Chapter - 4

Security Maintenance in the SAARC Member Countries
The shrinking of our world has paradoxically broadened the perceptual parameters of the term Security. Security is the predominant concern of very nation which generally implies territorial integrity, stability of the government and realization of other national and international interests and safe-guarding of the life and property of their citizens from any threat external or internal which can damage their national core values. There are many threats to the security of nation, which come in diverse ways and forms, varying in range and intensity of violence and pose risk to the security in diversified manner. It has come to be realized that the manifold dimensions of security demand a more cooperative approach to tackle the threat.

There are several views on the security of South Asia. But these views differ from state to state keeping in view their domestic policies and geo-political locations. This is particularly true for the periphery states. While India, as a core state, is inclined to evolve a security frame work is regional terms, the periphery states tend to be guided by intra-regional rivalries leading to trans-regional linkages. Pakistan’s security frame work is conditioned by its rivalry towards India and by the Afghan problems. Nepal and Bhutan have the problems of weak buffer states sandwiched between India and China and linked traditionally to the dominant regional powers in South Asia. Bangladesh almost surrounded by India, is faced with a different set of propositions. Sri Lanka and the Maldives are islands republics whose
Orientations are bound to be governed not only by their status as South Asian states, but also by the Great Power Policies in the Indian Ocean.

As the national security of SAARC countries is concerned, it is more complicated because of their border disputes, inter-state conflicts, terrorism and secessionist movement (aided and abetted by outsiders) problems, ethnic violences as well as potential of nuclear capability in the region.

Except border disputes between India and Pakistan, the terrorism and secessionist movements have threatened the national security of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. These are as such: the problem of Punjab, Kashmir and North East Insurgency in India; Tamil problems in Sri Lanka; the Chakmas in Bangladesh; Baluchi, Sindhis, Mohajir in Pakistan. All these problems are fast assuming grave dimensions, so there is need to take serious steps by the responsive state governments.

Combating Terrorism:

The state which usually in the threat of terrorist act, responds to terrorism in various ways. The primary objective of such response is to protect the lives, properties, the socio economy and political structures, values and institutions which are often at jeopardy because
of terrorist attacks.\footnote{Delwar Hossain, Combating Terrorism, "Blis Journal", Vol. 15, No. 3, 1994, P. 283.}

In the contemporary international order, the nation-state-building, which is a source of binding to nations together, is facing a major challenge in the form of terrorist activities. This is because discrimination and deprivation of minorities in the state. It is clear that in containing such problems the governments must address the issues that account for the grievances as such. So to tackle terrorism problems a government should consider economic, social and political issues along with security.

Chakma Problem: The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) constitutes the largest tribal region of Bangladesh was in the midst of undeclared war between Chakma terrorists and state authority. It was created due to government's rejections of the demands for regional autonomy as well as separate home land for the CHT’s people. Initially it was suggested to them to forget their separate identity and become Bangalees\footnote{Amena Mohsin and Bhmitra Chakma, "The Myth of Nation Building and Security of Bangladesh, The Case of CNT", Paper Presented at a Seminar at BLISS, Aug. 1992, P. 18.} and subsequently government adopted a military option for combating terrorism conducted by the Shanti Bahini, a military and guerrilla, wing of the regional political organization the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity (PCJSS). And for the last eighteen years the successive governments as a part of counter terrorist operations, deployed three brigades of 24th Infantry
Division of Bangladesh Army with support of Bangladesh Rifles (BDR), Armed Police Battalion and Armed Ansar Battalion in the region of CHT³. Between 1980 to Dec. 1991, 952, non-tribal and 188 tribal civilian people were killed as a consequence of violence⁴. Although at several times the government of Bangladesh initiated political dialogue and undertook different development programmes like CHT Development Board, the special Five Year Plan for CHT and the creation of local District councils etc. but major progress towards the solution of problem could be achieved. The installation of democratic form of government in Bangladesh has opened new hope and recent developments demonstrate the viability of the non-coercive measures in resolving the CHT issue.

The government has put special emphasis on political methods for resolving the problem of terrorism in the region, with the support of all apposition parties such as, Awami league, Jatiya Party and Jamaat. The recently established Parliamentary Committee on the CHT held several rounds of peace talks with the PCJSS delegations led by Jotindra Bodi Priya Larma a fire brand Shanti Bahini activist⁵. These resulted in the signing of tripartite agreement on the repatriation of Chakma refugees from India:

Repatriation of the Bangladeshi tribal refugees from India began in a phased manner marks an end to their eight years in exile. The first batch of refugees left Sabroom in South Tripura to return to their home land via Ramagarh in Bangladesh. The successful completion of repatriation has not only opened the prospect of resolution of refugees problem with India but also indicated how a complex problem with terrorist manifestations can be resolved through the political negotiation rather than military option.

The Tamil problem in Sri Lanka:

The Tamils in Sri Lanka have been degraded and humiliated during the past three decades. Discriminatory laws deprived them from jobs and business opportunities. Reacting angrily to the oppressive measures adopted against them, the Tamil Tigers started a violent campaign for an independent homeland called Tamil Eelam in the northern and eastern part of the country. It has been manifested in ethnic violence between the Tamil and Singhalese turning into a civil war between the Tamil militant organization LTTE and Sri Lankan force.

In July, 1986, President Jayewardene proposed a formula for resolving the ethnic crisis—a three-tier structure of local government. A boundary commission was also proposed. But his effort could not succeed because of the persistent violence in the north eastern region.

Then President Jayewardene sought help from India to
fight LTTE, and on July 27, 1987, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and President Jayewardene signed a peace accord in a bid to end the ethnic conflict. The IPKF was constituted to ensure implementation of the accord.

But the accord misfired. The militants indulged in large scale violence and reprisal killings. And after the withdrawal of IPKF the fighting broke out between the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE. Mr. Premadasa has shown greater willingness than any of his predecessors to reach an agreement with the Tamils. He had set a Parliamentary Committee evolve a peace package, but Tamil separatists continued their activities.

In August 1994, the People Alliance Party (PAP) formed the government and put serious emphasis on resolving this crisis. Prime Minister Chandrika Kumaratunga announced a partial lifting of the economic blockade on the war bound Northern Province of Sri Lanka in the first ever peace move since a ten days cease-fire in January 1991.

Following up on her offer of the "hand of friendship" to the LTTE, Mrs. Kumaratunga said, "The people of North have been badly affected by the embargo. The Government wishes to assure the people that it intends to remove, as far as possible, hardships caused to the normal continuation of their daily life. Our government in its quest for a suitable political solution and in its efforts to end the war that has had disastrous results on the life of the
people and on the economy, would do all that is necessary to rebuild confidence and trust between the government and the Tamil people. While on the other side the LTTE supremo Prabhakaran demanded that the government hold an inquiry into the beheading of an LTTE leader Mai 11 and lift the embargo and open a safe land route through Sangupiddy.

Thus the latest peace move offers the best chance for peace in Sri Lanka since the ethnic problem blew up in 1983. Moreover, the timing is fortuitous. Prabhakaran realizes that the Tamils are weary of deprivation and war. Militarily the stalemate continues and in recent months it is the Sri Lankan Army which has claimed more successes than the LTTE. Finally Kumaratunga's move in partially lifting the economic embargo in Jaffna within days of her swearing has given the indication that she is serious about solving the ethnic problem, unlike her three predecessors. The Tiger's official response calling for unconditional talks has been equally heartening.

Kashmir Issue: J & K is the most terrorist affected state in India. Recently the government of India has taken certain significant steps in tackling the militancy problems in Kashmir. First is the release of the three prominent leaders, Mr. Shabir Shah of the people's league, Syed Ali

Shah Geelani of the Jammati-e-islami and Mr. Abdul Gani lone of the people's conference, is a new hope that the long delayed political process in the state will receive and added impetus in the coming months. This is a significant development and a distinct gain for those who have been urging that a political dialogue should be set in motion with a view to speeding up the electoral process in the state.

In September 1994 the State Government issued a notification asking the delimitation commission to commence its work.

Operation Shanti: Coordinated operations against the militants by the Army and the Rashtriya Rifles have helped restoring normalcy in the troubled Doda district. This welcome change came after a troubled period which witnessed a number of curfew, heavy casualties among security forces, looting and killing and migration of a number of families to neighboring Himachal Pradesh.

The various operations launched by the Army under the code name Operation Shanti as part of a three Pronged strategy under which militants were cornered from the Anantnag district in the Kashmir valley, which adjoins Doda and Sarthal in Jammu and from the lower hills of Doda. The militants found themselves in a hopeless situation and were now on the run.
Development Package: Besides taking political measures, the centre has also worked out an economic package and planned administrative changes in J & K to bring back the state to normality.

The centre has also approved Rs. 750 crores for the state from the planned funds and Rs. 200 crores more are expected to be cleared soon primarily to fund infrastructural projects like the building of roads, bridges, schools and expedite power projects.

A committee of secretaries and other senior officers of the central government headed by the cabinet secretary has been visiting the state from time to time to make an assessment of the law and order situation and oversee developmental works there.

The centre has cleared the state government's proposal to allow horticulture in private lands for which liberal loans would be provided under the employment assurance scheme.

On Feb. 22, 1994, both Houses of Parliament unanimously adopted a resolution that the state of J & K is, and shall remain, an integral part of India and reiterated the Indian peoples resolve to resist any attempts at separating it from the rest of the country. It called upon Pakistan to vacate the areas of the state it had occupied through aggressions. It noted with concern Pakistan imparting of training to terrorists in camps in Pakistan and POK, and its supply of
and assistance in infiltration of trained militants in order to create disorder and disharmony. The resolution pointed out that India had the necessary will and capacity to counter efforts aimed at attacking its Unity Sovereignty and territorial integrity.

