Chapter–V

Conclusion
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Contemporary global world order is witnessing complex changes in its structural and operational dynamics resulting generation of forces of cooperation and conflict. As a result, security concerns among the nations are also changing. Consequently, on the one hand, conflicts and discord are disturbing the international stability; whereas on the other hand, an unwritten consensus among the states for progress and harmony is developed. Region of South Asia is no exception to this global reality. As a result, both fear of disastrous devastation and expectation for a better life among the states of this region is being witnessed. The age old mistrust, misperception, suspicion, conflict etc. preoccupy the psyche of policy makers in these states, particularly between India and Pakistan. Even recent global changes have failed evolve positive spirit and contribute towards the resolution of their conflicts. It seems benefits of the changed international milieu have bypassed this region in general, and India and Pakistan in particular.

India and Pakistan also got prominence as both states acquired nuclear weapons in 1998. This becomes a matter of serious concern as both states have mainly a story of conflicts and unfriendly behaviour since their inception. Their relations have developed in a historical distrust, which have further been complicated by negative circumstances and events. The conflict has been a constant factor in their relations. It is because their disparities are not rooted in misunderstanding and diverse interpretations, but also in past history, emotional legacies, geography and their contradictory view on the doctrine of two-
nation theory. However, majority of issues between them are the result of perceptual divergences. The influential leaders of both countries are accountable for constructing this kind of psyche, which created a feeling of distrust between two states. This situation continues to influence their bilateral ties even today.

India-Pakistan relations were governed by no predetermined agenda except the one created by history. Influence of global environment has been so immense that even their bilateral issues became global. It resulted into hostilities among the two and resulted in four hot wars between the two states. It had serious implications not only for India and Pakistan, but also on the peace and harmony in South Asia. After every war peace processes were initiated and some accords to lessen tension and to enhance confidence have been signed, but not much success has been achieved. The peace process between India-Pakistan has suffered many setbacks and dialogue between them faced rough weather, even sometimes derailment. Situation is in dire need of serious efforts from both sides to undertake CBMs in true letter. However, the efforts to enhance CBMs should not remain restricted to the managing of crises, but should also be directed towards the resolution of conflicts. If they failed to resolve the remaining issues, than the utility of CBMs will be short-lived and even slight provocations can halting the entire process in one stroke.

In a situation of enduring mistrust and suspicion between India and Pakistan relations, CBMs seem to be fit case for application. Successes of CBMs in other parts of the world provide a strong case for application in their relations. The international experiences establish that when implemented honestly, they have
facilitated decrease in tensions and promotion of peace. CBMs can be termed as a method that strengthens stability among nations which distrust each other but who essentially share a wish to avoid conflict. In the light of the contemporary scenario, CBMs can be visualized as a procedure to build mutual understanding among adversaries and reduction of tensions among them. CBMs are, in fact, established pattern of behaviour assuring rival nation of preventing assault towards each other.

In present times, scope of CBMs has been extended beyond the military arena to include economic, diplomatic, social and cultural measures. In case of India-Pakistan relations these are related to agreements which enlarge sincerity, mutual communication and understanding, intended to prevent and reduce the chances of conflict through accident, miscalculation or breakdown of communication links. Besides, chances of surprise attacks or political threats which enhance instability can be avoided. CBMs, thus, are procedure having positive implications by opening of new channels of collaboration between India and Pakistan.

Now India and Pakistan are nuclear states and in the changed global context both seemed to have realized that only option left to them is to resolve their disputes through dialogue. Hence, they are trying to normalise their relations and are making efforts to bring cooperation between the two. Consequently, pursuit of CBMs is not only essential but also inevitable. First such initiation in this direction has been the Lahore Declaration 1999. It provided some optimism that has conquering their past enmities two antagonistic neighbours might come closer. But, it
did not go well because Kargil followed this initiative, which was a major setback.

