when Nepal could pressurise India to give more and more
economic concessions without much 'quid pro quo'. Indeed Kathmandu, tried to do away
with some symbols of India's special relations. This became apparent when Nepalese
Treaty of Prime Minister, K.N. Bista, questioned the validity of Indo-Nepalese Treaty of
Peace and Friendship and asked New Delhi to withdraw its military personnel and liaison
group from Nepal.\(^{132}\) This was followed by a short period of deadlock between the two
countries on the conclusion of the treaty of trade and transit in 1970-71.
To meet the situation, India adopted a more formal, stiff and assertive attitude towards Nepal. She made it clear to Nepal that a working relationship based on reciprocity was essential to keep them friendly towards each other, which implied that Kathmandu should not be unmindful of India's basic interests in the kingdom. India's bold attitude found its expression during the negotiations of the treaty of trade and transit in which Nepal had to come to terms with New Delhi.

With the beginning of the seventies, which witnessed some major changes in the South Asian region, the new policy of India was adhered to. The conclusion of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Teaty and India's role in the liberation of Bangladesh, enhanced India's position and prestige in the region. These developments coincided with passing away of King Mahendra and the accession of King Birendra who has a liberal temperament and has made efforts for the liberalisation of the Panchayat System.

**Sikkim and Indo-Nepalese Relations**

The process of smooth working relationship between the two countries was disturbed by the developments in Sikkim, and Nepal's strong reaction to it. It seems that Kathmandu's unspoken fear was that India's support for democratic aspiration in Sikkim could be a threat to Nepal's monarchy. The fear was allthemore increased because B.P. Koirala, of the emigre Nepali leader's statement in the public that the developments in Sikkim would have a noted effect upon neighbouring monarchies. 133
New Delhi, however, remained firm, while it assured the Nepalese government that the Nepali Congress would not be permitted to use Indian territory for activities against the royal regime, it also reminded Nepal that "we will reply to friendship with greater friendship, but we also know how to deal with hostility." It also took some steps at the diplomatic level. M.N. Rasgotra, the Indian Ambassador in Nepal was summoned to New Delhi for consultations and stayed on for several weeks. Obviously Indian resentment was aimed at Making Kathmandu modify its attitude on the Sikkimese issue. In the economic sphere, India adopted a business-like attitude and told Nepal that from 1 January 1975, it would not be in a position to supply its quota of petroleum and oil.

India's stiff attitude paid dividends and induced Kathmandu to soften its attitude towards India. N.P. Rizal, the then Nepalese Prime Minister paid a visit to India in December, 1974 and had a frank discussion with the Indian Prime Minister. Soon afterwards Y.B. Chavan, the then India's Foreign Minister visited Nepal. These visits proved helpful in removing misunderstanding between the two countries.

"Zone of Peace" and the Indian Response

The Nepalese ruling elite have been pleading for treating Nepal as a "Zone of Peace". The idea was first mooted by King Birendra at the non-aligned summit in Algeria in September, 1973. The concept, however received some publicity only in February, 1975 when the Nepalese King at the reception of his carnation said:
We need peace for our security; we need peace for our independence; and we need peace for development ..... It is with their earnest desire to institutionalise peace that I propose that my country Nepal, be declared as a Zone of Peace.

India's response to the proposal has been indifferent and negative. There were some obvious reasons which led New Delhi not to heed to the proposal; in the first place, India believes that there is some sort of ambiguity in the proposal itself. It should be noted that initially, the Nepalese authorities stated that the proposal was a bi-lateral issue and it would be materialised, only if two big neighbours endorsed it. 135

But subsequently, it seems due to India's indifferent attitude, the Nepalese tried to internationalise the issue. Besides, as for the contents of proposal it seems that Nepalese Government has deliberately kept it vague so as not to antagonise any country directly.

Secondly, New Delhi also did not endorse the proposal on the ground that it ignored the very geo-political realities which according to the Nepalese authorities account for the proposal. India believes that Indo Nepalese relations could not be equated with Sino-nepalese relations. Illustrating the point, Indian authorities contended that while Indian presence in the Kingdom cannot threaten China's security, China's presence there does threaten India's security. New Delhi has also made it clear to Nepal that it will not endorse any proposal which involves any extra regional power, China, as a third party.
Finally, New Delhi also believes that it already has a "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" with Nepal and there was no need of having a separate agreement or declaration of the zone of peace. Emphasising the point, the then India's Prime Minister Morarji Desai said, "We have a treaty between us(India and Nepal) and there is no question of Nepal being in danger from us.\(^\text{136}\)

The Janata Government's policy towards Nepal should be viewed, not in isolation, but in the context of its apparent commitment to the principle that it is in India's supreme interest to make friends with the countries in its immediate neighbourhood and to promote that friendship without causing or appearing to cause any diminution in their sovereign status and national integrity and independence. It has evolved a new style of setting all outstanding issues with those countries, i.e., through direct dialogue at high levels rather than through diplomatic channels and initiative. Vajpayee's visits to those countries exemplify this style. The outcome of those visits however, makes it plain even to a casual observer that there is a good deal of continuity in India's foreign policy despite the change introduced by the Janata leadership in the style of functioning of the government of India.