North East Insurgency Problems:

The whole parts of north-east are under the separatist threat. The first political dissidence movement came from Naga Hills people in 1956. After that similar demand came from Mizos in 1964, Manipur in the mid-Seventies and since Eighties Assam under the drive provided by ULFA & Bodo. The insurgency turmoil has taken hold in Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura also. The insurgency problem in north-east is caused of political, social and economic deprivation and ethnic identity. At the initial stage of insurgency the political, administrative and military authorities could not deal effectively.

The Army and other PMF were deployed a number of times for counter insurgency and anti terrorist operations. In Assam the Army carried out operations "Bajrang" and "Rhino". To tackle insurgency the Army used a number of division (during Rhino) to break ULFA networks on the ground. The major improvement during Rhino was better intelligence, improve civil military interface and overall command and control, with stress on psychological warfare operations.
To tackle the insurgency problem and to bring the alienated societies into national mainstream the militaristic solution is not only sufficient but the government should have to follow the policy to solve the socio-economic and political problems which are the root causes of insurgency. This would include:

1. Establishment of covert contact with insurgent groups by control intelligence agencies with a view to:
   a) soften extant inimical attitudes,
   b) Establish reliable lines of communications for the initiation of a dialogue at the appropriate time,
   c) split the insurgency into manageable proportions for effective neutralization through application of minimum force.

2. Launch a concerted drive to generate a modern infrastructure to enhance the quality of life in keeping with standards achieved in other more developed parts of India.

This should include:
   a) Development of Surface communication to the remotest parts.
   b) Provision of modern medical facilities
   c) electrification to reach out to every village.
   d) A comprehensive network of educational facilities to create a society with the capacity to provide its own
3. Introduction of a comprehensive economic and industrial package, that would contribute directly to the growth of the region.

4. Well before the counter insurgency operations are put into action, the government must draw up a pragmatic and gain full rehabilitation programme, for the misguided insurgents, those are neutralized by the Army.

In January 1994, the intelligence coordination network setup in the North Eastern region has gradually begun pay dividends with the law enforcement agencies now in a position to often pre-empt the tactical moves of underground insurgent organizations.

In Meghalaya, the intelligence techniques have got maximum success with the dreaded Achik Liberation Matgrik Army (ALMA) completely devastated and compelled them to surrender.

Similarly, another underground organization, the Hynniewtrep Achik Liberation Council (HALC), operating in the Khasi Hills has been on the run with nine of it’s hard core leaders in police custody under TADA.

In the beginning of 1995, a high level meeting of all

heads of police of the seven North Eastern state was held, to formulate an action plan to tackle various problems including insurgency facing the region.

Director General of Tripura Police B.J.K., Thampi said that besides the ongoing insurgency problems in the region the modernization of state police forces close coordination among the police of the N-E states, supply or related information, problem of security personnel, preparations of backgrounds for a specific information about various under ground militant out fits has thoroughly discussed in the meeting.

A senior Union Home Ministry official said that considering the growing support being received by various rebel outfits of the N-E region from across the border, the centre had taken special initiatives with the Bangladesh, Myanmar and Nepal Governments to impress upon them India's serious concern and to obtain their cooperation.

Bodo Accord: Both the Assam Government and All Bodo students Union reached on agreement table and in February 1993, an accord was signed. The objective of the Bodo accord has been stated as the provision of maximum autonomy to the Bodos with the framework of the constitution. A

Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) is contemplated consisting of 40 members of 35 are to be elected. It has given powers to make laws, rules and orders for application within the BAC area on 38 subjects.

But the government cannot be a foolproof guarantee for peace in Assam. As the problems of outsiders and grievances of the Assamese people are not solved. The recent massacre of Bengali speaking Muslim in Barpeta by the Bodo militant has again alarmed the sensitivity of ethnic problem.

For decades, the centre has struggled to evolve a strategy for the entire region. Its knee-jerk reaction is not limited to Bodo militancy but can be seen in every major conflict that has racked this lush green land, generously endowed by nature, watered by powerful rivers, home to hills and plains, jungle and fertile farms and sanctuary to dozen linguistic and ethnic groups.

Pakistan Crisis:

At present Pakistan is in the midst of intra-regional and inter-sectarian conflict, that is because of discrimination and non-fulfilment of their long standing demands.

Despite prolonged military operations in Sindh, the agitation by the Sindhis as well as the Muhajir Quom movement (MQM), has not abated. Clashes between Shia and Sunni organizations continue with increasing severity and
the tribals in NWFP are in ferment because their political and economic aspirations have not been met.

As in the Baluchistan the intense perceptions of repression and deprivation and desire to assert their political and economic rights led to revolt against the centre. So there is need to try and incorporate the Baluchis into the national mainstream. Schemes should have devised for improving the economic social and cultural levels of the people. There is need to be made feel master of their natural resources.

Now a days Karachi has become the killing fields of Pakistan. Ethnic violence has reached the proportion of a civil war.

With the gang war and killings between two ethnic factions continuing in Karachi, the Benazir government has intensified efforts at dialogue with MQM to restore peace in Pakistan's biggest port city.

Since the withdrawal of troops from Sindh in October 1994 over 2000 people have been killed in the violence the army launched a cleanup operation in Sindh province on June 19, 1992 to eliminate dacoits, saboteurs and terrorists.

Ms. Bhutto has entrusted the job of holding negotiations with the MQM which represents the interests of the Mohajirs.
But MQM's Farooq Sattar, who is leader of the opposition in the Sindh Assembly suggests, "contact between the highest leadership of both parties is essential for the success of dialogue".  

Mr. Altaf Hussain the founder of MQM blamed Benazir government and Army for large scale violence in Sindh. He said, since the Army is against the Muhajirs no political leaders, Ms. Bhutto and Mr. Sharif if included dare sympathize with them. He demanded that injustices could be removed, to some extent if the Muhajirs were given a separate province.  

Ms. Bhutto has imposed emergency to control violence and order to take vigorous action against the culprits, even though the violence is not stopped. And now the impartial democratic government and devolution of real political and administrative power will take. Pakistan back from the brink of fissiparous tendencies and turmoil.  

As the question of maintenance of regional security in South Asia is concerned. We have to go through several different ways to explain that objective. These are as follows:  

1. He gemonics & Deterrence  
2. Nuclear weapons Free Zone or Denuclearizations.  

10. Ibid.
3. Confidence Building Measures.
4. Economic & Trade Cooperations.
5. Social Development,
6. Regional Cooperation.

1. Hegemonic and Deterrence:

In every regional system, there may be two sorts of hegemons: one powerful outside states and powerful regional states. Both have the capacity to impose peace by the deployment of superior capabilities. It may rest on military or economic capabilities or both of them.

South Asia, with its geopolitical and strategical location, attracted outsiders big powers to involve in the regional affairs. Britain, U.S.A., Soviet Union & others have from time to time, intervened in regional affairs. More or less, all have attempted to bring primarily India and Pakistan together to avert polarization and war in the sub continent. But their attempts were geo-political motivated. Since 1947, the extra-regional powers were involved continuously to bring their type of peace to the region. Britain and USA from 1948-63, the Soviet Union from 1964, 1969, Iran from 1969-79 and US since 1980. Britain as an influential member of European community and USA with its

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military and economic superiority have had greater involvement in the region. The Soviet Union and China possessed the military attributes of a hegemon although their economic and discursive power was limited. But from 1947 to 1989, no one was in a position to play hegemonistic role in South Asia due to their cold War rivalry. But after the end of cold war and the collapse of Soviet Union its major successor, the Russian Federation, is surrounded by enormous internal political, economic and social problems which prevent her to play an active role in any other region except the Balkans. The US with its military, economic and political superiority remain the only super power. The US may be overextending itself, but it is to use Joseph. Nye's nicely ambiguous phrase, "bound to lead". However China is already a quasi-superpower in Asia, and no region in this continent can escape the shadow of Chinese military power.

The US claims to desire peace and stability in South Asia because it is anxious to stop if not roll back nuclear proliferation worldwide. It finds that Indo-Pak conflict on the Kashmir issue could lead to war and even escalate to nuclear war. As Washington observed that the Indo-Pak crisis of 1987 and 1990 could have turned into nuclear war.

12. Stephen Clarkson shows how even at the height of its involvement with India, the Soviet Union had little intellectual impact on Indians. See, his "The low impact of Soviet Writing and Aid on Indian Thinking and Policy", Survey 20 (Writer 1974), PP. 1-23.
They have pressed forward US diplomacy to do something about proliferation and on Kashmir "dispute which they find as the primary cause of tension."

The principal deputy assistant secretary of state for South Asian affairs under Clinton administration, Mr. John Malott has said "In the aftermath of the cold-war as far as South Asia is concerned, the Clinton administration has the following objectives: achieving regional stability and nuclear non-proliferations, promoting democracy and respect for human rights, encouraging economic reform and obtaining greater access for US trade and investment, countering terrorism and narcotics, preserving unhampered maritime and naval transit rights and addressing global issues such as population growth, AIDS, refugees and environment, "And the primary interest of the Clinton administrations is to reduce tensions and prevent a war between India and Pakistan. As the Kashmir dispute is concerned, the US position governs with three basic principles. First, the US considers all of Kashmir to be disputed territory on both sides of the line of control. Second, the issue should be settled peacefully between India and Pakistan. Third the United States is prepared to be helpful in this process.

14. Seymour Hersh, "On the Nuclear Edge ", The New Yorker, 29, March 1993, for the View that the nuclear dimension of the crisis and the prospect of war has been exaggerated by Hersh and the authors of critical Mass. See C. Raga Mohan "Claims on 1990 crisis Disputed." The Hindu, I 18 Feb., 1994, which cities various US Policy makers in and outside the region to this effect.
16. Ibid.
Ms. Lynn & Davis, US undersecretary of state for Arms control and International Security Affairs has said: "We are embarked on a step by step approach to cap, reduce and then eliminate from South Asia weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile delivery system." She further urged India and Pakistan to commit: 1) to a no first deployment pledge or ballistic missiles, 2) Not to produce fissile materials for nuclear weapons, as a step towards the global fissile material cutoff convention, and 3) Not to test a nuclear device in advance of a CTB comprehensive test ban treaty. She also explained that, both India and Pakistan could quickly assemble a small number of nuclear weapons and each is acquiring ring or delivering weapons of mass destruction to the other's population centre. While both have fought three times and future conflict risks quickly escalating into nuclear war.

