Chapter-I

Introduction
Introduction

The Problem

Last decade of the twentieth century has brought about far reaching changes in the international system and security relations among states in the world. As a result, resolution of some major conflicts in different regions of the world turned out to be a significant achievement of the post-cold war world order. However, the region of South Asia remains unaffected by this changed phenomenon. It is still conspicuous of high-level tensions, confrontation and conflicts. Old misperceptions, distrusts and divergent orientations to bilateral issues continue to preoccupy the psyche of the states of India and Pakistan. Approaches of the policy makers and leaders of the two states do not share optimism towards rapprochement between them. Historically, both emerged as independent states in August 1947 experiencing partition followed by communal riots and mass exodus of communities on both sides of the border. This legacy made their relations a story of conflict and discord, mutual distrust and suspicion. Their differences were further accumulated by their divergent views on the doctrine of two-nation theory. Despite resolution of some of the post-partition problems perceptual divergences continue to work as irritant between them. Therefore, both states involved in four wars in a short spell of 68 years. This has serious consequences for the growth of cordial ties between India and Pakistan.

Given the continuing conflicts, mutual distrust and suspicion peace process between both countries suffered many
setbacks. Thus need of CBMs is pre-requisite so that a bridge can be created between them to dialogue on bilateral problems. Success of CBMs in other parts of the world has provided a strong incentive for the application of such technique between them. Experiences of CBMs in other parts of the world reveal that they to a greater degree helped to reduce tensions among states and facilitated the peace processes between them. It is because CBMs are agreements between the countries to increase openness, mutual understanding and communication, designed to reduce the possibility of conflict through accident, miscalculation or failure of communication and to inhibit opportunities for surprise attack or political intimidation thereby increasing stability in time of calm as well as during crisis. The use of strategy of CBMs became all the more important before India and Pakistan as both countries have acquired nuclear status. Therefore, it becomes inevitable for them to normalise their relations to avoid possibility of holocaust among the two.

Though in contemporary times, the process of CBMs was initiated for the first time in the form of Lahore Declaration in 1999, which contains major policy objectives but the infiltrations in Kargil led to the animating of such more. This has led to a serious situation with the attack on Indian Parliament by the terrorists in 2001. This was followed by the period of two years deadlock as India wanted some concrete step to resolve the problem of terrorism. It gave serious setback to the process of peace initiative. However the geo-strategic reasons and changed context of global power politics in the region again compelled the two to reconsider such initiative. This led Atal Behari Vajpayee to
take Sri Nagar initiative in 2003, which resulted into the opening of further discussion with Pakistan. As a result, CBMs, of both military and non-military natures, brought out a ray of hope not only for the people of the two countries of South Asia but also for larger population of the world. In the areas of non-military CBMs, road and rail links were opened by introducing bus and train services. These links are made viable by encouraging people-to-people exchanges. All these efforts are aimed at to strengthen the growth of durable structure of peace, stability and cooperation in their relations. Along with non-military CBMs, both military and nuclear CBMs were also initiated. Such initiative can be called a new beginning which holds potential for defusing tensions between the two states. Strengthening of these military CBMs can play important role in their bilateral ties. No doubt initiation of such process has created constituencies of peace in both the countries. However, things may not change overnight. But given the history of Kargil and attack on Indian Parliament the very acceptance by both states to negotiate on such process is a big achievement.

Therefore, while evaluating the role and utility of CBMs, one need not forget that the deep-rooted animosity is a formidable obstacle that cannot be overcome overnight. Besides, it should be kept in mind that no dramatic results can be expected as peace process has been very fragile. In a situation like this step-by-step approach is likely to be more successful. For any concrete result leadership in both the states require courage of highest order. At the outset it should be emphatically clear that CBMs by themselves do not solve complex problems. They only create
suitable conditions by enhancing trust and goodwill between the parties concerned. They work as opening channels of communication with an adversary. They are likely to yield result if their scope is kept limited and they are designed to suit the needs of the states. Thus, at this juncture only rational option for India and Pakistan is a bilateral catharsis aimed at spitting out the venom of decades and then to move toward reconciliation. In order to break from the past, current situation demands greater statesmanship and bold initiatives from the leaders of both the countries. Thus, it is pertinent to analyse and evaluate the ongoing process between India-Pakistan, so as to decipher their likely implications for the two countries in future.