Again CBMs were initiated at the time of Indian Prime Minister Atal Bhari Vajpayee’s visit to Kashmir in April 2003. As a result, both countries took some steps in the direction of CBMs. This beginning has raised a ray of hope not only for the people in particular and for South Asia in general. With the Islamabad Declaration on 6 January 2004, on the sidelines of the SAARC Summit, new possibilities of a discussion leading to an eventual understanding and peace between the two neighbours have emerged. Following the successful completion of this summit, a major shift has been noticed in India and Pakistan relations. Besides, both the states also agreed to restore the ‘Composite Dialogue Process’ to settle their disputes. The composite dialogue process was first introduced in 1997, when Indian Prime Minister I.K. Gujral and Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had met on the sidelines of the SAARC Summit at Male in May 1997. Here both leaders agreed to start a structural framework of dialogue consisting of all contesting issues. Eight major issues which formed part of composite dialogue were: Kashmir; Siachen; Sir Creek; Nuclear CBMs; Wullar Bridge; terrorism and drug trafficking; commercial and economic cooperation; and promotion of friendly exchanges. Besides, both also established a mechanism of working groups to find out the solution to these problems. The composite dialogue initiated people-to-people contacts; established train and bus services; and, sports, cultural, trades links were restorted. Both also agreed to collaborate in the areas of non-military as well as military CBMs. This marked a new thrust toward improvement of relations between India and Pakistan. This
shows that there was an improvement in the overall milieu and both countries seemed to have moved away from their tense phase.

As a result of new initiatives both agreed to reopen their road links by introducing bus services between Delhi-Lahore, Srinagar-Muzaffarabad, Amritsar-Lahore, Amritsar-Nankana Sahib, and Poonch to Rawalkot. This bus cooperation between them was not only a major political breakthrough but also significant step having far-reaching consequences. It gave boost to people-to-people contact between the two countries, which worked as constituency for peace in normalisation of their relations. These bus services linkages gave birth to a new climate of cooperation between both India and Pakistan. This process has built a strong bridge of friendship and peace between them. Most significant feature of the bus cooperation was that the two governments had bowed to the emotions of their people. Simultaneously, both have also reopened their rail links and have restored the “Samjhauta Express” train between Atari to Wagha. Besides, another rail link between Munabao to Khokhrapar, which was stopped of the 1965 war, was restored. These rail links are likely to play a major role in encouraging people-to-people interactions and in defining new parameters in their relations. Besides, both are making efforts to develop the cooperation in the area of disaster management. As a result, LoC was opened at five points for facilitating relief and rehabilitation work in earthquake affected areas in PoK. This shows that the two countries have moved forward in the present peace process and efforts have been made with a spirit to help the affected people across the LoC. It is a good step towards the normalisation of the situation. Thus, the earthquake and floods in
Kashmir have tossed jointly the Indian and Pakistani communities thousands of miles away to help each other. This may have significant implication for future politics on both sides of Kashmir, domestic politics in Pakistan and finally on India-Pakistan relations.

CBMs of educational and cultural nature provided another route toward normalisation of bilateral relations. It is because educational, ideological and cultural CBMs have direct bearings on the lives of people of two states. India-Pakistan, to some degree has similar cultures, cuisines and languages which strengthen the historical ties between the two. In this context, both states decided to cooperate through exchange of information, joint workshops, symposia, seminars, visits, training and collaborative research. These included scholarships and fellowships to the students in both countries and exchange of historians, academicians, scientists, educationists etc. Both also agreed the exchange of arts and culture through the organisation of various activities of musicians, artists, theatre groups and folk dance, exhibitions of arts and crafts, poets, writers and painters. Besides, they agreed to allow their citizens to participate in painting exhibition, film festivals and exchange of television and radio programmes. Posting of more newspapers and agency correspondents in each other’s country are allowed. In this process not only the states, but also NGOs and individuals were involved, who were in favour of peace, harmony and good neighbourly relations. People of India and Pakistan were permitted to visit their religious places and educational institutes in each other’s countries and identified the areas like technical education, business administration, science and information technology, in which collaboration can be
promoted. In this regard, both decided to look into the possibility of exchange of experiences of National Book Foundation (NBF) of Pakistan and India’s National Book Trust (NBT) and National Council of Education and Research and Training (NCERT). In higher education both agreed to have institutional linkages between Higher Education Commission (HEC) and Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS) of Pakistan and University Grants Commission (UGC), National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA) and Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) of India. Simultaneously, some people-to-people initiatives and efforts at non-governmental levels have taken place to build constituencies for peace. Channels like, Neemrana Group, Pakistan-India People’s Forum for Peace and Democracy and Amman ki Aasha are working to promote interactions between writers, artists, poets and scholars of both the countries.