Recently US under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff also made clear that the Clinton administration will continue its non-proliferation goal with India and Pakistan.

Beijing's stand on various regional quo conflicts such as Kashmir and on India's internal problems especially in

18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
China's interest in peace is related to its border and bigger ambition to become the third or forth largest economic power. For this it has become necessary to reduce tensions in and around its borders. Therefore, Beijing has engaged India in a process of confidence building including force reductions along the border.

As the hegemonic status is concerned, it can bring peace in three ways; It may through, superior power demand peace, with the threat ultimately that economic and military power can be applied to achieve goal, or they may promise to underwrite a peace by economic and other rewards. One more view is that it is the power to make and enforce. The "rules of the game". Which encourages or constrain certain types of behaviour. The ultimate threat may be the threat of economic sanctions or denial and military coercion.

It is doubtful that both US and China will combine to put military or economic pressure on South Asian countries. Because they have a parallel interest in a peaceful, stable

21. Diplomatic relations between India and China were relaxed in 1976 and both countries resumed trade relation. Indian Foreign Minister Bajpayee visited Beining which led to the reopening of border talks and in June 1980 Beijing declared Kashmir to be a bilateral problem between India & Pak. See Rosemary Foot the Sino-Soviet complex and South Asia, in bary Buzan, Gevner Rizvi, Rizvi, Rosemary Foot and Nancy Jetly South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers (London Macmillan 1986).

South Asia, but they are differed on nuclear proliferations issue. The US is against, proliferation. It opposes the spread of nuclear weapons and missiles. It finds proliferation as a powerful device of destabilisation in the region. No doubt China has signed the NPT but remains soft on proliferation, arguing that while it opposes the spread of weapons of mass destruction, states must too go according to their security needs. Thus China by adopting this policy of continues nuclear exercise and also helping Pakistan's nuclear and missiles programmes.

At present China is in a process of becoming a first rank global power, so it is not at hegemonically placed in relations to South Asia. Since a long time China has been a Pakistani ally and has a substantial arms relationship with Islamabad. On the other side its relations with India are improving and both the two countries have instituted a confidence building measures (CBM) process, have started serious talks on border dispute and troop reductions along the border, and have liberalized border trade and opened their border for trade. China has reassured India on Kashmir and India continues to reassure China on Tibet\(^{23}\). By giving its diplomatic friendship and arms relationship with Pakistan, improved rations with India, and the wish for

a peaceful and stable South Asia, Beijing desires to play a role in moderating Islamabad's stand on various India-Pakistan issues.

Recently Chinese President Jiang Zeemin, during his talks with Pakistani President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, favoured the establishment of nuclear weapon freezone in South Asia and supported efforts to promoted South Asian regional cooperation. Being a close neighbour of the South Asian nations, China supported such efforts and it wanted the region to "maintain peace, stability and development". As the economic factors were getting much importance in international relation and hence, promoting "detente and seeking development" are becoming the world's mainstream trends. Therefore, China hoped as he said, the countries in the region would on the basis of the five principles of coexistence develop good neighbourly nations for common progress.

But the US dominance in the world politics restrains China to play a modest role in South Asia. US does not want to give-up its leadership in South Asia to China, which is the greatest threat to the US power in the 21st Century.

Recently, US diplomats John Mallott and Robin Raphel have announced that the primary interest of the Clinton administration is......
administration in South Asia is to reduce tensions and prevent a war between India and Pakistan. It is a part of Washington's effort to move back to what it finds as a more balanced and more mediatory position between India and Pakistan. In addition the US has offered to peace itself in resolving the Kashmir dispute, and clarified that any India-Pakistan agreement on Kashmir should take into account Kashmiri opinion. But US has taken tough step on non-proliferation issue. It imposed economic sanction on India (1970-82) and Pakistan (1979-80) for their refusal to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). Again in 1990 Pakistan came in to grip of US sanction under Pressler Act, because of Pakistan's Nuclear Programme. In 1992, US imposed sanctions for two years against Indian Space Research Organization (ISROS) and Russian Space Agency Glavkosmos on Cryogenic rocket technical deal and put pressure on India not to deploy the short range Prithvi missile and also stop all further development of the medium range Agni missile. US also took the lead in urging other Western powers to call on India to give up its missile programme. All these efforts of the US may bring peace and stability in South Asia, but it depend on India and Pakistan how they response.

Other than extra regional powers, India's Hegemonous

Power Position inside South Asia also determine a Peace &
security in S. Asia. This predominant position is due to
its size, population, natural resources, military capability
and geo-political location and economic power determined
peace and security in South Asia. With respect of the
smaller states in South Asia, India enjoys a militarily and
economically hegemonic position. Over the years many
disputes have irked their relations but India and other
smaller states have not resort to war. Undoubtedly Indian
military and economic power is so vastly superior to the
power of any combinations of smaller states in South Asia
that no one is in a position to confront New Delhi for long.

Other than military and economic power India has
partially succeeded in articulating a vision of its role
which was accepted by the smaller states, that is Nehru's
non-alignment and Panchsheel bigger than a purely regional
dominance. Besides these two policies India has been more
successful in its insistence on bilateralism. It is
bilateralism that has prevented a gang up of smaller states
against India and has limited the intervention of outsiders
in regional affairs. New Delhi has a series of agreement
and treaties with Bangladesh, Bhutan Nepal, Pakistan Sri
Lanka and Maldives. There are two types of treaties and
agreements relating to specific issues e.g. trade, transit,
migrants, territory and borders and general purpose
agreement are to seek to regulate the nature of the overall
relationship e.g. the Indian Bangladesh treaty of 1972, the
India-Bhutan security treaty of 1949, the India - Nepal treaty of 1950. The India-Pakistan Tashkent and Simla agreements of 1966 and 1972 respectively and the India Sri Lanka accord 1987 etc.\textsuperscript{28}.

Naturally India's predominance and occasional manifestation of its strength, even though at the concerned countries, request have aroused suspicions and prompted criticism as well as cynical comments.

Some knowledgeable and experienced observers of the international scene hold the view that India is bound to play a bigger international role in the years to come. Dr. Henry Kissinger said on September 12, 1988, that "India will assume over the next decade some of the security functions now exercised" by Washington in Asia. He feels that India will seek to be the strongest country in the sub-continent and will attempt to prevent the emergence of any other major power in Indian Ocean or South East Asia\textsuperscript{29}.

Deterrent Peace:

Deterrence also has become an instrument in maintenance of peace and security. After the second world war, nuclear deterrence played a major role in restraining

\textsuperscript{29} "A Memo to the next (US) President", News Week Sep-Oct. 1992.
both the two super powers from resorting to war. Although India’s relations with its smaller neighbours are called hegemonic, the relationship with Pakistan is closer to the deterrence. Since 1971, both the two sides have maintained an uneasy deterrent peace. With the nuclearisation of the sub-continent, South Asia is moving toward a deterrent system based on conventional and nuclear threats. As deterrence is not in a position to bring stability in South Asia, so India and Pakistan need to incorporate confidence building measures (CBM) and arms control into their military relationship.

Glenn Synder has declared that deterrence works through denial and punishments: One can deter by convincing a potential attacker that one has the will and means to deny it a tangible military objective, and one can deter by convincing a potential attacker that one has the will and the means to impose unacceptable levels of punishment.\(^{30}\)

In the case of India Pakistan, deterrence has operated at the conventional level and turning towards the nuclear level. At the conventional level, both countries have opted for a combination of denial and punishment. Both have built up various forms of static defence along the border breaking

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through and gaining territory or turning towards key nerve centres. But since 1971, they have attempted to refine "offensive defence" posture's which are postures of punishment.

At the nuclear level several different option are adopted in India, one can identity the following: 1) "All horizon Strategy", this involves an ambitious programme geared eventually to face all types of threats nuclear but also conventional from far and near rivals. 2) Minimum deterrence it does not hick the possession of nuclear weapons, but it advertises their availability, and both two countries have declared their nuclear potential. 3) Short order-weaponisation, recessed deterrence and nuclear increamentatism. In general there may be non-weaponised deterrence. A Non - weaponised posture is one in which the components of a deliverable weapon have been or are near to being assembled with the confidence that when device is fully assembled it will reach to target. These postures may or may not require any test, computer stimulated testing may

32. George Perkovitch's article "A Nuclear Third Way?" Foreign Policy, Fall 1993, on short order weaponization, Jasjit Singh, Director IDSA, New Delhi, is the author of the nation of recessed deterrence", Manoj Joshi of the Times of India has referred to India's missile and nuclear tests as technology demonstrators, "Joshi seems to suggest that an incrementalist programmes consists of progressively ordered demonstrations of technological cometen may be enough to deter.
Mr. Nawaz Sharif’s statement regarding Pakistan’s nuclear capability have confirmed, the reality what India had been trying to convince the world. When Pakistan has already acquired the nuclear capability, it nuclear programme in future could be used in alliance with other nuclear power. The strategic land scape is continued to change in Central Asia, but one can see Iranian Pakistani, Chinese strategic cooperation. This could include a Nuclear Kazakhstan that would in effect surround India-Pakistan would feel more secure about its position via-a-vis India and both China and Pakistan would benefit from the attendant change in South Asian Balance of Power.

At this juncture the only nuclear weapon acquisition remains an option for India to deter nuclear weapons for both national security and regional stability.