Misgiving about one another among India and the countries in its neighbourhood is gradually being dispelled. Misgiving in India and Nepal about each other's intentions in the past was a "psychosomatic creation.\(^\text{137}\) Being sensitive because of its delicate geopolitical position and its over dependence upon India, Nepal interpreted India's behaviour as that of an overbearing Big Brother. India on the other hand tended to read too much in to Nepal's efforts to develop friendship with China; it regarded it as a definitive tilt
away from itself- as a deliberate attempt to rub it the wrong way in complete disregard of the compulsions of history and geography. However, it may be argued that if India's national interests can be secured by pursuing a friendly policy towards Nepal, and if its relationship with one country is not allowed to come in the way of its relationship with any other country, there should be no reason why it should resent Nepal's following the same policy and principle in its relations with China as long as Sino-Nepalese relations are not allowed to come in the way of Indo-Nepalese relations. Nepal has been insisting that its policy of friendship with China is the one intended purely to balance its relations with another neighbouring country, viz. India, and not to play off the one against the other. Also, as a fully independent, sovereign country committed to non-alignment like India, Nepal feels that it is within its right to pursue a policy that would vouchsafe its non-alignment and fulfil its national interests by maintaining equidistance from its two big neighbours. It would seem that, while pursuing their separate national needs, the Janata Government in India and the Royal regime in Nepal have come to an understanding of each other's viewpoints. Their obsession with each other may well disappear over a period of time if only the government leaders of the two countries would rise above the irritants to arrive at an overall settlement of all issues that have bedevilled bilateral relations in the past.

IRRITANTS

There are no major outstanding issues at present between India and Nepal. Some irritants are all that remain. The first irritant is India's reluctance to endorse the Nepalese King's proposal that Nepal should be declared a zone of peace. India's reluctance is

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presumably a reflection of its apprehension that once endorsed, the proposal might render the Indo Nepalese Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 automatically redundant and encourage Nepal to demand that it should be abrogated. Nepal is visibly at pains to convince India that the proposal to make Nepal a zone of peace is simply meant to institutionalize peace as a national anchorage very much needed for security, stability and development and that it would not use India's endorsement of the proposal as a weapon with which to strike down the treaty. Going by its own perspective, it feels markedly insecure from both India and China, whether these two are mutually friendly or remain estranged, and is hence inclined to believe that institutionalized peace would make it neutral like Switzerland in Europe. As China has already endorsed the Nepalese proposal for a zone of peace, Nepal is understandably keen to elicit an endorsement of the proposal by India as well, in order to ensure that both the countries keep their hands off Nepal. If Nepal can persuade both its big neighbours to act as international guarantors of peace in the country, it would also facilitate the endless continuance of the present political arrangement in the country under the active, non-challengeable, overall Royal leadership. It would, further, mean the elimination of dissent of whatever form in national, political life in the name of peace. India is being evasive about the proposal to make Nepal a zone of peace, not necessarily because it is anxious to uphold the cause of dissent in Nepal, but certainly because it does not relish the possibility of its having to surrender the political and economic leverage it enjoys in Nepal on the basis of the Indo-Nepalese Treaty of 1950. For instance, the letter exchanged between the two countries after the signing of that treaty obligates the Government of Nepal to seek advance assistance and occurrence of the Government of India for importing any arms, ammunition, or warlike equipment from
third countries for its security. It also obligates the Government of Nepal to give the first preference to the Government of India, as the case may be, while intending for assistance for the development of the natural resources of Nepal or for the establishment of any industrial project in Nepal. There is yet another provision under which the Government of Nepal cannot, without making any representation to the Government of India, employ any foreigner whose activity may be prejudicial to the security of either.

Indeed, the Nepalese people have often expressed their concern over such features of the treaty. In 1969, for instance, the then Nepalese Prime Minister declared that certain provisions of the treaty were obsolete for Nepal.138 This was a veiled hint that the offending provisions need to be amended, if not abrogated. Several Nepalese circles have recently described the treaty as unequal, and have pointed out that it gives India a colonial-like edge over Nepal. They have even alleged that India is in a position "to define the basis of Nepal's economic life" and that it has prevented Nepal from moving "even one step forward in any field" without its permission and thus inhibited the independent national growth of the Kingdom.139 Instructively, the two countries have often violated several provisions of the treaty contrary to treaty obligations. With the passage of time the treaty has even ceased to act as a constraint upon the either to act unilaterally. To renew the treaty with suitable amendments would in view of these violations, be a mere formality, but it would certainly go a long way towards eliminating a nagging irritant in In nepalese relations.
Another irritant in bilateral relations is the Janata Government's failure to revoke the order passed by the Congress Government imposing restrictions on the movement of Nepalese nationals in specified areas within the territorial limits of India which have been declared out of bounds for foreign nationals. It has only sought to impress upon the Nepalese in different ways that Nepalese nationals wishing to travel in these areas can obtain permits from the authorities specified, as and when required, and that the procedure prescribed for the purpose is easy and simple. However, the Nepalese view is entirely different.

It would not be unreasonable to assume that the Janata Government would be able to wipe out the past. It has already resolved a number of outstanding issues with the countries in its neighbourhood. It has signed an agreement with Pakistan on the Salal Dam project; it has evolved an understanding with Bangladesh on the sharing of the waters of the Ganga; it has consented to Bhutan's having direct trade relations with third countries; and it has taken the initiative to secure normalization of relations with China. These are hopeful signs which have enlarged the prospects for the dissipation of the deep-rooted suspicions, tensions and strife that have bedeviled India's relations with its neighbours now for well over thirty years.

There are also indications that, even while following the basic tenets of the country's foreign policy which are nationally endorsed, the Janata government would be willing to accommodate Nepalese interests, as and when they arise, without letting Nepal feel that it is too dependent upon India, or that it is an unequal partner, or that there is
danger from India or is being threatened by its southern neighbour. It may be mentioned
that there is a uniqueness about Indo-Nepalese relations stemming from historical and
geographical traditions. To describe this uniqueness as a special relationship between them
would not be right. Nevertheless, Indo-Nepalese relations have special features not found
in the relations between any two countries elsewhere. If this is realized, there would be no
reason why the stage should not be set for an honourable elimination of all the persistent
irritants in Indo-Nepalese bilateral relations.

Indo-Nepalese relations are now poised, indeed, to enter upon a new phase of close
co-operation, with priorities having shifted from political to economic considerations, in
line with the concept of "beneficial bilateralism" of interdependence with independence.
This phase may well witness a remoulding of the traditional basis of bilateral ties to fit the
requirements of the modern age. We may regard the agreement on joint enterprises in
certain essential areas of common interest as the first important step in that process.