Sports and trade relations between India and Pakistan are another important means to influence social, economic, cultural and political relations to bring people of the two countries together. Cricket has also been used as an effective instrument to develop interaction between the political elites of the two states. It is assumed that promotion of Cricket between the two countries is a positive move, not only brings people together but also provides opportunities to political elites to play diplomacy. Cricket matches have in the past used as meeting points for negotiations or icebreakers on the sidelines. Promotion of trade and related economic activities also brought business communities together. It helped in removing barriers of suspicion and promotes fruitful relationship among them. In this globalised world economic factors have played a crucial role in determining relations between
the states. That is why, process of trade normalisation, and economic and commercial cooperation between India and Pakistan was set in motion in 2004 when both states constituted a Joint Study Group (JSG) on commercial and economic co-operation. This was the first shift in the direction of delinking trade dialogue from political issues. Further, India and Pakistan have formally permitted trade across the two crossings points Srinagar to Muzaffarabad and Punch to Rawalkot along the LoC in Jammu and Kashmir. Prior to this the trade between India-Pakistan was permitted only through Punjab and Rajasthan borders. The business and trade community across the LoC welcomed the beginning of this trade. They felt that trade may bring people much closer across the LoC and reduce tensions between them.

All these efforts of non-military CBMs have contributed a lot toward the creation of favourable environment for cooperation and harmony in both the states. Besides, people-to-people contacts have been initiated and strengthened. As a result, greater awareness of need to transcend border for the sake of prosperity and well being on both sides was realised.

India and Pakistan, along with non-military CBMs, also have begun to discuss the military CBMs in general and nuclear CBMs in particular. This marks a new beginning and towards resolving issues of threat and security concerning of both states. These military CBMs are very vital for them to move from conflictual to cooperative relationship. These are also essential module to strengthening good will between them, as these can facilitate understanding in strategic areas. These CBMs are more imperative because the successful implementations of non-military CBMs are mainly dependent upon the success of the
military CBMs. After prolonged discussions both sides have been successful in concluding some agreements on conventional military CBMs. In this context, agreed to constitute a Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism (JATM). Besides, both agreed to exchange specific informations regarding terrorist activities on both sides, through this mechanism.

Acknowledging the fact that the nuclear issue is very significant in their strategic relations, both tried hard to develop mechanism for ensuring their long term security. Though, nuclear CBMs have achieved little success, yet it has paved way for future discussions on this crucial issue. Both went beyond rhetoric and did something substantive and concrete. Both tried to build confidence in each other’s area of strategic concerns. Demilitarisation of Siachen glacier, the highest battlefield in the world, was a very positive step in this direction. Both the countries have been supportive towards promote of maritime CBMs for the stability, security and peace between India and Pakistan. This was really a new beginning and holds the potential for defusing India-Pakistan rivalry, but it got exacerbated when both crossed the nuclear Rubicon in 1998 and fought bitter conventional armed conflict of Kargil in 1999. It must also be accepted that the dialogue has not yet produced significant results on the ground. Besides, the talks are going on without any agreement on proper nuclear risk reduction measures, because both are aiming at to normalise their nuclear rivalries, rather elimination of these weapons.

In this process, it has been witnessed that different stack of society in both states ranging from politicians to big business and from civil society organisations to farmer lobbies everyone is in
favours of peace among. But some problems do exist like Kashmir, terrorism, Siachen, Sir Creek, Wullar Bridge etc. The soft borders with free movement finally making boundaries irrelevant also created some problems. The vital area of apprehension is that if borders are soften then who will come whether it is terrorists or tourists. The making of soft border among India and Pakistan could provide opportunities for increased infiltration by the terrorists from across the border. The terrorist and fundamentalist organisations are likely to establish links with the underworld mafia and the political leadership in Kashmir will remain a reason for serious anxiety. These problems have showed down the progress of CBMs between the two countries. There has not been much improvement in the domestic environment of Pakistan. The total implementation of these CBMs has been question marked. The lacks of confidence continue to remain present between both countries. The delay in reopening the consulates at Mumbai and Karachi show that there has been something wrong in their relations. Visa process is also in troubled water as much has not been done on the liberalisation of the visa regime. In a majority of cases visas are granted only to those who have relatives or friends with a verifiable address. Any person, irrespective of the status intending to visit either India or Pakistan for the first time has entirely depended upon the mercy of the intelligence agencies for approval.