But the transparent nuclear environment in South Asia has developed consciousness for a dialogue on confidence building measures (CBM) and arms control as a means to stabilize mutual nuclear postures. CBMs and arms control are a means of stabilizing deterrence and they can confirm that capabilities are tried to deterrence postures and not to

33. The key questions regarding short order weaponisation for deterrences are how quickly should one be able to go from an unassembled to an assembled, deliverable weapon, how many of these should a country posses, what targets will they threaten counter value or counter force (convention or nuclear weapons), where should be different components be stored in dispersed locations or not, who will be them in in shalter situations.
first strike postures and they can outlaw practices, deployments and systems which may be seen as aggressive rather than defensive; they can help define each side’s provocability and commitment, and if deterrence is likely to fail, they can provide structure for crisis management.

South Asia is in process of CBM India and Pakistan have agreed to various measures. But they have yet to start a serious arms control process. It is necessary for both two countries at the conventional and nuclear level and in respect of the nuclear, both have to turn away from ambiguity to overtones. But, it is not so easy a process, because of some problems. First, some conventional arms control measures, such as force level and deployments are linked to internal security requirements. Second, India’s concerns regarding Chinese conventional and nuclear capability will have to be accommodated. Even in spite of these problems if India and Pakistan reach to stable mutual deterrence at the strategic levels based on conventional and nuclear weapons, there remain the problems of deterrence at the sub-strategic level.

The Asia-Society reported that, "Politically a non-weaponised deterrence regime has something for everyone. It

allows New Delhi and Islamabad to maintain the same levels of mutual deterrence they enjoy today. It does not force two reluctant governments to reverse their nuclear programmes or sign the NPT, both of which are politically risky propositions under present circumstances. For Washington's a non-weaponised deterrence regime would achieve the Clinton Administration's goal of capping India's and Pakistan's nuclear capabilities.37.

Non-Nuclearisation in South Asia

The threat and dangers inherent in the very existence of nuclear weapons are universally recognized. Therefore, it is need of a rational approach towards ensuring the survival and prosperity of mankind by seeking both denuclearization, where nuclear weapons and associated infrastructure already exist, and non-nuclearization of the regions and areas where they have not spread so far. In both of them, non-nuclearization would be a more easily attainable objective than denuclearization as historical fact is that de-militarisation is more difficult to achieve than non-militarisation. Non-nuclearization has been sought by individuals and states, through three types of mechanism (i) Voluntary renunciation by individual states (ii) establishment of nuclear weapon free zones (NWFZ) and (iii)

the Treaty of non-proliferation of Nuclear weapons (NPT).

As the matter of non-nuclearization in South Asia is concerned, India constitutes the solitary example of a state which has voluntarily abstained from acquiring nuclear weapons inspite of demonstrated capability do so. It is really an only viable approaches to resolve the conflicting and contradictory demands of sovereignty and national power (with nuclear weapons representing absolute power) on one side and threat posed by nuclear weapons to the very survival of the human race on the other.

The second approach to non-nuclearization has been through regional measures of nuclear weapon free zone. The predominant factor leading to the development of interest is the concept of nuclear weapon freezones (NWFZ). There has been a complete absence of nuclear Weapons from various areas of the globe where suitable condition exist for the creation of such zones to spurt the nations concerned from the threat of nuclear attack or involvement in the nuclear war, to make a positive contribution towards general and complete disarmament and thereby to strengthen international peace and security.

In South Asia the proposal for Nuclear Weapons Free Zone was first proposed by Pakistan, especially just after

38. UN comprehensive study of the Questions of NWFZs in all its Aspects (New York, 1976), P. 29.
India's nuclear expulsion in May 1974. Pakistanis proposal came up before the 29th Session of UN General Assembly. In its explanatory memorandum Pakistan stressed the urgency and need for establishing a NWFZ in South Asia. Pakistan pleaded that since all the countries of South Asia had already proclaimed their opposition to the acquisition of nuclear weapons or to the introduction of such weapons into the region, this common denominator could form the basis of an agreement to establish a NWFZ in South Asia. Pakistan considers this proposal as complementary to Indian Ocean Peace Zone proposal. This signifies the assumptions that with withdrawal of naval forces of the super powers would not make the Indian ocean a peace zone as this would also require regional detente, denunciation of nuclear weapons by the Indian ocean states and mutual and balanced force reduction among the key regional states.

During the discussion in the general Assembly on 27th of Sept. 1974 the Pakistani delegate Mr. Ahmad said; "Other countries of South Asia have also proclaimed their opposition to the introduction of nuclear weapons in to the region or their acquisition.... Pakistan feels that this common desire of all states of South Asia needs to be translated into a formal arrangement. We are confident that all members of the UN that desire to promote a climate of

peace in South Asia and all those that like as feel concerned at the prospect of nuclear proliferation will welcome, the proposal to declare, the South Asian region as nuclear free zone. Before and after the nuclear explosion of 1974, India constantly proclaimed that it would use nuclear energy only for peace full purpose. Mr. Jaipal on Indian representative in discussion said on NWFZ issue. "..... any proposal to establish a NWFZ in any part of the world is an important question as it would engage the vital interests of all the countries in the zone. It would have been natural, therefore, for the countries in the proposed zone, first to discuss among themselves the necessity for NWFZ, this has not happened".  

India further asserted that it would be undesirable for the General Assembly to declare a particular area in the world a nuclear free zone without the prior agreement of the countries in the area. While regarding India's views on NWFZ Mr. Jaipal again said, "We have supported the establishment of such zones only when the states within the zone have agreed among themselves and where suitable conditions exist for their establishment.  

The Indian view is that South Asia is only a subregion and an integral part of the region of Asia and the Pacific,  

42. Ibid.  
43. Ibid.
so it is necessary to take into account the security environment of the region as a whole. No doubt India supported the idea of NWFZ, but with some reservation. It stated that suitable conditions should exist in the region and all the countries should adhere to it. In India's view, the South Asian countries are surrounded by the nuclear weapon states or countries belonging to their alliance. The existence of nuclear weapons in the region of Asia and the Pacific and presence of foreign military bases in the Indian ocean have complicated the security environment of the whole region. In this situation the establishment of NWFZ in the sub region of South Asia is in appropriate. India, again reaffirm its stand that the whole world should be free of nuclear weapons. Subregionalisation would not only be in consistent with the global approach to the question but would also change it from a universal to a subregional or regional concept.

In June, 1990, Pakistan again proposed for five nations conference on NWFZ in South Asia. This proposal had been given high priority by the then US President Mr. George Bush. Besides India and Pakistan, the US wanted to involve Russia and China in an effort to find a regional settlement. India maintained its position on nuclear non-

44. UN Comprehensive Study in NWFZs, op.cit., PP. 28.
45. Tiwari, H.D. op.cit. PP.110.
proliferation, P.M. P.V. Narasimha Rao said, that "this sensitive issue could not be discussed in a vacuum. He argued Mr. Bush to take up the issue in a larger world perspective, Rao made it clear that the Pak's proposal was inadequate since India shared a border with China which has nuclear weapons. So at this juncture the whole idea of a nuclear weapon free zone in South Asia has become meaningless after the Pakistan's confirmation that she does possess all essential components of the nuclear bomb which it can assemble in a moment.

Pakistan has used nuclear ambiguity to its fullest advantage. China already is having nuclear weapons, so in this context of mistrust and uncertainty a nuclear weapons Free zone will be a misnomer in South Asia. 

Thus, the problem of non proliferation has to be solved outside the spheres of NWFZ and NPT. An alternative has to be searched with the consensus of all the countries in the region and other nuclear weapons states to attain non-proliferation. Any voluntary, honorable, equitable arrangement which has a long term perspective and is in the benefit of human kind would be the only solution to non proliferation.

Pakistan from time to time has put several proposals.

49. Ibid.
mutual renunciation, a nuclear weapon freezone in South Asia and joint signing of the NPt. On the other side India has made one proposal which is comprehensive nuclear disarmament. Bhutan had also proposed for nuclear weapon free zone along with Nepal. India has reiterated that the proposal for establishing a Nuclear weapon free zone should not be imposed from outside but it should come from within the concerned region. Moreover, region, a geographical concept, is hardly recognized by the long range guided nuclear delivery system's of nuclear have states. So there should not be a limited approach to the question of freedom from nuclear threats and dangers and therefore, the whole World should be declared a nuclear free zone.

The third mechanism for non-nuclearisation is a corporate attempt at a global plane in the form of the NPT. The NPT intended to incorporate the two objectives of non-nuclearisation as well as de-nuclearisation. It is unfortunate that both objectives have totally failed, because of its discriminatory treaty setting the haves apart from the have notes, perpetuating the asymmetry, rather than seek progressive non-nuclearisation as well denuclearisation of the globe. Where as the India's policy regarding the NPT is concerned in South Asia, it has always denounced the use of nuclear technology for destructive

purpose and has worked for comprehensive global nuclear disarmament. India found that the treaty unsatisfactory and riddled with many loopholes. Consequently India refused to sign the NPT.

Confidence Building Measures (CBM):

Confidence Building Measures (CBM) can play a major role in reducing mistrust and enhancing security. There are two fundamental requirements for achieving success of CBM52.

i. They must flow from and form part of, a constructive and cooperative political relationship; and;

ii. they must try to recognise and address the legitimate security concerns of all countries equally.

The process of CBM negotiations can start earlier to make the two political commercial cooperation and CBM, an interactive process to reinforcing mutual trust and building a better, more stable paradigm of peace cooperation and security. At the same time premature attempts at CBMs without adequate political cooperative could increase mistrust and thereby prove counter productive53.

The European states have produced the better and appreciable basic parameters of CBMs, that can apply in

53. Ibid.
other region with the hope of good success. The European security framework since Second World War has been framed on a bilateral centrality of adversarial relationship is an essentially bipolar political military order. Thus the security issues ultimately evolved in an east-west context, and each of alliance bloc operated in a bilateral framework.