**Review of Literature**

Plethora of literature on various facts of India-Pakistan relations is available in the forms of books, research articles and websites. Though, most of which, is of historical significance, yet it facilitate understanding of the root causes of contemporary problem. It is likely to serve as a good background material for evaluating the bilateral ties of the two countries. Since nature of present study is very contemporary, one has to depend upon the scant literature available on the theme. From the available material broad trends and tendencies can easily be deciphered.

In present times bilateral relations can be well understood in terms of nature and types of initiatives taken by both the state to resolve the problems. Consequently, a review of writing of different CBMs mechanisms becomes essential. Broadly, these studies can be divided in to four categories: I. Studies related to
CBMs, II. General studies of India-Pakistan relations, III. Foreign Policy work related to India-Pakistan relations, IV. Studies of South Asia related to India-Pakistan relations.

I. Studies Related to CBMs:

To understand the concept and meaning of CBMs Michael Krepon¹, Marie-France Desjardins² and Mutahir ahmed³ works are of immense use. They have discussed the emergence and stages of CBMs in greater detail. Besides, how these can play significant role in improving East-West conflictual relations has been evaluated. RS Yadav⁴ in his pioneering work analyses the various aspects of the concept of CBMs. He has not only defined it and its thrust in global politics in general and South Asian politics in particular, but also historical perspective of India Pakistan CBMs. Besides, a detail evaluation of both nuclear/strategic and non strategic CBMs discussed in broader manner. He has also pointed out the problems in operationalisation of these CBMs to discern the prospects of these CBMs.

Moonis Ahmer⁵ and Dipanker Banerjee⁶ books highlighted the challenges of confidence building process in South Asia in general and between India-Pakistan in particular. P.R. Chari⁷, Toby Dalton⁸, Satyabrata Sinha⁹ and Hasan Nuri¹⁰ attempted to analyse the much neglected issue of CBMs in South Asian region. Along with evolution, performance and practice of CBMs they have also focused on the problems of implementing them. Kumar¹¹, Ghosh¹² and Sahoo¹³ emphasised the role of CBMs with special reference to the states of India and Pakistan. Zulfqar¹⁴, Shah¹⁵, Singh and Peiro¹⁶ are of the view that through the process of
CBMs, India and Pakistan are likely to reduce traditional hostilities. Bidwai\(^1\) and Padder\(^2\) highlighted the likely irritants in the wake of confidence building measures between the two countries. Cloughly\(^3\) suggested how confidence building can be approached and developed in Kashmir. Bishoyi\(^4\) discusses recent development and emergence of roadblocks in the ongoing peace process. She was in favour of adopting a politically flexible approach. Gehlot\(^5\) has examined the progress of India-Pakistan peace process in the context of 12\(^{th}\) SAARC Summit in Islamabad.

Savita Pande\(^6\) categorised the Indo-Pak disputes as major and minor that may trigger full scale war at any moment. She opined that the resolution of such issues lies in the establishment of CBMs, through the process of dialogue and encouragement of people-to-people contacts between the two countries. Kumar\(^7\) considers confidence building between India and Pakistan as a new dimension which may facilitate harmony and cooperation in the history of South Asian region in the 21st century. Kalim Behadur\(^8\) discusses about the proposed CBMs and likely roadblocks in greater detail. Roy\(^9\) described the new possibilities of a dialogue leading to an eventual understanding and the emerging peace between the two neighbours after the Islamabad Declaration in January 2004. Dutt\(^10\) focused on the role of different actors and their interests in the CBMs between India and Pakistan. She visualised why peace process between both countries has different connotations for different people.
II. General Studies of India-Pakistan Relations:

In his study Chopra\textsuperscript{27} has focused attention on different dimensions of India-Pakistan relations in the post-Shimla era. He has also analysed the areas of conflict and cooperation between them. This evaluation is done on the basis of impact of various objective and subjective factors. Gupta\textsuperscript{28} has analyses the impact of the end of the cold war on the strategic relations of India and Pakistan. Blinkenberg's\textsuperscript{29} book provides historical background to the long standing problems between the two countries and analysed some of the structural factors involved in this process. Basically it deals with how both the governments have handled the situation during early periods. Bindra\textsuperscript{30} has highlighted the continuity and changes in India-Pakistan relations since their independence. He analysed the reasons for discord between them despite signing of many agreements, declarations and initiation of number of CBMs. Halan\textsuperscript{31}, Pandey\textsuperscript{32} and Harrison\textsuperscript{33} have analysed India-Pakistan relations in historical perspective. Sreedhar and John\textsuperscript{34} analysed the India-Pakistan relations on the basis of examination of various foreign policy documents. Various treaties and agreements between India and Pakistan have also been analysed in this work.

To understand the relations of India and Pakistan in the context of war and peace have been studied by Dixit\textsuperscript{35} and Jha\textsuperscript{36}. Here, emotional and intellectual attitudes on both the sides have been highlighted in the relations. Study by Kamath\textsuperscript{37} is an anthology covering different dimensions of India-Pakistan relations. Durrani\textsuperscript{38}, Kalpana and Khan\textsuperscript{39} have discussed the
benefits of peace between India and Pakistan. Ray explained how domestic politics of India and Pakistan have influenced their relations. Sareen focused on the unstable nature of peace process between both countries. He also provides a futuristic perception about their relations. Akhtar has discussed the role, capacity and effort of political leadership in the current India-Pakistan peace process. Sisodia and Uday Bhaskar have reviewed the major trends and security policies over the past decades in Indo-Pak relations. Sewak’s work is an incisive study in exploring the possibilities of public-oriented strategies in fostering peace between India and Pakistan. Article by Chopra provides a deep insight about the changing contours of relations between the two states. Majumdar has examined the role of leadership of both countries in their bilateral and nuclear security relations.

Pattanik and Rizwan have discussed how news media could play a positive/negative role in promotion of peace in this region. They also tried to understand the perceptions of the elites of the two countries in order to understand the future course of bilateral negotiations. Raja Mohan highlighted ten basic questions relating to the structure of India-Pakistan peace negotiations. He also described the complex political nature of India-Pakistan dialogue. Bhattacharya and Deshpande have advised both countries to learn lessons from failure of previous summit level dialogues. They were of the view that summit level talks can be successful only if followed by a more structured agenda. Lamb and Behera advised the Indian foreign policy making establishment to understand and appreciate alternative
foreign policy options presented by domestic political debate on India-Pakistan relations in order to devise a sound and effective solution to existing problems. In his article Sharma\textsuperscript{54} has provided the Gandhian perspective to resolve the India-Pakistan problems. He is of the view that when sworn enemies of yesterday have become friends, why can India and Pakistan not unite?

Dodani\textsuperscript{55} and Sreedhar\textsuperscript{56} have mainly discussed the problems of peace, security and conflicts in the post 9/11 period. Mattoo’s\textsuperscript{57} edited volume is compilation of rare articles of leading luminaries. These articles encompasses issues ranging from cross-border terrorism, track II diplomacy, Indus Waters Treaty etc. to that related to questions concerning regions of Jammu, Kashmir and Leh. Besides, the issue of irreversibility of the peace process and the possibility of its failure are also addressed in the book. Studies by Ghatate\textsuperscript{58}, Amit\textsuperscript{59} and Hussain\textsuperscript{60} made effort to understand and analyse the India-Pakistan relations in the perspective of conflict resolution and establishment of peace. Beside, the issue of human development needs has also been examined in these works. Both, recommended that establishment by peace is not only essential but also inevitable.