The present trend in Nepal is not to regard India as an exporter of reformatory or
libertarian zeal, or even as a supporter of those still crusading of liberal democracy in the
region. Nepal does not also seem to resent critical Indian press accounts of certain political
developments now taking place on its soil. Similarly, it does not interpret any sympathy
that may be expressed for Koirala or any concern that may be manifested over the
authoritarian character of Nepalese polity by a section of the public and the press in India
as indicative of the janata Government's mind and as amounting to a veiled threat of
interference on the part of the Government of India to ensure Koirala's rehabilitation on
the national political scene, if not for the liberalization of the polity along democratic lines. Desai's statement that he did not approve of the manner in which the Congress Government had secured the merger of Sikkim into the Indian Union has had the effect of reassuring the establishment in Nepal that India would not turn their country into another Sikkim.

Continued improvement in Indo-Nepalese relations has brightened the prospects for Nepal's ailing economy. This is evident from India's increasing participation in the Kingdom's industrial and economic development. India has recently announced that it would invest massively in the first Indo-Nepalese joint enterprise, which is a cement factory being set up in Nepal, and that this investment would be in addition to the aid it has already promised for various projects to be executed in the near future either for the exclusive benefit of Nepal or for mutual benefit. This investment would amount to several million rupees and far exceed the aid amount India has provided or promised so far. India thus retains the status it had acquired during the past several years as the biggest donor for Nepal. As other joint enterprises agreed upon for speeding up Nepal's industrial and economic development get underway, the co-operative relationship between the two countries would develop further. The area of this relationship is bound to get enlarged as projects for harnessing the waters of the rivers common to the two countries for the purposes of flood control, irrigation and power generation are taken up with India aid, including the infrastructural or technological assistance already announced for the joint enterprises to be taken up in Nepal. This would further brighten the prospect of improved bilateral relations with benefits for both the countries. All this serves as a pointer to the
equation that is being evolved between the Janata government in India and the Royal regime in Nepal. In this context it is instructive to recall that, soon after assuming office, Prime Minister Desai said: Our purpose is to see that at least this sub-continent overcomes old suspicions and discovers that through co-operation and peaceful efforts we make our neighbourhood stable against outside maneuver and can devote greater share of our limited resources towards respective constructive endeavors. During the years 1977-79, Indias relations with Nepal were strengthened.

When Mrs. (Late) Indira Gandhi came to power second time in 1979, the Nepalese Prime Minister S.B. Thapas visited New Delhi in February 3, 1983. He had talks with Mrs. Gandhi and said that "he was satisfied with the faith of the two countries in friendly relationship. Hence Indo-Nepal relations during the decade of 1973-83 grew to the satisfaction of both the countries.

King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya of Nepal arrived in New Delhi on 18 September 1985 on a two-day official visit. At a banquet held the same night, India and Nepal called for efforts to create an atmosphere of peace and stability in South Asia for the economic development and prosperity of the region. In this connection, President Zail Singh and king Birendra hoped that the first SAARC summit meeting would provide further impetus to such efforts and add what the king called a new and constructive dimension to the history of our region. Mr. Zail Singh and king birendra also expressed the desire of their countries to develop the age-old ties between them on the basis of peace, mutual goodwill and respect for each others sovereignty, territorial integrity and the
principle of non-interference. He said that Nepal in the past three decades had built up an infrastructure and fortunately India had not merely been sympathetic but had positively contributed to Nepal's economic development. He also said that he was heartened to note that the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, has sincerely been seeking to establish good relations with all of India's neighbours.

After the visit of King Birendra, Nepal dropped the idea of entrusting the construction of the 200 km long Kohalpur - Mahakali sector of the east-west high way to China. It signed an agreement with India on 29 September 1985 for an assistance of Rs. 50 crores to construct this Western segment of the highway with its own Labour, supplemented by Indian technical assistance. The agreement was signed in Kathmandu by an Indian delegation headed by the Secretary incharge of Economic relations in the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. N.P. Jain and the Finance secretary of Nepal, Mr. Lok Bahadur Shrestha, ending a year-long misunderstanding in Indo-Nepalese relations. This decision of the Nepalese government would go a long way in improving Indo-Nepalese relations. The Transit Treaty between India and Nepal, which expired in March 1985, was formally extended till March 1989.

The President of India Mr. Zail Singh, arrived in Kathmandu on 21 July, 1986 on a five-day state visit to Nepal. In his speech at the royal banquet on the same day, king Birendra said that it was only by strengthening the frame work of cooperation among the SAARC nations that the countries could speed up the process of development and promote peace. He said that Nepal had always appreciated India's contribution to its
infrastructural development and will continue to do so. At the talks held between king Birendra and Mr. Zail Singh, Nepal and India agreed on the development of water resources in the Himalayan kingdom for the mutual benefit of the two countries. On July 24, the two countries decided to set up a joint commission at the ministerial level to review existing areas of cooperation and to identify ways to diversify and build on them according to the plans and priorities of the Nepalese government.  

The three day talks between the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Commission of Experts (JCE) concluded on 31 October 1986 in Kathmandu. According to a joint press release, the purpose of the JCE's visit to Kathmandu was to seek data and information for the completion of a feasibility study on augmenting the Ganga flow. The JCE handed over to the Nepalese side a list of data required. The Nepalese delegation stated that Nepal would examine the JCE's requirements in detail. It assured the JCE of Nepal's utmost cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit.

(Late) Sri Rajiv Gandhi, who became Prime Minister of India followed his predecessor in improving Indo-Nepal relations. India has been going crores of rupees of economic and technical assistance to Nepal. The Indian policy towards Nepal from 1984 to 1986 remained ambivalent.