Confidence building measures (CBMs) in South Asian region can begin only when there is a genuine attempt at reducing mistrust and a foundation of mutual recognition of realities of the situation and address the concerns of each other. In Europe, CBM could start only when both sides recognised each other's nuclear capabilities and accepted the establishment of a state of mutual deterrence. The CBM advanced to relaxation of tensions when both sides agreed that they could not win a nuclear war and should not therefore initiate it and that it is not even possible to use conventional war as a tool of politics (Gorbachev-Kohl joint statement, in June 1989)⁵⁴. The relaxation of tension gained further credibility when a closed society become more open, more pluralistic and less authoritarian.

In South Asia there are a large number of CBMs which should be initiated to enhance the overall security environment in the region and towards meeting the legitimate

Security concern of all states. Some of them, requiring a serious consideration by India and Pakistan for discussion negotiation implementation on bilateral bases are:

Military Arrangements:

The first step in CBM was initiated on 17 December 1985, when the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi proposed and Pakistan President General Zia-ul-Haq accepted for signing an agreement not to attack each other’s nuclear facilities. The agreement was signed in December 1988 during the Mr. Rajiv Gandhi visit to Islamabad. The accord, provides for exchange of locational data on nuclear facilities, including nuclear powers and research reactors, fuel fabricators, uranium enrichment, isotopes separators and reprocessing facilities. The installations covered also include any other facility with fresh or irradiated nuclear fuel and establishments, storing significant quantities of radio-active materials. Each side will inform the other on January first, every year of the attitude and longitude of its nuclear installations and facilities.

The crucial clause binds the two nations to refrain from undertaking, encouraging or participating in any action aimed at causing the destruction of or damage to any nuclear instalations or facility of the other country. The two

governments have reaffirmed their commitment to "durable peace and the development of friendly and, of proudly and harmonious bilateral relations". They stressed the role of CBMs in promoting relations on mutual trust and goodwill. Confirming to the refreshing winds of change. Ms. Benazir expressed more than once, her desire to establish friendly relations with India and to facilitate the restoration of peace in the subcontinent.

In 1989, both countries reach an agreement to cooperate with each other in tackling the problems of terrorism, drug trafficking, smuggling and illicit border crossing. They tried to find out an amicable settlement of Siachen Glacier problem but did not succeed. In 1991 the then Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif made the proposal for the three plus two conference on the nuclear weapons issue. He also stated "we are prepared to adopt measures aimed at mutual and balanced force reduction of forces consistent with the principle of equal and undiminished security at the lowest level of armaments. It was agreed that the reductions if undertaken by both sides would constitute a CBM. It would help reduce the ever present fear of renewed hostilities and ensure deterrence at a lower level of force. On viable example of a conventional force reduction agreement for South Asia could be based upon the 1990 Paris Treaty which

lays the grounds for force reductions in Europe. This would require both India and Pakistan to thin out troop deployments along the borders as well as carry out over-all troop and weapons reduction within measures instituted to achieve military transparancy.

In May 1990 India proposed a package of CBMs which was discussed by the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries in July, 1990. These included and non-military measures like exchange of informations about military positions and army delegations; an agreement on non-violation of air space by military air crafts and ceasing of hostile propaganda aimed at inciting subversion and secession. In January 1991 both countries exchanged the instruments of ratification of Treaty signed in Dec. 1988, regarding non-attack on each other’s nuclear instalations. In April 1991 the Foreign Secretaries of two countries met at New Delhi and reached an agreement on advance notification of military exercises and on preventing violations of air space.

In subsequent months the two countries also reached an agreement on chemical weapons and agreed to hasten the process of exchanging data on the locations of nuclear facilities. Along with these positive steps Pakistan continued efforts to internationalised the Kashmir issue in violation of Simla accord and even called for a bandh in the country on the Kashmir issue.

Other than military related CBMs the political CBMs are
also taken in resolving disputes.

The Kashmir disputes has been discussed in bilateral talks between India and Pakistan on numerous occasions, in many different forums and by officials of widely differing rank and importance. After the end of 1965 war both the two countries signed Tashkent Declaration. Its provisions called for direct talks between the two countries in regard to their common problems, and meetings were held in Rawal Pindi between the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan on 1-2 March 1966. Though both sides failed to agree on the Kashmir's inclusion on the formal agenda, however talks were abruptly terminated 58.

The second attempt came, in the form of Simla agreement in 1972, which provided a new turn in their relations. Under the agreement both two countries agreed to settle their differences through bilaterial negotiations in peaceful manner, and they expressed faith in the principle of peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, withdraw the forces to their respective international borders and to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of each other. Both two countries also agreed to cooperate in the economic, cultural and scientific field.

The third occasion was the series of talks between 1986-89 over the Siachen Glacier dispute, but could not reach any settlement.

Indo-Nepal treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 was a historic treaty signed by the Indian Ambassador in Kathmandu Mr. C.P.N. Singh, and the Nepalese P.M., Rana Mohan Shamsher S. Bahadur. The treaty permitted Nepal to import defence equipment from India. The treaty stipulated "neither government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by foreign aggressor. To deal with any such threat the two governments shall consult with each other and devise effective counter measures". It was in pursuance of these provisions of the treaty that prevented the establishment of diplomatic relation between Nepal and China. India also trained Nepal's armed forces and supplied them with arms. The treaty of friendship of 1950 was again renewed in 1983, 1987 & 1991, but Nepales government opposes some of its part because of change of world scenario. Most significantly even though Nepal has strived to balance China against India in the diplomatic game, Nepal could not succeed but follow the India line on all security issues affecting South Asia in a polycentric World order. India had for more than two decades been pursuading Nepal to agree to a common endeavour on water resources development and proceeding with hydle multipurpose projects on common rivers.

Bhutan is a buffer state between China and India, having a significant strategic locations which determines the security of the region. Bhutan agrees to be guided by the Indian Government with respect of its foreign relations under Article VI of the Treaty 1949. Bhutan could get military hardware and other defence items, through India only with the support and approval of India.

On the other hand Bhutan has accused India of encouraging the people of Nepal's origin from Nepal as well as India to cross into Bhutan and hamper the process of national integration. However, the Indian government has repeatedly made it clear that it would not allow the Nepali speaking people of India to agitate against a neighbouring country, and assured the king of Bhutan all possible assistance, including communication and logistic to bolster his kingdom's law and order machinery.

The Indo-Sri Lanka relations reflect that the strategic and political dimensions of their security framework have been rapidly changing on the basis of emerging patterns of relations between them.

The intensification of the ethnic turmoil since 1983 created a situation in which Sri Lankan government had to sign the Indo-Lanka agreement in 1987. Which allowed the

60. Chandra Prakash, op.cit., PP.578.
Indian forces to enter in Sri Lanka with the specific goal of restoring peace and tranquillity in its strife-torn areas and also prevented Sri Lanka to make its Trincomalli part available for military use to extra regional powers in a manner deleterious to India's maritime and other interests. Initially the Indo-Sri Lanka accord brought Sri Lanka in the fold of mutual security system and strengthened Indo - Lanka relations.

Where as Bangladesh's security is concerned it is the product of its domestic vulnerabilities, the challenges of nation building, the tribal sub nationalism in CHT, the environmental challenges the high population growth rate and its divergent perception and position on the issues of mutual interest vis-a-vis India. A section of the public opinion in Bangladesh, including the government, subscribes to the view that the India factor overshadows the rest of external water settlement and the transfer of Tin Bigha through the Indo Bangladesh Agreement of 1974, have been striking examples. As the Supreme Court of India in its judgement favoured the transfer of Tin Bigha to Bangladesh and it has given to Bangladesh on lease for 999 years, this should be followed to remove the last hurdle in the implementation of 1974 Agreement. This would open fresh avenues of mutual trust and cooperation in other fields. As

62. Ibid.
B.G. Vergese observed "Indian has much to achieve from Bangladesh, than the additional cusecs of water in lean season or some mud flats in the Sunderbans and there would be a whole host of mutually beneficial trade between them. But the idea does not appear to have crossed the mind of policy makers. Here to diplomacy could secure development, communication national integration and security which is one of the most vulnerable parts of the country."

As far as Maldives's security is concerned, it is visualised that for all practical purposes, its political stability and interests be protected and promoted within the frame work of the SAARC and India should be more inclined to do so as a consequence of the commonalities of interests in the Indian Ocean. While India has already protected Maldives government from a coupd'etat in 1988. The SAARC countries Heads of states also condemned the attempt and also strongly criticised that these acts of violence which disrupted the peace and security of a member state", and extended their full support and solidarity with the government of Maldives. 63.

Taking as a whole, in the intra-regional perspective it can be speculated that South Asia is an Indo-centric region to that extent India is capable of playing as a central actor in these South Asia on account of its tangible

63. Vergnese, B.G. op.cit., 33.  
elements power and performance. The Indian objectives have not only been to strengthen defence preparedness but also to support the cause of non-interferences and non-aggression in the region. While its neighbours are avoid any public commitment to the Indian security system but their own security policies are based upon the assumption of an Indian guarantee against any extra regional aggression.

Economic & Trade Cooperation

The leaders of the South Asian nations have often underlined the need for economic cooperation in the region. But nothing much has been achieved in practice, except the creation of South Asia Preferential Trade Arrangement (SAPTA) in April 1993. Some cooperation on a bilateral level already exists, mostly under the government to government agreements and those between apex chambers. But bilateral economic cooperation offers limited scope in terms of economic gains.

The Brandt commission report on international developmental issues, while recommending some remedies for the economic ills of the developing countries, has suggested that "regional and subregional integrations should be made a prime instrument of economic growth".