Normalisation process has yet to be fully back on track, because another main hurdle emerged in the way has been continuous ceasefire violence by Pakistan along the LoC in Kashmir. Though, India-Pakistan peace process has produced a lot of good will between the two, yet it has failed to establish peace
at all. As a result, Pakistan’s military has again escalated border tension with India. However, ceasefire violations occur cyclically and are often seems to be premeditated. Even both states have failed to normalise their trade relations. Even after the ratification of SAFTA in 2006, nothing concrete has emerged towards smooth economic ties between the two states. Pakistan had not accord MFN status to India and continued to trade on the positive list.

Therefore, for the establishment of enduring peace between India and Pakistan, a concerted attempt has to be made by both the states. Secretary level negotiations cannot do much to break the deadlock, as they cannot go beyond an established framework. Only task they can perform is the continuation of communications at different levels. Need is to encourage harmony among the people of both states, which may eventually promote good neighbourly relations. However, a continuing obstructionist attitude on both sides is a hard fact. In this situation the peace process cannot move further without strong political will on both sides.

Need is to have a sincere will to implement whatsoever agreements have been reached between the two states. Though, the leadership on both sides is aware of the need for rejecting violence and building bridges of peace and amity, but they failed to support it through requisite political will. Hence, an extraordinary political will is required to promote the peace in this subcontinent. While evaluating the role and efficacy of CBMs, one must not forget that the deep-seated bitterness cannot be overcome immediately. It should also be kept in mind that no dramatic results can be expected from CBMs as peace process between India and Pakistan has been very delicate. The essential pockets of
antagonism to normalisation of their relations have remained within the establishments of both countries. It includes the security sectors, bureaucracies, extremists and some influential members of the press. This is very peculiar in case of Pakistan. Here fundamentalist organisations and ISI knew very well that they enjoy a unique position because of the enduring hostilities between India and Pakistan. The military and political elites also use to generates war hysteria divert the attention of the people from their woes. Consequently, a step-by-step approach is likely to be more effective and successful in this context. As an institutional procedure, to be effective CBMs require time, focus imagination and courage.

One thing must be remembered that CBMs by themselves do not resolve difficult problems. They only build suitable environment by enhancing confidence and goodwill among the parties concerned. CBMs also should not be left completely to the armed forces, as other strata of society are equally concerned about them. The large number of cultural groups, academics, and students exchange programmes need to be encouraged. Travel facilities among the two states also be made easier and people friendly. Visa issue procedures be made simplified and more visa offices and travel routes should be opened. Economic and trade related CBMs can promote serious stake holders of peace.

Therefore, procedure of CBMs has to continue brick-by-brick and block-by-block approach, because it is basically an incremental process, which needs thoughts and vigilance optimism. The roots of hatred, suspicion and mistrust in India-Pakistan relations are so deep rooted that they cannot disappear with the few sets of CBMs. The process of peace building between
them is going to be inflexible and rough in nature and it may face many obstacles, ups and down, twists and turns, breaks and starts, but it is bound to move further gradually but definitely. It is only possible when both countries demonstrate a sea change in their mind sets. If the concept of confidence-building can work effectively in Southeast Asia, Europe and Latin America through building trust and confidence and enhancing collaboration, then why it cannot work properly in India-Pakistan relations? Now it is appropriate time to capitalise this concept in the direction of conflict to confidence-building so that both the states may write a fresh chapter of harmony, cooperation and peace in their relations. Thus it seems that only option left with India and Pakistan is to have a bilateral catharsis designed at spitting away the poison of decades and then to shift toward resolution of the issues. In order to break from the past, the present circumstances demands bold initiatives and large statesmanship from the leaders of both countries.