Chapter-III

Non-Military and Military CBMs
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The end of cold war has brought about far-reaching changes in the international system and security relationships in the world. As a result, issue of peace became an important in major conflictual regions of the world. The region of South Asia is exception to this phenomenon. It is still conspicuous of high-level tensions, confrontation and conflicts. The age old misperception, distrust and conflictual issues continue to preoccupy the psyche and absorb the interest of policy makers and analysts without any hope for early and enduring rapprochement. Recent global changes and their impact have failed to engender a new spirit and contribute to a resolution of the interstate conflicts between India and Pakistan. Mutual trust and confidence in interstate relations are still as elusive as it was ever before. The end of the cold war has virtually no affect on the South Asian region. It appears that the benefits of the changed international situation have bypassed this region. Given the continuing conflicts, mutual distrust and suspicion, CBMs seem to be fit case for application in India-Pakistan relations in particular and South Asia in general. Often invoking ambivalent feelings, CBMs have generally been looked at askance in their relations. However, both the countries are convinced about the utility and philosophy of CBMs. The success of CBMs in other parts of the world has further provided a strong incentive for their application between the two. This is not to suggest that India and Pakistan should copy the success story of others. It is infact, inappropriate, impractical and probably impossible for them to do so.1 Nevertheless, there are lessons that can be learnt and benefits can be derived. The term CBMs covers a large canvas ranging from a simple unwritten understanding
between two enemies to that of a treaty. Global experiences of CBMs reveal that when adopted honestly, they tend to reduce tensions and certainly promoted peace. In short, CBMs are those political principles which bring about the perceptual changes between the adversaries locked in intractable conflicts. They are mutually agreed rules and norms governing and regulating their behaviour. They are designed to provide guarantee for international security and expanding the scope for states to reassure each other about their security. Thus, the successful CBMs are those that ultimately make adversaries to redefine their objectives and adopt mutually profitable policies to develop peace and cooperation in their relationship.²

In the situations of conflict, military CBMs are generally considered to be more relevant than non-military CBMs. It means the military CBMs are cooperative instruments to prevent war, reduce tension, de-escalate violence, resolve conflict and then convert hostile military intentions of adversaries into peaceful relations.³ While the basic function of non-military CBMs are to minimise the over-arching influence of military factors forming hurdles in evolving peace among the adversaries. But unlike the prophylactic nature of military CBMs, the endeavour of non-military CBMs to expend the cooperation incrementally by softening the edges of mutual suspicions and creates conducive environment for the stability in the relations of adversaries.⁴ If, non-military CBMs are to be evolved and pursued collectively than it cover many areas and issues, which have greater impact on the perceptions and behaviour of the adversaries. Thus, from the definitions and their difference in forms, it must be stated that military CBMs have played more effective role than non-military
CBMs in the peace process. But one thing kept in mind as far as peace processes are concerned that both types of CBMs have a functional inter-relation ship and they are very week and extremely limited in its utility one without another.5

In South Asian context, CBMs can be looked primarily in India-Pakistan relations. While competing for territorial and strategic dominance, both have also made efforts to remove distrust and suspicion between them, but not much progress has been made. In the post-cold war era, both have undertaken several peace initiatives, yet peaceful relationship have not been attained so far.6 It is not a question that how many treatises have been concluded by them, but it is important to know that what kind of solid ground they have prepared in this direction. These developments can be in the form of conclusion of treaty of friendship, increased trade, exchange of visits etc. But building of such base must be strong enough to remove the lack of confidence and suspicion that are lurking in the minds of the policy makers in both the states. If a close look at India and Pakistan CBMs process is made, it reveals that the main focus in initial time was to develop non-military CBMs. But their competitive strategic and regional security concerns with the involvement of the then super powers during cold war period, military CBMs are given more importance than non-military CBMs. So, the history of CBMs in their relations has not been very optimistic and impressive, because, overall process has been rather slow due to non-favorable political environment. However, the initiative taken by the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) has been encouraging. This demonstrates an underlying desire of the people in both the countries toward the establishment of collaborative
and cooperative relations. As a result, many attempts have been made in the direction of military and political confidence building by these organisations. It is also fact that though the states moved forward on CBMs, yet state-to-state relations remained hostile. Besides legacies of partition, unresolved disputes and full scale wars, both managed to sign many agreements of military and civil nature, aimed at to generate confidence and reduce tensions. However, interstate conflicts, often linked to internal unrest and disturbance, continued.7 Thus, negotiation and implementation of CBMs have proved to be a very tough task. Besides the initiatives are often subject to political tension which forestall their progress. Success of CBMs often depends on the foresight of national leaders, who recognise the benefits of such initiatives irrespective of fear and criticism. Broadly speaking CBMs in India-Pakistan relations can be analysed at two levels: (1) Non-military Confidence-Building Measures (NCBMs); and, (2) Military Confidence-Building Measures (MCBMs).