South Asia contains nearly one fifth of the world population and a quarter of the population of the developing world. Thus, South Asia is the combination of all Third World features, such as least developed, producers of primary commodities, seeking export markets for industrial goods, and Island and land locked developing countries. So it provides the challenge of bringing together in the process of development the most primitive to the most modern modes of production. It constitutes, a challenge to work out a dynamic strategy of multilateral transfer of technology, experience and knowledge across different levels of development. This is a challenge that has to be faced in view of the increasing threat to the security of the region from US imperialism in a nuclear space age. In this context it responsibility of all member countries of SAARC to bring together for the security of region.

In the field of economic strade the South Asian countries signed bi-lateraly and combined (SAPTA) agreement.

First we take up bi-lateral agreements, signed by member countries. India as a biggest partner among South Asian countries have dominant position. It appears as an important market for the rest of the countries.

India has a number of economic arrangements with Bhutan and Nepal. India concluded a Treaty of Friendship with Bhutan in 1949. Where by the Buutan agreed to be guided in its foreign relations by New Delhi. In the economic sphere
India rendered enormous help to Bhutan. It provided aid, and made available necessary technical knowledge and personnel for the development. In 1991 both countries signed an agreement on civil violations to provide legal framework for operations of air services between two countries. And again agreed for the exploitation of hydel potential of Bhutan and India and work on two new giant hydel projects - Chukha Phase II and Chukha Phase III. In fact India forms a vital life line for Bhutanese economy and security.

As the Treaty of peace and Friendship of 1950, between India & Nepal, on trade issue both countries agreed to exempt from custom duty and qualitative restriction, on basic commodities such as agricultural and universal produce, timber, raw wool and etc.

India is the most substantial contributor of Nepal's development, providing Rs. 200 crores to Rs. 250 Crores as grants for economic project. In addition it helped to Nepal in the construction of the Tribhuvan Raj Path linked India and Nepal. It also helped in execution of various hydroelectric projects.

The trade treaty was renewed in 1983, and extended for five years. Under this treaty both the two countries cooperate with each other in controlling unauthorised trade. India provided certain facilities for the movement of cargo from Nepal through India. India committed to long term purchase of the whole or part of power generated from the
proposed 3600 MW Karnali hydro-electric projects.

India's relations with Nepal got severely strained towards the close of March 1989 due to differences between the two over the signing of new trade and transit treaties. While India insisted on a consolidated treaty, Nepal insisted on two separate pacts. As a result of this controversy the earlier Indo-Nepal Transit Treaty of 1978 lapsed and the their relations got strained due to shortage of diesel, petrol, coal and other essential goods in Nepal. After the assumption of power by the National Front Government in India effort were made to improve relations with Nepal and both countries agreed to provide for reopening of land customs stations for transit points between the two countries and to reactivate the fifteen transit points which were in operation earlier. Nepal agreed to restore tariff preference for Indian goods and to remove.

In 1991, the Prime Ministers of the two countries held a summit meeting at New Delhi and concluded five agreements. Two of these were related to trade and transit, another related to extend certain new facilities to Nepal with regard to her exports to India and agreed on the tapping of potential of water resources for mutual benefit and agreed to work on a number of multipurpose projects.

Instead of these economic arrangements indeed, both Bhutan and Nepal, (particularly Nepal) are uncomfortable within the extent of functional and economic relations with India. They fear exactly what New Delhi counts as an advantage, namely, the penetrations of their societies by officials and non-officials Indian and influences on their policies as a result of that penetration.\(^{68}\)

India's relations with Bangladesh and Sri Lanka on economic and trade issue are differ not like Bhutan's Nepal because both Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have managed to keep the density of exchange at very lower level. While Bangladesh and India could cooperate for more extensively on economic, ecological and rivers issue in particular. No doubt both two countries tried to strengthen their bonds and concluded a number of agreements in the field of social, economic and culture, similarly in the field of science and technology, both are agreed to cooperate to each other.

Sri Lanka and India too can do more on economic issues. It can use Indian technical expertise and assistance in developmental process. But both Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have managed to keep a distance functionally and economically from New Delhi which reflects their geographical and geo-political position.

68. Kanti Bajpai - op.cit., PP. 142.
Despite restrained relations between India and Pakistan, both sides have worked to the economic advantages, the Indus Rivers Treaty (1960) and the Salal Dam agreement (1978), and the Agreement of 1989 in which both have intensified their cooperation in economic, medical and cultural field and to relax travel facilities for the two peoples in each, other’s country. They also agreed to exchange delegations of business, cooperate in agriculture etc. Pakistan agreed to give a boost to private sector trade with India by expanding the list of items to be imported from 249 to 700. But Pakistan fears that dependence arising out of functional and economic exchange because it feels that India’s resources will render exchange unequal. It has therefore, systematically dismantled economic interaction despite of numerous formal agreements signed after the Simla agreement (1972) and the last of which is contained in the SAARC. Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) signed in April 1993.

Private Initiative: Despite continuous uneasy political alliances Indian businessmen are forging ties in the other South Asian Countries. More than any other member country, it’s India the dominant economy, which is going out with products, investment and technology.

The most effective alliance has been in the garment export business. Since western markets use a quota system to limit access to garment exports from developing countries, Indians are going to Nepal and Bangladesh, which
enjoy unrestricted entry into European Markets and where quotas for the US are available.

Azizul Haque, a managing director, Huque Fashion limited of Bangladesh said, that Indian are coming here as collaborators and putting in money, basically to exploit our quotas. Significantly, 65 percent of our exports are garments. One such company is Delhi based continental exports Private limited that exports garments worth Rs. 12 crore from Bangladesh using mostly Indian raw materials, while its export from India are only worth Rs. 8 crore.

The spread of inter-region trade is not due to SAARC but lobbying by trade and industry associations and the companies own efforts. Joint Business Councils have been set up apart from country specific desks at the chambers of commerce. The FICCI, PHDCCI team and the Metro-politan chamber of commerce and industry (MCCI) all are working to give incentives to businessmen.

According to commerce ministry, about 23 Indian Joint ventures are operating in SAARC countries, and nineteen are looking for exploiting markets and cheaper inputs across the borders. The total investment in the joint ventures, whose figures are available is around Rs. 2000 crore. The most

70. Ibid.
prominent project is Ceat’s Rs. 10.5 crores joint ventures with Colombo based Associated Motor ways.71

Several other Indian projects are operational or coming up in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal, for example, in Sri Lanka, Ashok Leyland assembles commercial vehicles, Jay Engineerig works sells sewing, Machines and electric fans, voltas is into specially drilling and Ranbaxy Laboratories is setting up a joint venture for antibiotics.

In Bangladesh, TELCO is installing a bus and truck assembly plant and Birla Technical services is putting up a Rs. 242.5 crore gas based sponge iron unit.

In Nepal, Dabur has come in with a herbal product plant and Dalmia India Private limited is setting up an instant food plant.

Companies in SAARC countries are realising the benefit of cooperating rather than competing while Indian and Sri Lankan Tea fight it out in the international market. Four Indian companies are on the other sides of the Palk strait too. The rational Indians help the Lankans boost yields which are a third of that of South Indian network in West Asia and the West. Tata tea, Harrisons Malayalam, A.V. Thomas & Company limited and The Assam Company of India limited have together turned around 100 sick tea gardens in

71 India Today, op.cit., PP. 95.
Sri Lanka. CWS India limited, of the Murugappa group has taken on gardens and a processing unit for CTC tea. 

To circumvent trade restrictions, ways have been found legal and illegal. Where as Pakistan allows 571 items to import from India, but barred items such as stainless steel product, auto components, and tyres as well as many consumer goods and durables are routed through Afghanistan and are lapped up despite the higher prices.

While the trade route to Pakistan is round about, Sri Lanka is increasingly opening up. Having started economic reforms over a decade ago, the Lankan now have the confidence to compete with the bigger. The economic reforms programmes in the SAARC countries have provided considerable impetus. Bangladesh, Pakistan and India are currently under IMF-led economic adjustment. Which has meant among other things, that 100% foreign ownership is allowed in most industries.

Sri Lanka is also getting the benefits. Foreign investment is thrice than that in India despite civil war situations. The country also allows non-taxable repatriation of profits and has little red tapism.

Nepal joined the subcontinental prestroika with the instillation of democratic government. The Maldives is

72. Ibid.
73. India Today, op.cit., PP. 96.
offering offshore banking facility to woo investors, especially in its booming tourism sector. Bhutan also is considering coming out of its economic isolation. While India has reduced recently custom duties on import of capital goods.

The SAARC cooperation has a tremendous scope. The export realisation of tea and raw jute for Bangladesh would be higher if it sold in the region. Sri Lanka will get better prices by selling coconut oil in the region. Buying wheat from Pakistan instead of the US would have cheaper for India, Pakistani preference to buy Indian textile machinery because 30 percent cheaper than European or Japanese models and delivery time is a shorter. The Faisalabad chamber of commerce has already asked the Pakistan government to relax import rules.

The biggest hurdle in realising the economic potential is political "India has outstanding issues with everybody else in the region", says a senior diplomat in New Delhi, "It will have to take the initiative. The Indo-Nepalese trade pact could be follow as an example.

Pakistan is looking to wards the West While the Karachi based SAARC chamber Prefers to forge a chambers with the central Asian republics and other Muslim states in West Asia.

Another deterrent is the fear of Indian economic hegemony. In Bangladesh, eggs from India flooded markets
from Khalna to Sylhet making local producers go on egg breaking sprees. But after the visit of Bangladesh Prime Minister Khaleda Zia to India, proposed more concessions to Indian goods, promoting Shaiful Alam Pradhan, Chief of the right wing Jatiya Ganatantrik Party to say "bangladesh will become a permanent market for India". The South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) :

The future way, however is cartelisation and collective bargaining for access to the global markets such as GATT (named World Trade Organisation (WTO)). A model could be the ASEAN, which uncaged the economic tigers that some of its member countries were and in the process itself became an economic grouping instead of a political military one. But Indian captains of industry are not too optimistic of SAARC becoming an economic bloc. T.K. Bhaumik, Assistant Secretary General of PHDCCI, says "There would be so many clashes between the participating countries that cartelisation won't work".