On 18 January 1987, India and Nepal signed an agreement for setting up an industrial estate at Rajbiraj in eastern Nepal. The agreement, under which India will provide Rs. 1.5 crores as a grant, will lead to the development of small industries based on
local agricultural, horticultural and forest resources. On 20 June, 1988, India and Nepal signed in New Delhi an agreement to establish a joint commission for promoting and coordinating economic cooperation between the two countries. This agreement provides for a specialised sub-commission to monitor the implementation of various inter-governmental agreements and to identify new areas of cooperation in trade, transit, industry, power and other fields.\textsuperscript{143}

Despite differences between India and Nepal over the trade and transit issue, the tradition of exchanges of bilateral visits between the two countries continued. Trade and Transit Treaties with Nepal expired on 23 March 1989. To resolve the issue, Foreign Minister level talks were held in March 1989. Differences, however, persisted. The External Affairs Minister of India held talks in Kathmandu again in August 1989. He also met King Birendra. Later Nepal King met the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at Belgrade in Sept. 1989 during the ninth Non-aligned summit. India has always expressed its readiness to discuss the entire gamut of Indo-Nepal relations with a view to resolving outstanding differences in an amicable manner. This was reflected in what Prime Minister V.P. Singh stated on 3 December 1989. He said there has always been a good understanding between the two countries. Even if there are a few differences, they can certainly be sorted out in an amicable way.\textsuperscript{144}

Continuing the improvement in relations with Nepal was the cornerstone of India's foreign policy in 1990. The two Countries held three rounds of talks about areas of cooperation under the umbrella of the Joint Task Force, while Nepal’s Prime Minister G.P.
Koirala paid a four-day State visit to India in November 1990. During the trip, separate agreements on trade, transit and control of smuggling were signed. Koirala held talks with his counterpart V.P. Singh and also met Indian opposition leaders. He assured New Delhi that Nepal would not do anything against India's national interests. India pledged 1 billion as aid to Nepal for a number of development projects, including the construction of the Sunsari-Jhapa road.

The Task Force also discussed cooperation in the use of Nepal's water resources, joint industrial ventures and prospects for wider economic agreements. Hydroelectric joint ventures, expansion of trade and the production of goods in demand in both the countries were also in the agenda, Koirala also said, maintaining good relations with New Delhi and Peking were Kathmandu's priorities.

There was substantial progress in consolidating Indo-Nepal relations and establishing a durable framework for expanding all-round bilateral cooperation in the year 1991. After the General elections under the new political system in May 1991, the Prime Minister G.P. Koirala assumed office in Nepal. A new stage was thus set for both the countries to focus on maximising mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields. The goal was to usher in a new era in Indo-Nepal cooperation to which both the Governments had committed themselves in the Indo-Nepal Joint Communique of 10 June 1990. The visit of Prime Minister Koirala to India from 5 to 10 December 1991 was preceded by four months of active and extensive consultations between the two sides. For the first time, an Indo-Nepal High-Level Task Force had been set up which prepared a comprehensive
programme for bilateral cooperation. This was a unique effort, for this was the first time such an approach had been adopted between India and Nepal.

The subsequent discussions at the Prime Ministerial level resulted in a wide-ranging set of decisions of crucial significance for intensifying Indo-Nepal cooperation for mutual benefit. As many as five important treaties and agreements were signed. These included a new trade treaty, a new transit treaty, an agreement for cooperation in controlling unauthorised trade, a Memorandum of understanding for cooperation in agriculture meant to promote rural development and rural employment in Nepal, and another Memorandum of understanding for the establishment of the B.P. Koirala India-Nepal foundation, in the memory of the great Nepalese statesman and patriot who had also been closely involved with the Indian Independence movement.\textsuperscript{145}

The traditionally close and cordial relations between India and Nepal were further strengthened during the year, 1992. Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, paid an official good will visit to Nepal from 19 to 21 October 1992 at the invitation of the Prime Minister of Nepal. A Joint Communiqué was signed during the visit enlisting various areas of cooperation between the two countries. In the trade sector in particular, substantial improvements have been made and transit of Nepalese goods has been further facilitated. India has agreed to enhance the revolving stand-by credit facility extended to Nepal Rs. 35 Crore to Rs. 50 crore. A time frame for investigations, preparation of project reports and other works for water resources cooperation on the Karnali-Pancheshwar, Rapti Kashi, Budhigandaki, Kamala and Bagunati projects was agreed upon. The B.P. Koirala Nepal -
India foundation was jointly inaugurated by the two Prime Ministers during the visit. The foundation would provide an institutional frame work for promoting academic, cultural and technical exchanges between India and Nepal. An Indo-Nepal High Level Task Force has been set up to monitor and review the implementation of Indian aid project in Nepal.

During the year 1993 relations between India and Nepal have traditionally been close and friendly. India has an open border with Nepal and shares strong ties based on history, geography, culture and religion. The king of Nepal, His Majesty king Birendra BirBikram Shah paid a state visit to India in May 1993 symbolising the close links between the two countries. India's economic cooperation programme with Nepal continued to bear fruit. An industrial estate at Rajbiraj and a telephone exchange at Rangeli in Nepal were successfully commissioned in the year 1993[146].