Study of conflict in India-Pakistan relations in a historical perspective have been the highlights of the works of Raman\textsuperscript{61} and Halan\textsuperscript{62}. Besides, resolutions of some conflicts and continuing irritants affecting ties of the two states have also been examined. Studies by Jaswinder\textsuperscript{63} and Shukla\textsuperscript{64} have analysed about different irritants, conflictual situation, mutual mistrust and suspicion between the two neighbours. Rafiq and Rowe\textsuperscript{65} have
analysed the influence of religion, army and nuclear weapons on India-Pakistan relations. Paul\textsuperscript{66} has analysed the causes of the India-Pakistan rivalry and said it has remained one of the most enduring and unresolved conflicts of present times. Besides, he is of the view that why this rivalry persistence even when some other long-standing conflicts in different parts of the world have come to an end?

The works of Verma\textsuperscript{67}, Rizwan and Chandran\textsuperscript{68} are the two scholarly studies related to India-Pakistan relations in the context of various conflicts. Highlighting the basic nature of these problems they provide a broad perspective about the options available before the policy makers of these countries. Pattanaik\textsuperscript{69} and Chatterjee\textsuperscript{70} have explained Indo-Pak relations with a view to provide pragmatic suggestions for the resolutions of conflict between the two. Dixit\textsuperscript{71} discusses India-Pakistan relations in the context of Agra summit. He gave suggestions for the resolution of conflicts between the two states. Mehtab Ali\textsuperscript{72} analysed about pushes and pulls of the domestic and external politics of India and Pakistan, which may facilitate resolution of existing conflicts. Kumar\textsuperscript{73} has focused on critical events that had bearings on India-Pakistan relations. To understand the economic and trade relations between India-Pakistan the studies by Nisha Taneja\textsuperscript{74}, Kugelman and Hathaway\textsuperscript{75}, Sayeed\textsuperscript{76}, Memon, Rehman, and Rabbi\textsuperscript{77} are of enormous use. They have discussed the emergence of trade as significant CBMs in greater detail in India-Pakistan economic spheres. Besides, how trade can play a significant role in improving India-Pakistan conflictual relations has been evaluated.
The Kashmir issue, which is the main disturbing factor in Indo-Pak relations, have been discussed by various scholars in their articles. Nanda\textsuperscript{78}, Karan\textsuperscript{79}, Mattoo\textsuperscript{80}, Uma Singh\textsuperscript{81}, Punjabi\textsuperscript{82}, Roy\textsuperscript{83}, Cheng\textsuperscript{84} and Sondhi\textsuperscript{85} consider Kashmir as the core factor in India-Pakistan relations and are working as continuous irritant in the normalisation of their relations. Navlakha\textsuperscript{86} explains the limits and scope of composite dialogue in the context of Kashmir issue. Besides, Kashmiri perspective on the issue has been presented in a greater detail. He is of the view that time has come to know the culture of violence and to give peace a chance. Kumar\textsuperscript{87} analyses India-Pakistan relations in the context of October 2005 disasters in Kashmir. She also highlights the implications of the earthquake on the future politics on both sides of Kashmir in particular and Indo-Pak relations in general. Gurmeet\textsuperscript{88}, Choudhary\textsuperscript{89}, Radhika\textsuperscript{90} and Ogden\textsuperscript{91} have discussed the issues of cross border terrorism as main irritant in Indo-Pak relations. They have analysed proxy war/Jehad in Kashmir in the context of Pakistan’s compulsions. Saini\textsuperscript{92} considers self-determination as main factor responsible for ongoing terrorist activities in Kashmir. Bose\textsuperscript{93} has examined various irritants is the resolution of Kashmir problem. He brings out general trends that can explain contemporary efforts to de-escalate armed confrontation between the two states. Iyer\textsuperscript{94} and Saleem Ali\textsuperscript{95} discussed India’s water disputes with special reference to Indus water treaty.