The South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) :

The Seventh Summit of SAARC held in Dhaka in April 1993 was a landmark in the field of economic cooperation in which every member countries leaders took concerted initiative to strengthen economic and other links, specially in the context of the sweeping change on the global scene.

74. India Today, op.cit., PP. 96.
75. India Today, op.cit., PP. 96.
The agreement on SAPTA was signed by the SAARC council of ministers at the concluding session of the summit.

Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, at the session stresses the need for evolving meaningful policy approaches to deal with the world wide trends in regional cooperations, economic groupings and trading blocks as witnessed in Western Europe, North and South America, ASEAN and Asia Pacific region. These trends had important implications for economies like those of SAARC countries which were adopting "outward oriented" policies.

He also said that "Our collective economic strength and weight as a mega-market of over one billion consumers and the pooling together of our abundant and manifold talents, skills and resources will alone enable us to be a serious player in the global economy we must make a renewed effort to break down the trade barriers and jettison and irrational past which created and sustained these barriers."

Mr. Nawaz Sharif in his speech endorsed the framework document of SAPTA and suggested early completion of the formalities.

The creation of SAPTA by the SAARC countries shown a right path to cooperation in the field of economy and trade. But its success is dependent only upon India and Pakistan's

77. Ibid.
relations, that how much they give important to mutual cooperation in economic field. As Sri Lanka's foreign minister Lakshman Kadirgamar expressed his country's stand on the present state of the relationship between India and Pakistan and future of SAARC. He said that "putting in to force the SAPTA under the SAARC umbrella is very important for member countries". But SAARC initiative in this field is not satisfactory. SAPTA involves exchange of lists of commodities by the seven SAARC countries. Six have done this but one country is remained to do so, therefore, all seven are not able to move, because part of understanding is that discussions and negotiations can start on those commodities only after all seven are in".

Thus we find that, while other trading blocs and groups of nations in the world are moving rapidly towards economic trade and South Asian countries are still at the stage of preferential trade arrangement and even there they have not got very far.

Social Development:

The social condition of the South Asian peoples is in a alarming position, where poverty has increased visibly. The gap between the poor and disinherited on the one side and the rich and privileged on the other is widening every day.

79. Ibid.
Inflation is rampant and prices are rocketing. Health hazards are increasing, not only because of industrial pollution but also because of authorities inability to provide people with primary amenities. Medical facilities are going beyond the reach of more and more people. Drinking water is becoming even more scare every day than it has been in the last many years. Transportation in town and country side is daily becoming more difficult. Corruption is so widespread that it has practically become a way of life all over the sub-continent.

All these alarming situation more or less have influenced the security of the nations. The SAARC member countries have taken individually and combined steps to cure these problems.

Population Policies:

A large and rapidly growing population with a limited natural resources has caused severe short terms and long run economic problem of SAARC countries. The population explosion has resulted in reduction of social benefits, such a lower expenditure on education, health services and other welfare and security measures. Its rapid growth in these countries is causing environmental hazards and global warming, a matter of great concern to human kind.

For tackling the rapid growth of population, there is need to provide family planning services which is a direct way to reduce fertility and bring the birth rates down, but
it is only short run method. Investing in people and educating them and making them aware of the social evils is a long run measure which however, give concrete results as in the case of Sri Lanka. In the context of SAARC region the implementation of population control measures should be stringent and made compulsory. It is unfortunate that in SAARC countries the programmes are not properly planned. For instance in India mostly family planning programmes are conceptually ineffective because they started at the wrong end by sterilizing women who were 35 and already mother of five or six children.80.

The SAARC member countries should adopt China’s population policy, in tackling their population growth problem.81. And focus on younger generation of girls, who should be provided schooling facilities and capacity to earn. This would enable them to avoid early marriage and have access to knowledge of family planning and restrict family size.

The SAARC countries would have a much higher GNP growth rate and require greater effort in the mobilization of development resources in order to keep pace, with the other regions of the world. Otherwise they would not be able to

81. In China, Couples having more than one child without permission may be fined and lose job and apartments. Late remarriage is advocated and men and women are married only after attaining the 25 years and 21 years respectively.
provide food clothing, housing and health facilities besides meeting the basic needs of the additional people. Thus SAARC region has no option other than a significant reduction in the population growth rate.

Poverty:

Poverty in third world countries has been increasing for the last two decades as the general social conditions are deteriorating. SAARC region accounts for about half of world poverty which is reflected in the extremely low per capital income levels and also its low rate of growth. Poverty is basically one of the low productivity of labour, i.e. low real per capita income. Poverty and slow growth of real incomes in these countries have been coexisting with widespread and persisting unemployment and underemployment. Poverty and rapid growth in population reinforce each other in a number of ways. Low wages, especially for women, inadequate education, high infant mortality etc, are all linked to poverty which in turn contribute to high fertility rates and thus to rapid population growth.82.

Most of the SAARC countries have introduced several measures before the sixties to tackle, the poverty problem, but these programmes have not achieved expected results and the basic needs of the poor are yet to fulfilled. Chakravarty has shorted out various poverty alleviation,

programmes adopted by India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and felt that these programmes could not achieve desired results with modest economic growth due to rapid population growth.

In India, the poverty alleviation measures were started during the 7th Five Year Plan i.e. 1974-79; but the oil price hike in 1973 and the consequent problems had shattered and diluted the spirit of the measures. But the government has been trying to reduce the poverty level by various measures and in the course three policies were framed for immediate and effective results. These were 1) Minimum Needs Programme (MNP), 2) Wage employment programmes such as Food for work Programme, National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGDP) and 3) Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). Under the MNP, the government tried to improve the living standard of poor by providing the basic requirements, such as food, drinking water, roads and other infrastructure. NREP and RLEGDP were introduced to provide a wage employment in the rural areas for landless labourers and the other poor farmers. The government planned to create opportunities for self employment under IRDP. But unfortunately all these programmes could not achieve expected results due to various handicaps in implementation.

In Pakistan also the poverty alleviation measures were adopted through programmes such as Rural Works Programme (RWP) and People's work programme (PWP) which was replaced by Rural Development Organisation and IRDP. Rural Development Programme, (RDP) was formed by merging of IRDP and PWP. But these programme did not make any significant contribution to the reduction of poverty.

In Bangladesh, the Rural Works Programme (RWP) and Food For Work Programme (FFWP) were adopted for the benefit of the rural poor and landless population. Grameen Bank Programme which was introduced in 1978 was successful in giving access to financial resources which was the main constraint in productive employment.

Sri Lanka also is more concerned to the welfare of the people. Its expenditure on social service was to the tune of 50% of its GDP. The quality of life improved considerably by the provision of certain basic needs such as free education, free health services and the like.

All these countries efforts in eradication of poverty were a little success. But some are having good success report such as Grameen Bank and the Begum Khaleda Zia's Dall Bhaat programme of Bangladesh, the literacy Mission, SEWA and WWF of India, Janasaviya of Sri Lanka, "Atolls" in the Maldives the small Farmers Project in Nepal, the Health Programme in Bhutan and the Agakhan Rural Support Programme.
But past experience revealed that modest growth performance has not been able to make any impact on the eradication of poverty. Therefore, public action through provision of basic needs is the only option to be pursued continuously to reduce the poverty. If state involvement is effective in areas such as healths availability of food at subsidized prices, primary education with special reference to females, the incidence of poverty may decline.

Economic Reforms:

The relatively slow economic growth along with rapid population growth has sharply increased gap between the SAARC and other regions like ASEAN & EU, owing mainly to the macroeconomic policy differentials. These countries pursued an inward oriented policies for a long time with a strong emphasis on public sector. Having recognised the limitations of this development strategy most of these countries pursued reforms programmes to make their economies outward-looking and market oriented. These countries aimed at opening their economies by strengthening market forces and providing greater role for the private sector.

In South Asia, the economic reforms were first started by Sri Lanka in 1977 which were accelerated in 1989.

Bangladesh nationalized its industries in 1972 and started reforms from 1977 and 1982 openly declared privatization. Pakistan implemented several measures during the eighties which were designed to boost exports. Foreign investments began to be encouraged by the turn of the present decade. India started its economic reforms very late about 1990. It is observed that too many government controls and too large a public sector have led to development of an inefficient production structure in India. Imports policies were liberalised for maximum production and open general licence was widened with the inclusion of additional items.

Despite reforms, the degree of openness differs between countries to countries. Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan and India also recently has encouraged foreign investment. In Pakistan these reforms have been showing positive results in recent times irrespective of the considerable strains on balance of payments and domestic fiscal position. In Sri Lanka the stimulant of trade liberalization in 1977 ran out of stream after causing initial surge of production in simple labour intensive activities. In recent times, its economy started responding vigorously to the efforts like liberal import licensing regulations. Its economic growth reached six percent in 1990.

It is to be pointed out in this context that India's 86. Sukhamoy Chakravarty, "Development Strategies for forth within equity South Asian Experience", Asian Development Review, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1990, PP. 146-156.
trade performance seems to be contradictory in the sense that its trade is not significantly determined by worldwide events, and it does not share the major complaints of fellow developing countries 87.

Unemployment: Unemployment and underemployment have increased in SAARC in recent years. It is outcome of an increase in size of labour force not matched by an equal increase in employment opportunities. Educated unemployment indicates that secondary school leavers are affected mostly in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka while in India, unemployment is large among highly educated people than among secondary educated 88. The increase in the brain drain in these countries reflects the unemployment of the highly educated people. Though unemployment is a serious problem in Male due to the flood of immigrants from the atolls, labour force participation rates in Maldives as a whole have been significant 89. The unemployment in Bhutan is not so much but their labour force appears to be increasingly at the same rate as their population growth.