In 1994 the Nepal Government alleged raid by the Indian policeman in the Nepalese territory. The Indian Government ordered an immediate investigation and expressed deep regret over the incident in which the police raided some houses in Kathmandu in search of a murder accused. In August India agreed to facilitate further the Nepalese transit trade by making the definition of hazardous cargo more specific and reducing the number of items for which transit insurance was required. Various aspects of Indo-Nepal trade came for review during the official level talks between the two countries at New Delhi.
During the parliamentary elections in Nepal in 1994, the United Communist party of Nepal repeatedly raised anti-Indian slogans, in line with its known stand. Immediately after Mr. Manmohan Adhikary, the communist leader, was appointed the Prime Minister of country in November 1994, Mr. Adhikary said that his Government would review and reassess his country's relations with India. According to him updating of the Indo-Nepal treaty of 1950 was vital in a changed international context. He accused the former Prime Minister Mr. G.P.Koirala of the Nepali Congress, of attempts to sell of the Nepali public sector units to Indian capitalist harming the Nepali's interests. In December 1994, king Birendra in his address to the parliament stated that Nepal would have balanced ties with India and China on the basis of Non-alignment and the Panchsheel. Mr. Adhikary who had strongly opposed the Tarakpur Hydro-Electric Project in Nepal when he was in the opposition, informed the House of representatives of the Nepali parliament that Nepal would reopen talks with India on the project, taking into account difficult issues like national sovereignty and territorial rights.

In January 1995, India and Nepal decided to make a Joint Coordination meeting of the official levels. In that meeting both the countries were decided to regularise the 850 KM long Indo-Nepal border and curb cross border crime in the area. They agreed to reconstruct the dilapidated border pillars after specifying the missing pillars. In February the Deputy Prime Minister of Nepal Mr. Madhav visited India and discussed bilateral problems. The Nepali Prime Minister was on a state visit to India in April 1995. India was the first country visited by Mr. Adhikary. He was again present at New Delhi for the SAARC summit in May 1995. Hard bargain on the pending issues started in March 1995.
An official delegation of India went to Kathmandu to discuss the Danakpur Hydro Electric Project and water project. Nepal expressed its determination to get more water and electricity from the project. When Mr. Adhikary was at New Delhi for 2 days visit, April 10-11 at outset he stated that he was for a comprehensive review for Indo-Nepal relations in order to fine-tune special ties with New Delhi. He held talks with the Indian President and Prime Minster. The Joint statement released at the end of the visit stated that both the prime Ministers were heartened by the absence of major problems between the two countries. They agreed to continue discussions on different aspects of bilateral relations including the review of the treaty at the appropriate level. The concrete decision related to India's permission given to Nepal to use the kandla and Bombay ports for trade on terms at par with those, extended to Indians. So, during the years 1994-95, the relation between the two countries were further strengthened.

In view of the above factors, both India and Nepal tried to develop their relations on a more sound basis and for that purpose arranged mutual visits of high ranking officials and other dignitaries of both the countries in the recent days too.

INDIA AND BHUTAN

The close ties of friendship and cooperation between Bhutan and India are rooted in the ancient bonds of history, geography and religion. Gautama Buddha, one of India's most illustrious sons and the founder of Buddhism has bequeathed a legacy of compassion and love for all his followers and as Buddhists, most Bhutanese consider India as a holy land. Both Buddhism and Hinduism, two of the world's great religions and which had
originated in India, are practiced in Bhutan. The pantheon of Hindu gods and goddesses is worshiped not only by the Hindus but also by the Buddhists in the country. Guru Pudmasambhava, the great Indian saint, is highly revered in Bhutan as the second Buddha. Geography has placed the two countries as immediate neighbours and forget a common destiny for their peoples. History records that India and Bhutan have been enjoying friendly interactions since time immemorial. In August 1949 India signed a Treaty of perpetual peace and friendship with Bhutan. India guaranteed non-interference in the internal affairs of Bhutan.

A new chapter began in Indo-Bhutanese relations soon after the independence of India. The foundation of the Indo-Bhutan friendship based on mutual trust and cooperation were laid by the two great leaders of the two countries (Late) pandit J.L. Nehru and his Late majesty king Jigme Dorje Wangchuck. During his historic visit to Bhutan in 1958, Pandit Nehru articulated the spirit of Indo-Bhutan relations as follows:

"Some may think that since India is a great and powerful country and Bhutan a small one, the former might wish to exercise pressure on Bhutan. It is, therefore, essential that I make it clear to you that our only wish is that you should remain an independent country, choosing your own way of life, and taking the path of progress according to your will. At the same time, we two should live with mutual goodwill. We are members of the same Himalayan family and should live as friendly neighbours helping each other. Freedom of both Bhutan and India should be safeguarded so that none from outside can do harm to it".
Following Pandit Nehru's historic visit to Bhutan in 1958, Bhutan emerged from centuries of self-imposed isolation, a policy aimed at preserving the sovereignty of a small Himalayan kingdom in an era of colonialism. With the generous assistance of its close friend and neighbour India, Bhutan embarked on a process of planned development in 1961. In the wake of Chinese troop movements on the Bhutanese border, Nehru declared on August 28, 1959 in the Lok Sabha that India was responsible for the protection and territorial integrity of Sikkim and Bhutan and any aggression against these countries would be considered as aggression against India. During the years 1958-61 the relations between the two countries were further strengthened. Bhutan came closer to India after the suppression of Tibetan revolt by China in 1959 and Sino-Indian conflict of 1962.

During the year 1962 Sino-Indian war, the Bhutan Government sought to maintain formal neutrality but it was keenly aware that its alignment with India made it a vulnerable target if Chinese were so disposed. After 1962 war, Bhutan extended its close relation to India. From 1962-66 the relation between the two countries were further strengthened. India is assisting Bhutan in road building but has preferred to keep the Indian personnel in Bhutan to the minimum. India recognises Bhutan's status as an independent state.