Kumar\textsuperscript{96}, Mishra\textsuperscript{97}, Chari\textsuperscript{98} and Javaid\textsuperscript{99} made an effort to identify the issue of nuclear security concerns as the core issue in the policy formulation and strategic thinking. They also
emphasised that nuclear policy is likely to have greater implications on CBMs in near future. Khan\(^{100}\) analysed that how development of nuclear weapons in the two countries can work as deterrence in India-Pakistan conflict. Sridharn\(^{101}\) and Huque\(^{102}\) described the affect of the nuclearisation in aggravating Indo-Pak hostilities. In his article Kapur\(^ {103}\) has examined the Indo-Pak relations in the post-nuclear weapons stage. He considers that nuclear weapons have not only destabilised South Asia but has also damaged regional security environment in the years to come. Contrary to these studies of nuclear proliferation Ganguly\(^ {104}\) sees the other side of coin. He is of the views that since nuclear weapons have played a role in preventing the risk of full scale war in the region; therefore it has contributed to strategic stability. Basrur\(^ {105}\) analyses India and Pakistan relations in the shadow of war and peace in the context of changed scenario. He argued that the nuclearisation of South Asia and pressure of globalization have altered the basis of policy making in a positive way. Though outcome is hardly assured as yet, the trend is sufficiently encouraging to evoke expectations of better times. Nambiar\(^ {106}\), Effendi\(^ {107}\), Ansari and Vohra\(^ {108}\) have analysed the conceptual aspect of maritime cooperation between India and Pakistan.

III. Foreign Policy Work Related to India-Pakistan Relations:

All major studies on India’s Foreign Policy cover various facts of bilateral relations of both the states. In this regard works of Shivam\(^ {109}\), Grover\(^ {110}\), Geholt and Anu’s\(^ {111}\), are very useful and analytical. The authors have critically examined India's foreign policy and national interest in the context of India-Pakistan
relations. Studies by Yadav and Dhanda\textsuperscript{112} provides an overview of the theoretical understanding of the emerging world order along with India's interactions with global power centers, neighbours, extended neighbourhood, regions and different institutions. Besides it, India's security concern in the post-nuclear period has also been examined. Studies by Bajpai and Pant\textsuperscript{113}, Sinha and Mohta\textsuperscript{114} and Rajan\textsuperscript{115} are very scholarly and persuasive works. Both the studies have analysed the complex political, cultural, economic, regional and global factors and their likely impact on India-Pakistan relations. Dixit\textsuperscript{116} discusses India’s policy toward terrorism in general and its likely impact on India-Pakistan bilateral relations in particular. In his article Cheema\textsuperscript{117} aims to carry out a comparative analysis of Indian and Pakistani strategic culture and its likely impact on decision making on regional stability and security.

**IV. Studies of South Asia Related to India-Pakistan Relations:**

The studies by Behuria\textsuperscript{118}, Gupta\textsuperscript{119}, Chakma\textsuperscript{120}, Kaur and Maan\textsuperscript{121} have presented comprehensive and insightful views about development and partnerships in the South Asian countries. These studies reflect Indian perspective on the prevailing security, economic and political situation in South Asian region. Hossain\textsuperscript{122} seeks to examine whether the civil society actors in South Asia are becoming an agent of regional cooperation? He is of the view that regional cooperation through civil society is essential in contemporary times. Vandana & Ashok\textsuperscript{123} and Aggarwal\textsuperscript{124} have examined multi fold dimensions and problems of South Asian countries in the context of Indo-Pak relations. Besides, a
framework of peace, security and development for the whole region in general and India-Pakistan in particular has been suggested. Mehta\textsuperscript{125} has pleaded towards the development of peace culture to transcend the sediments of history. According to him nationalism has been working as main impediment to provide a new architecture for the subcontinent.