If the available manpower in these countries can be utilized efficiently it will become an asset for the South Asia. Because the role of educated labour force is crucial

87. Kishore G. Kulkarni, "Has international trade benefitted LDSS - India's Case", Margin, April - June, 1992, PP. 235-244.
88. UNESCAP, Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific, 1988, Bangkok.
for the industrial development of any country and the
success story of Japan and South Korea is partly attributed
to their labour skills. The low level of productivity can be
checked by building up a country's human capital, by
investing in education training and health facilities by the
public authorities.

Regional Cooperation:

Given the Primacy of military power and the tendency
for greater external interventionism in regions where
conflictual structures dominate, there is need for regional
conservative building. In view of the constant conflicts
between the countries of South Asia the leaders have brought
the prospects of cooperation between countries of the South
Asia. There are a number of factors impel the countries of
the South Asia to cooperate with each other. 90.

Firstly, the growing rivalry between two super powers
and China encouraged the outside powers to intervene in the
affairs of South Asia. Secondly, the economic backwardness
of the regional countries and their realisation of
improvement in their bargaining power vis-a-vis the
developed countries only they attain self reliance through
mutual cooperation. Thirdly -- the ecological
considerations also demand greater cooperations among the

90. Chandra Prakash, op.cit. PP. 453.
countries. Because there are a number of problems which cannot be solved single handed if the countries of region do not cooperate. For example, the problem of soil salinity in Bangladesh caused by tidal waters of the Ganges river system.

Fourth, the presence of the military bases in Indian Ocean also pose a serious threat to the National Security of the region, so the states of the region must realise that the division among them is bound to be exploited by outside powers.

Thus the process of development and concretisation of the idea of South Asian regional cooperation was first initiated by General Ziaur Rehman the then President of Bangladesh in May 1980. In the course of the several meetings of Foreign Secretaries of South Asian states at Colombo (1981) in Kathmandu (1981, Nov.) in Islamabad (1982) and Dhaka (1983), many doubts and suspicions were clarified and foundation of purpose-ful South Asian regional cooperation laid.

On December, 1985, the seven South Asian leaders have launched the world's most populous regional grouping with the hope that it would improve the security environment in the region and cooperation among them in the economic and cultural fields will result in a better life of their peoples.

On the final day of their first, ever two day summit in Dhaka, the Heads of state or government of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka adopted a charter giving birth to the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Dhaka declaration committing their countries to the concept of regional cooperation.

Putting aside their differences, the seven South Asian nations pledged to redouble their cooperative efforts and pave the way for a new era of inter-state relations in the quest for peace stability and prosperity in the region.

The SAARC will seek to promote intra-regional collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, cultural, technical and scientific fields, the Charter also provides scope, for cooperations among themselves in international forum on matters of common interests and to cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purpose.

The declaration expressed concern at the deteriorating international political situation and alarm at the unprecedented escalation of the arms race particularly nuclear weapons. In this context the leaders called upon nuclear weapon states to urgently negotiate a comprehensive test ban treaty leading to the complete cessation of testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons".

92. Ibid.
The summit reaffirmed its deep conviction in the continuing validity and relevance of the objectives of the NAM as an important force in international relations. Bound by common values rooted in their social, ethnic, cultural and historical tradition the nations expressed their determination to ensure that their individual and regional strengths, their potential as a huge market and their substantial human and national resources were utilised for the benefit of their people and for enhancing their national and collective self-reliance. They expressed conviction that their countries which had made important contributions to the enrichment of human civilization, could together play their due role in international relations and influence decisions which affected them.93.

The summit drew attention to the deteriorating economic and social conditions which had retarded development prospects in South Asia and other developing countries. They expressed concern at the diminishing capacity of international financial and technical institutions to respond effectively to the needs of the poorer countries and regretted that the spirit of multilateral cooperation had begun to falter and weaken.95.

The declaration reaffirmed the commitment of the seven nations to the Charter of the United Nations constituted the

93. Ibid.
most important forum for resolution of all issues affecting international peace and security. A major decision taken was to concert their views on the ongoing discussion on new international economic order and the improvement of the world trading system through GATT taking particularly into the account the interest of least developed among developing nations.

The formation of SAARC evoked mixed reaction. King Bhutan described it as "a manifestation of our collective vision and political will to bring about meaningful regional cooperation inspite of the differences on foreign policy and security perspective". On the otherhand President Zia of Pakistan expressed apprehensions about the dominant position of India, which could deter the fulfilment of the objectives and deals of SAARC. Similar misgivings were entertained by other smaller countries. This misunderstanding developed because of India's domination. Therefore, it is need for India to try to allay these feelings by demonstrating both by words and deeds that she will always be ready to enter into constructive and mutually beneficial cooperation with such countries as may seek it.

Banglaoore Summit (1986):

The member states of SAARC in Banglaoore in November 1986 called for the expansion of regional cooperation.

95. Ibid.
economic areas and rededicated themselves to work for peace and stability in the countries afflicted with mistrust and suspicion and the scars of the colonial era\textsuperscript{96}. All leaders agreed to take action against terrorism and drug abuse and expressed their concern over lack of progress towards disarmament. Rajiv Gandhi appealed the nations of the region to ensure that their territory would never used as a sanctuary for terrorists any where in the region.

Other decisions which were taken, the creation of a Secretariate in kathmandu and agreeing to launch a "South Asian Broadcasting Programme" covering both radio and television, a valuable instrument in rousing South Asian consciousness\textsuperscript{97}.

Kathmandu Summit (1987):

This summit provided a renewed thrust and direction to the future course of cooperation in South Asia. As for common denominators in the region all South Asian nations share identical views on various global and regional issues. All are non aligned and have anti colonial, anti apartheid and anti protectionist orientation, and all subscribe to non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. All accept the UN resolution declaring the Indian ocean as a zone of peace\textsuperscript{98}.

The Kathmandu summit looked towards a political issue, that

\textsuperscript{96} The Times of India, 11 Nov., 1986.
\textsuperscript{97} Haq, Shamshul, "Beyond Bangalore in South Asia, Journal Vol. 1, No. 1 July-Sep., 1987, P. 7.
of suppression of terrorism in the region. It also came to sign the regional convention on suppression of terrorism. The convention specifies the offences that could be considered as acts of terror and not political for the purpose of extradition. However, as both legal experts and political commentators have pointed out, mere signing and ratification of the conventions will not achieve objectives. It would still require a genuine desire and political will to curb the menace of transporting terrorism. Besides tackling political issues such as terrorism and drug trafficking, it has come to exercise a perceptible influence on bilateral relations.

Islamabad Summit (1988):

The Islamabad summit was held for "peace, security, prosperity and cooperation" in South Asia. The seven heads of the state and government pledged to move forward with mutual trust and confidence rather than be guided by any legacy of doubt and suspicions. They expressed concern at the high incidence of drug production, trafficking and abuse and decided to declare 1989 as the SAARC year against Drug Abuses in order to focus attention on drug-related problems facing the region. They stressed the need of measures at the National level to fully implement the regional conventions.

100. Chandra, Prakash, op. cit., P. 461.
on suppression of terrorism. They called for a perspective regional plan with specific targets of meeting basic needs to be met by the end of the century in core sectors such as food, clothing, shelter, education, primary health care, population, planning and environmental protection\textsuperscript{101}. It was a welcome effort to establish South Asian food Security Reserve and a major break through in the common endeavour of the governments of member countries to assist each other in food emergency situation.

The notable feature of the summit was the relaxed relationship between India and Pakistan. Indian P.M. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi unveiled at the inaugural session a South Asian Charter that included a war on poverty through increased trade and economic exchanges covering agriculture to industry, free flow of information and unhindered travel in the region by people of member countries.

Male Summit 1990 :

This summit did not mark any material progress towards regional cooperation. It signed a convention on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances to deal effectively with the menace of drug abuse and suppression illicit traffic in the region.

Colombo Summit (1992) :

The summit was scheduled to take place in 1991 but due...
to absence of some heads of the state it was postponed and again held in Dec. 1992. In Colombo declarations the leaders came out strongly for a United South Asian approach for liberalising trade in the region, formulating joint action on the environment and combating natural disasters. It also set its face firmly against the West linking aid with human rights. The declaration sought to ensure that SAARC does not merely remain an acronym to the people of the region.

Dhaka Summit (1993):

South Asia entered a new era, with the adoption of the Dhaka declaration seeking to pull down trade barriers in the region. The two day summit of SAARC endorsed the South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) for the liberalisation of trade among the seven member nations.

The declaration, adopted unanimously by the heads of state or government attending the summit said the "time was now opportune to provide a further dynamic impetus to activities in the core of economic social and cultural cooperation in the SAARC region". 102

The declaration endorsed an integrated programme of actions (IPA) on eradication of poverty in South Asia, trade manufacture and services, the environment, population, 102."SAARC Summit endorse : SAPTA" The Times of India, April 12, 1993, New Delhi.
shelter, children, youth, disabled persons, women development, science and technology, terrorism, drug trafficking. Security of small states, people to people contact, association of SAARC speakers and parliamentarians and South Asian Development Fund (SADF). The declaration also touched on international political economic development.

The above discussion has proved that over the years, the SAARC countries have realised the need of cooperation and SAARC has now become a reality but a question arises, how successful will it be? The success of any regional organisation lies in the extent to which there is political understanding between its member states. Moreover, political conflict between the member states should be non-existent or at a sufficiently low level so as to not impair regional cooperation. Yet political conflict in South Asia is at a high level, for example, Tamil problem in Sri Lanka is causing considerable strains in the India-Sri Lanka relationship, similarly Pakistan's support to the Kashmiri & Sikh terrorists, the nuclear problems, Kashmir and the Siachen issue have all soured India-Pakistan relations. The consequence of such high levels of political conflict is that regional cooperation within SAARC framework can only take place in peripheral areas. Until such political conflicts are resolved therefore, SAARC will not become a body which facilitates meaningful regional cooperation.

103.Ibid.