When Bhutan wanted to become a member of the United Nation, the Indian External Affairs Minister Stated in the Lok Sabha in June 1967 that the Government of India would be happy to support Bhutan for membership of the U.N. Bhutan's application for membership of the U.N. was submitted to the secretary general of U.N. by the Indian permanent representative to the UN in March, 1969. On the question of Bhutan's
membership of the United Nations, however, it was felt that Bhutan was not ready as yet to assume the responsibilities and obligation of such membership. In May 1970, Dinesh Singh, the Indian Foreign Minister visited Bhutan with the purpose of holding discussions on this subject and finally on 21 September, 1971, Bhutan was admitted into the United Nations and joined the Non-aligned movement (NAM) in 1979 with India's support and help. Earlier, on 17 May 1971, the royal Bhutan mission was established in New Delhi. The king of Bhutan visited New Delhi in 1982, and held talks with Prime Minister of India Mrs. Indira Gandhi and had separate meetings with other ministers with regard to the details of bilateral economic and technical co-operation. Both leaders agreed to strengthen their friendship and further expand bilateral co-operation. He said that Bhutan has no problems with India. His visit, he added, was intended to reaffirm and strengthen the Indo-Bhutan relations. The traditionally close and friendly relation between India and Bhutan were further strengthened during the year under review.

The NAM summit in Harare in September, 1986 and the SAARC summit in Bangalore in November, 1986 offered an opportunity for discussion on subjects of mutual interests at the highest level between the king of Bhutan and the Late prime minister of India Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Both the meetings were marked by close identity of views on matters on mutual interest reflecting the situation that prevails between the two countries. In fact, the various important political and administrative functionaries met in Thimpu including king Jigme Singye Wangchuk gave the impression that they were satisfied with the Indian leaders perception of the current situation in Bhutan.
It was India’s generous financial and technical assistance that helped Bhutan to successfully carry out its development plans and achieve a level of development in less than four decades which other countries have taken centuries to achieve. Today, India continues to be Bhutan’s most important development partner in its efforts to achieve ever greater socio-economic progress. One of the shining landmarks of Indo-Bhutan economic co-operation is the Indo-Bhutan friendship chukka Hydel project which was commissioned in 1986. With a capacity of 336 MW of power, most of it exported to India, this project is an outstanding example of mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries. In the coming years, other mega hydro-electric projects will also be implemented with Indian assistance which would greatly benefit both India and Bhutan. Some of them are the Tala Hydroelectric project, the Wangchu Hydroelectric project and the Sunkosh multipurpose project which together have a total capacity to generate 5,980 MW of power.

Other significant areas of support and cooperation from India are in the field of education and health. Most of Bhutan’s doctors, engineers and other professionals are trained in India. All educational and health facilities are provided at free of cost by the government. Bhutan has already achieved 72% enrollment for education and 90% coverage in primary health care. Today Bhutanese people enjoy all the benefits of a social welfare state, yet at the same time are one of the least taxed people in the world. The tremendous progress achieved by Bhutan in the field of education and health has been made possible due to the unstinted assistance extended by India. Thousands of Indian nationals serve in various organizations in Bhutan and contribute to the over-all

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development of the country as well as to better understanding and friendship among the peoples of the two countries.

Traditionally close and friendly relations between India and Bhutan were further strengthened. There were important exchanges of visits. From India, the Foreign Secretary, the then prime minister Rajiv Gandhi and president R.Venkataraman visited Bhutan during 1988. From Bhutan, Deputy Minister of planning Dasho chenkyab Dorji and Foreign Minister Lyonpo Dawa Tsering visited India. During these visits fruitful discussions on subjects of mutual interest were held and cooperation flourished in the economic field. In October 1988, the prestigious chukha Hydel project built entirely with Indian assistance was jointly inaugurated by president R.Venkata Raman and his majesty the king of Bhutan. India continues to provide experts and specialists to Bhutan in the field of forestry, Industry, telecommunications, hydel survey education etc.¹⁵⁷

During his three day official visit to Bhutan, on 23 September, 1989, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi held talks with the king of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuk, on bilateral regional and international issues. During talks Mr.Gandhi and the king reviewed developmental works in the country. During his previous visit to Bhutan i.e., in September 1985, Mr.Gandhi had announced India's assistance for the khaling and Gyesta hydel projects.

On his arrival in Thimpu on 18 October an official visit to Bhutan, president R.Venkataraman and the Bhutanese king appealed to the world community to focus
attention on building world peace by eliminating poverty. In his banquet speech, the king appreciated India's role in the comity of nations and non-aligned movement and said it had spared no effort in promoting international peace and security. The Indian president stressed the necessity for strengthening regional co-operation and commended the SAARC for its aims and objectives.\textsuperscript{158}

During 1991, traditionally close and friendly relations between India and Bhutan were further strengthened. The growing economic and technical cooperation between the two countries was maintained and intensified further. India continued to co-operate with Bhutan in various other fields such as telecommunications, health services, hydel projects, solar energy etc. During the visit of the king of Bhutan to India in September 1991, a new Air Services Agreement was signed between the two countries.\textsuperscript{159} India continued to offer Bhutanese students opportunity for secondary as well as higher education and training in various fields. India continued to supply Bhutan with essential commodities at controlled prices under a special quota system.

His majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck paid a state visit to India in January 1992 and held discussions, with president, Prime Minister and other senior Ministers of the Government of India on issues of mutual interest. Other visits from Bhutan included the visit of the Bhutanese planning Minister, Minister for trade and industry and Finance Minister. These visits helped to further consolidate the close relations between India and Bhutan. The close economic cooperation has been further intensified during Bhutan's seventh five year plan 1992-97 which was launched in July 1992. Several major projects

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are expected to be taken up by India in Bhutan during this plan period including a large cement plant at Ngangam, an airport terminal building at Paro, Kurichu Hydel project in Eastern Bhutan, hospitals, roads and bridges, transmission lines and sub-stations, etc. The long association of India in the development of Bhutan's power sector was further strengthened in January 1992 with the signing of a memorandum of understanding between India and Bhutan for taking up the detailed project report for the Sankosh Hydel project in Bhutan.\textsuperscript{160}

The warm, close and friendly relations between India and Bhutan were further strengthened during the year 1993. His majesty Shri King Jigme Singye Wangchuck visited India from 4 to 7 January 1993 and the Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, paid a good will visit to Bhutan on 21 and 22 August 1993. Both India and Bhutan resolved to expand, their traditionally strong, warm and cordial ties, Bhutan's seventh five year plan (1992-97) was launched in July 1992. The total Indian assistance for Bhutan's seventh plan would be Rs. 750 crores. Work on several major projects began during the financial year including an air port terminal building at Paro, kurichu Hydel project in Eastern Bhutan.\textsuperscript{161}

During the last fifty years Indo-Bhutan relations have been marked by close friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation. As His Majesty Singye Wangchuck said during a visit to India in 1993, "In modern times our national interests have converged because we share a similar vision of the world". Therefore, it has often been said that Indo-Bhutan relations are marked by a complete absence of problems between the two countries. Again to quote His Majesty the King, "we have demonstrated to the world that a
large and powerful nations like India and a small country like Bhutan can live together as good neighbours in perfect peace and harmony."