Issue of India’s economic diplomacy in inter-regional term has been examined by Mavlonov\textsuperscript{126}. Here the issue has been evaluated in the context of emerging Central Asian Republics (CARs)-South Asian inter-regional cooperation. Veena and Singh’s\textsuperscript{127} edited book, comprising already published articles, is an attempt to provide views of Indian, Pakistani and other outside scholars on the issues of democracy, development and security. Travis\textsuperscript{128} has analysed the character of the post-cold war international system and its impact on India-Pakistan relations. He is of the view that changed global system has affected the international behaviour of the state and non-state actors in South Asia as well.

Thapliyal\textsuperscript{129} and Rajagopalan\textsuperscript{130} have analysed India-Pakistan conflict in terms of presence of external powers. It has been viewed by them that major powers always created tensions and problems in the region. Dholakia’s\textsuperscript{131} analyses the potential and constraints of resolution of India-Pakistan conflict through third party involvement. Besides, various strategies of mediation, facilitation and conciliation are suggested. Warikoo\textsuperscript{132} has raised concern about the emerging Islamic radicalism as latter is disturbing the plural social order and inter-religious harmony of
this region. Khan’s work is a collection of personal reminiscences and observations based on his own experiences as a Foreign Service officer of Pakistan. He has thrown light on some of the obscure areas of the political history of Pakistan, so that readers are able to observe the realities in Pakistan.

Despite the availability of plethora of material, no profound work is available on the peace process between India and Pakistan. Besides an in-depth study on post-cold war and post-nuclear development and their likely impact of India-Pakistan relations is missing. Moreover, a full length study critically analysing contemporary peace process has yet to emerge. Consequently, there is a need to analyse and examine the India and Pakistan relations in the context of problems and prospects of currently pursued CBMs.

**Scope**

The research work consists of a detailed and deep exploration over the pros and cons of peace process and CBMs in India-Pakistan relationship in this changed international milieu. The scope of present study is limited only to study the implications of different problems of bilateral nature of the two states. Here an in-depth analysis of major problems like Kashmir, terrorism, water dispute etc. have been examined to understand that how these issues are working as irritants in their peace process. It has further examined that how peaceful resolution of such issues is likely to have beneficial impact on the socio-economic and political conditions of these states. In this post-nuclear period, the security concerns of both the states have also
become the central issue between them. Hence, scope of the present work is to examine India-Pakistan relations in inclusive manner utilising the framework of CBMs.

**Objective of the Study**

In this globalised era, no country can remain in vacuum. So how two neighbouring countries can remain in the state of stranger to each other. In the post-cold war era economic issues have acquired important and hence a need to have direct interaction between the states if they want to take advantages of this. CBMs are the steps which facilitate the movement towards this direction. Therefore, in this study a modest attempt has been made to find out the answer of following broad questions. Which factors are responsible for conflictual relations between India and Pakistan? How the framework of CBMs can contribute towards the resolution of such irritants? And how through the initiation of this process objective of permanent peace can be achieved? These and other related questions are likely to form the part of this research work. Hence in this study an effort has been made to examine the current process of CBMs between them and how objective of this process can be attained by successful utilisation of this strategy.

**Chapterisation**

The study is based on following scheme of Chapterisation:-

1. Introduction
2. CBMs: A Theoretical Framework
3. Non-Military and Military CBMs
4. Problems and Prospects
5. Conclusion

**Methodology**

Present study is based on the historico-analytical and comparative method. Holistic approach has been adopted to have an indepth analysis of all the dimensions related to India-Pakistan relations. Both primary and secondary sources available in India and Pakistan are consulted. Primary sources like governments documents, deliberations of legislatures of both the states, annual reports of different ministries, statements and speeches of various leaders of both states etc. have been examined. All the secondary sources available in the form of books, research articles and journals have inspected.
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