During the year 1995, relations with Bhutan, which have traditionally been close and cordial, continued to be marked by deep mutual understanding. Close cooperation in the economic field has been a significant factor in reinforcing intimate bilateral links. Bhutanese Foreign Minister and planning Minister visited India during the year 1995. Two agreements for bilateral development for the Tata Hydroelectric project and the Dungsum cement plant were signed during the visit. India continues to be closely associated with Bhutan’s developmental efforts. Major projects such as hospitals, schools, roads and bridges, transmission lines, rural electrification, survey projects are underway. In September 1995, the Kurichu Project Authority and the National Hydro Electric Power Cooperation Ltd. (NHPC) concluded an agreement on the setting up of Kurichu Hydro Electric Project in Bhutan.162

These sentiments have been reflected in the words of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Indrakumar Gujral who said "wherever I went, I found very warm feelings for India..... India and Bhutan will always be close friends, standing with each other for mutual benefit". Mr. Gujral was speaking to Knensel, Bhutan's national newspaper, during his visit to Thimpu in August 1996 as the Foreign Minister of India, his first visit to a SAARC country after assuming office. Visits at the highest levels in the government at regular intervals have contributed to the strengthening of Indo-Bhutan friendship over the past-fifty years since India emerged as a sovereign Independent country and a champion of the developing world.163
It is most fitting that on the occasion of India's Golden Jubilee of its Independence from the British rule. His majesty the king should extend in the recent 75th session of the National Assembly of Bhutan, a very auspicious Tashi Delek to the President, Prime Minister and the Government and people of India on behalf of the government and the people of Bhutan. His majesty also expressed his hope and prayer for India's continued prosperity and well-being and everlasting peace and happiness for the people of India. His majesty recalled with satisfaction that over the past fifty years, Indo-Bhutan friendship and cooperation had grown from strength to strength and expressed his hope and confidence that the close ties of friendship and understanding between the two governments and peoples would continue to grow and flourish for the mutual benefit of both the countries.

Despite occasional strains in their relationship, Bhutan continues to receive economic aid and guidance on foreign policy from India. Bhutan can be described as an independent state enjoying Indian protection; it is not now truly an Indian protectorate.

INDIA AND MALDIVES

Maldives is a tiny Island situated near Sri Lanka and has a population of 3 lakhs. In 1798, it came under the British rule. It got Independence in 1959, and became a Republic in 1968. For a long time Abdul Gayum has been its President.
India and Maldives have been cordial in their relations. Maldives is the only country in which India had never any problem. A large number of Maldivian students are studying in the Universities and receiving training in higher institutions of learning in India under the Colombo plan. In 1974 the State Bank of India opened a branch in Male and the Indian Airlines started a service to Male in 1975. Earlier, the only air route to Male was via Colombo.

At the invitation of the Prime Minister of Maldives, the Prime Minister of India Late Mrs. Indira Gandhi visited Maldives from January 12 to 14, 1975. During her stay in Maldives, the Prime Minister of India and her party visited the Bandus, tourist resort, the Government Hospital in Male and other places of cultural and historical interest. Both the Prime Ministers discussed a number of subjects of common interest in the international field and they also reviewed in detail their bilateral relations

India was the first country to open a Resident Mission in Male in 1976. The same year, an agreement was signed in December 1976 on delineating maritime boundary agreement along with Maldives and Srilanka, demarcating the respective jurisdiction in the territorial waters on the medium line principles. In 1977 the Indian Airlines collaborated with Air Maldives in launching the country's first air service between Male and Colombo. This agreement was renewed in 1982 for three years. A wrinkle seems to have appeared in Indo-Maldivian friendship in July 1982, when in his Independence day speech President Abdul Gayum said the Minicoy was part of the cultural heritage of the Maldives. In October 26, 1982 President Gayum said he had been misquoted and he and
his country had no claim on India's Minicoy Islands.\textsuperscript{167}

India has provided technical assistance in various spheres, as desired by the Government of Maldives. It has also extended its assistance in the Modernisation of its fishing industry. It has granted scholarships to Maldivians to study in India and has provided help in building schools as well as other activities relating to community development programmes.

An institutional forum to the socio-cultural relations was provided in 1983 when President Gayum visited Delhi and signed a cultural agreement covering the fields of arts, archeology, education, sports, social welfare public health and mass media. Being a free port, the Maldives has been attracting a large number of Indian tourists too.\textsuperscript{168}

With India's special support, Maldives was admitted in the Non-Aligned group in 1976. A member of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Island republic has consistently supported the moves for making the Indian Ocean a Zone of peace. However, the emphasis is on regional cooperation, a member of the SAARC it follows a policy of equi-distance from its neighbours while distancing itself from the great powers. With great powers and strategic calculations, Maldives is maintaining friendly relations with them.\textsuperscript{169}

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi arrived at Hulele Airport on 7th February 1986 on a three-day visit to Maldives. He was received by the President, Mr. Maumoon Abdul Gayum, with whom he had prolonged discussion on bilateral relations and the situation in
the region. In his speech at a Banquet hosted in his honour by President Gayum, Mr. Gandhi warned against the continuing escalation in great power military presence in the Indian Ocean and said that the super power rivalry had threatened 'Our very Independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity'. Mr.Gandhi said prevarication and presumptions on the part of the outside powers about what was in the best interest of the littoral states and stood in the way of convening the conference to give practical effect to the 1971 UN Declaration. President Gayum in his speech laid great emphasis on ensuring that the Indian Ocean remained a Zone of Peace.

Both Mr. Gandhi and President Gayum expressed concern at the current arms race and strongly urged the super powers to double their efforts to end the global military confrontation. Mr.Gayum agreed with Mr.Gandhi that a new framework of international economic relations was of vital importance for developing countries that they may have a more equitable share in the world trade and resources.

The two countries on this occasion signed a five-year Economic and Technical co-operation agreement. The agreement was aimed at boosting economic and commercial relations between the two countries and envisaged the setting up a joint commission to identify specific areas of mutual benefit. The Joint Commission would meet alternately in India and Maldives. Under the agreement, the Joint Commission would discuss any matter pertaining to the implementation of agreements reached between the two countries and would appoint sub-commissions to deal with specific problems brought to it. The agreement was signed by the Indian Finance Minister, Mr V.P.Singh, and the Maldives'
Foreign Minister, Mr. Fathual Jameel, in the presence of the two leaders.

During 1987, the relations between the two countries were further improved. India has carefully nurtured its ties with Male, bearing in mind the tendency of smaller, South Asian countries to suspect New Delhi's motives. Fortunately, on almost all international and regional issues the two countries have similar views. The formation of the South Asian Association for Regional co-operation (SAARC), in which India is the largest country, has bolstered Indo-Maldivian ties.

Early in November, 1988 Indian troops successfully completed their mission of driving out foreign mercenaries and restoring the control of Maldives Republic to the President Mr. Abdul Gayum. Some armed rebels had been captured in a perfect operation which was carried out in tight time - frame work without a single Indian casualty. The Indian troops then helped the Maldivian government in mopping up operations in other Islands at the instance of Mr. Gayum. The troops withdrew when the Maldives President desired such action. The Indian action had the support of both the super powers - The US and the Soviet Union. The Ambassadors and High Commissioners of the SAARC countries were also informed about it. Mr. Abdul Gayums regime was under attack by a group of mercenaries mobilised from the Sinhalese, Tamils and others. In the course of his visit to New Delhi on 7,8 December, 1988, President Gayum thanked India for the timely help rushed to male to save it from the invasion of mercenaries. The relations between the countries strengthened further.
President Gayum paid a two-day visit to India in December 1989. Withdrawal of Indian troops from Maldives was completed on 3 November, 1989. Minister for External Affairs I.K. Gujral later visited the Maldives in January, 1990. Waiving of visa requirement for national of Maldives upto 90 days was also announced. Prime Minister V.P.Singh paid a visit to Maldives in June 1990\textsuperscript{172} and discussed various problems with the President of Male, to resolve the bilateral problems between the two countries.

The existing close and friendly relations between India and Maldives were further consolidated and reinforced by regular consultations and meetings which resulted in a close understanding at the highest level. President Gayum visited India from 18 to 20 August 1991 for consultation on SAARC and bilateral relations. The Minister for External Affairs visited Male on 3 and 4 July 1991 for the SAARC Ministerial Council Meeting\textsuperscript{173}. The second session of Indo-Maldives Joint Commission for Economic and Technical co-operation was held in New Delhi on 2 and 3 March 1992. A cultural Exchange Programme between the two countries for the year 1992-94 was signed in Male on 24 December 1992\textsuperscript{174}.

India's traditionally close and friendly relations with Maldives were further consolidated by high level meeting and consultations during the year 1993. Both the countries looked forward to furthering bilateral cooperation in mutually identified areas during the fourth term of office of president Gayum, to which he was re-elected on the basis of a referendum held in October 1993. The visit of the Foreign Minister of Maldives, Mr. Fathulla Jameel, to India in May 1993, provided a very useful form for discussions.
The Minister of Justice and Islamic Affairs of the Government of Maldives visited New Delhi in October 1993. During this period the Indian Government made vigours efforts to complete the Indira Gandhi Memorial Hospital at Male, which is a major landmark of India and Maldives friendship and co-operation.\textsuperscript{175}

The Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narasimha Rao was on a two-day state visit to Maldives on April 15-16, 1995. He inaugurated the 225 bed modern Indira Gandhi Memorial Hospital which had been gifted to Maldives by the Indian Government. The Indian and the Maldives leaders decided to have a meeting of the Bilateral Joint Commission for Cooperation in identified areas. The Maldives leader expressed satisfaction over the technical and defence assistance extended by India.\textsuperscript{176} And also both the sides agreed to take steps to develop trade relations further and cooperate in the field of tourism. Hence, India's relations with Maldives have been friendly and cordial.

In view of the above discussion it may be said that India has been playing an active role in the promotion of functioning of South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation from its inception. Any discussion on regionalism in South Asia is bound to be centered on India which is the core part of the region. The primacy of the Indian factor has been responsible for an inhibited response from the other members to evolve a meaningful regional co-operative system. Almost all states barring perhaps Bhutan and Maldives, have articulated such fears and apprehensions. From the point of view of India, any deliberate efforts to cut down her destined role and position sounds both illogical and unnatural. Firstly, it is bound to be unacceptable to a section of the political elites who
visualise for India big and self-confident role in global politics and regional affairs.

Therefore, India should try to develop a convergent policy leading to regional integration which however would have to be preceded by internal integration within the region that the issues of war and peace and problems of underdevelopment in the region can be tackled by India plays a positive role with circumspection and caution and forges co-operative relations with her neighbours.
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