1. Non-Military Confidence-Building Measures (NCBMs)

There is no commonly accepted definition of Non-military CBMs relating to India-Pakistan relations in particular and South Asia in general. It is also a fact that military CBMs are assigned more importance than non-military CBMs. However, confidence is the product of much broader patterns of relations than those relate to military security. If the military dimension is to be contained and prevented from dominating international relations, than non-military CBMs are to minimise the over arching influence of these factors among the adversaries.8 Non-military CBMs are actions and processes undertaken in all phases of the conflict cycle and across multi-dimensional security including
political, economic, social, environment, cultural etc. with the aim of increasing transparency and the level of trust and confidence between the two and more hostile parties to prevent inter-state conflicts and to pave the way for lasting conflict settlement. Therefore, non-military CBMs emphasise on such steps and decisions which can strengthen civilian communications, increase trade, travel, sports, cultural and economic cooperation, and promotion of literary among the hostile countries. Frequent interactions among experts, artists, professionals, students etc. are important aspects of non-military CBMs. Similarly, joint initiatives to tackle certain common political, social and economic problems; help in natural disasters; promotion of health care; and, cooperation in the field of arts, media and education are important factors which can be incorporated in the category of non-military measures.

Now the question arises that what are the possible functions of non-military CBMs in the peace process. Following four fold functions are considered very vital for such CBMs:

1. Implementation of non-military CBMs creates further opportunities for extension of scope of its arenas which relates to military and functional establishments. It is assumed that if a modicum of confidence has restored at the levels of civilian establishments and people-to-people, than military forces and their controlling establishments have evinced more interest in CBMs.

2. Since non-military CBMs target those people who are involved in this process across the borders, because they have greater strength to create peace constituencies between the adversarial
countries. It is assumed that a successful implementation of non-military CBMs on critical areas, which generate tremendous goodwill at people-to-people level, it is going to mobilised and exert them to pressurize their governments to work seriously about peace.10

3. Non-military CBMs also create opportunities for the Track-II and Track-III diplomacy. Generally hostile countries play a facilitative role in their relations through this diplomacy. As this process provides feedback for its incorporation in their overall peace-building strategies. Thus, can develop better understanding of their problems through this exercise as it tends to strengthen the prospects of government-to-government interactions for furthering the CBMs process.

4. Because of people oriented nature, non-military CBMs can provide an opportunity for those countries, which are committed for peace and learning each other’s genuine interest in cooperation. Hence, non-military CBMs in critical areas can work as a tool first for better inter-state relations through removing their anxieties, doubts and suspicions, and then enhancing cooperation and finally strengthening security measures.11

However, the concept of non-military CBMs is not totally new in case of India-Pakistan relations. Earlier CBMs were more of military nature and much progress has not been made in the direction of non-military CBMs. But in recent times non-military CBMs have got requisite attention. They have not been emphasized earlier because nature of conflicts threatening peace in the region is essentially military. This made a definite impact both on conflict process as well as peace process. However, later
on it was realized that non-military CBMs in the form of Track-II and Track-III diplomacy need to be encouraged, because they can also work as important means of conflict resolution. Promotion of amity between the people ultimately promotes good neighbourly relations. Consequently, since 2004 both countries agreed to initiative numerous non-military CBMs. Both also agreed for peaceful negotiated settlement of remaining issues in a very sincere and purposeful manner.\textsuperscript{12} Though, it is evident that there has been a continuous engagement for building confidence and trust between India and Pakistan, yet the level and intensity of cooperation and confidence has been limited due to long years of hostile relationship. So, there is a need to introduce a wide range of non-military CBMs. If implemented in great letter and spirit, they can certainly improve their relations and create suitable condition for peace and cooperation. Thus, non-military CBMs have emerged as an important part of the India-Pakistan peace process. That is why, both sides have proposed, sometimes constructively and at others in an adversarial manner, an agenda for CBMs between them. In recent times following steps have been taken in the direction of non-military CBMs by both countries:

\textbf{I. Lahore Spirit}

On 20 February 1999, direct bus service has been started between the historic city of Delhi and Lahore. The then Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee travelled via Wagah Border to Lahore through the inaugural bus journey, where he was welcomed by the then Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Start of bus service intended to enhance people-to-people contact between them. It was first agreed upon during the meeting of both the Prime Ministers in New York in September 1998 on the side
line of UN General Assembly annual conference. This initiative taken by the Indian Government was praised by the entire world community. During this visit, both have signed the first and most important non-military CBMs in recent time in the form of Lahore Declaration on 21 February 1999. Through this declaration both sides pledged to intensify their efforts to resolve all the issues including Jammu and Kashmir. They also pledged to intensify their composite dialogue process for an early and positive outcome of their agreed bilateral agenda. Both countries also signed the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) and agreed to periodically review the implementation of existing CBMs and where necessary to set up appropriate consultative mechanisms for this purpose. Both the Prime Ministers agreed to share a vision of peace and stability between the two countries. They were convinced that durable peace and development of harmonious relations and friendly cooperation are likely to serve the vital interests of the people of the two countries, enabling them to devote their energies for a better future.

Lahore Summit was thus a vital achievement while not only has provided a platform to talk on different issues between them, but also brought India-Pakistan peace efforts back on truck. In this context, public statements by both the leaders seemed genuinely intended to put past enmity on rest, to resolve the outstanding issues and develop cooperative relationship. Besides, this summit for the first time it has provided a comprehensive framework through composite dialogue, which may allow each side to raise issues of greatest concern without prejudice to progress in other areas. Additionally, both the countries agreed and expressed their mutual commitment to the principles and
purposes of the UN Charter and reiterated their mutual determination to implement the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit.\textsuperscript{17} Thus, this MOU is marked with a new thrust towards improvement of their relations. The announcements relating to non-military CBMs, no doubt can await articulation and gradual implementation. It was hoped by many people in both the countries that the Lahore process may results in some positive outcome in their relations. But unfortunately, the process of confidence building and resumption of the links between the two countries came to a dead lock. The Kargil infiltrations have ended the Lahore spirit. War totally derailed the peace-process without initiating any meaningful steps. India felt betrayed as its Lahore diplomacy did not produce any positive results.\textsuperscript{18}

After Kargil crisis, there was a long time confrontation among both states, but the changing international and domestic atmosphere compelled to both to resume their stalled peace process. At external level, the powers likes US and China were exerting pressure upon India and Pakistan to prevent their mutual hostility and move towards harmony and cooperation. At domestic level, Pakistan was faced unfavourable conditions on economic sphere. India also faced some economic sanctions of world community after their nuclear explosion. Besides, after the military takeover in Pakistan, Musharraf was facing the crisis of legitimacy and India was consistently targeting him on international forum to bringing back democracy in Pakistan. Thus, it was a dire need of time to improve their relations and get the benefit of changed scenario. As a result, the then Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee invited the then Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf through a letter for a visit to India. He
underlined the objectives of Agra Summit in his letter and assumed that it talked of “picking up the threads” and walking on the “high road to peace and prosperity” in the subcontinent. He also maintained that scarcity as a common rival of both states and the lone way to ensure a secure and prosperous future for the people of the region is the path of reconciliation. It can be achieved by engaging in fruitful discussion to build confidence and trust. President Musharraf accepted the invitation and in response to the idea expressed by Prime Minister Vajpayee in the invitation as stable, strong and secure Pakistan is in the interest of India, he retorted that “we wish to see a stable and prosperous India at pace with its neighbours”. In this perspective, President Musharraf visited to India on 14-16 July 2001. At their retreat in Agra leaders of both the states held wild-ranging discussions on India-Pakistan relation including Kashmir and affirmed their commitment to address each other’s concerns. But, due to the irresponsible behaviour of President Musharraf, both could not successes to sign a single agreement. Moreover, ultimately, two sides could not even arrive at a mutually acceptable joint declaration. It was a tragedy for the people of both states, because it had created so much hype and hope.

After the events of 9/11, attack on the Indian Parliament and war-like situation between India and Pakistan have pushed for a significant change in Pakistan’s foreign policy as well as its relations with India. Moreover, economic condition of the country, growing violence in Baluchistan, the unfriendly international environment and deep involvement in Afghanistan also forced to Pakistan to rethink its Kashmir policy as well as its relations with India. These have played a vital role in bringing about a
paradigm shift in Pakistan’s thinking towards India. At the same time, international investors were pressuring the Indian government to normalize their relations with Pakistan, because the environment of fear had a negative impact on business activity and investment. India also realised that its successful economic journey can cease if it did not settle their disputes with Pakistan. Besides, it had to think about the immense potential in bilateral trade as well as in trade with landlocked Afghanistan and Central Asia via Pakistan. Moreover, Kashmir resistance poses a huge financial burden on Indian economy. It can only remove when India withdrawal their security forces form borders and improve their relation with Pakistan. Another, India aspires for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, for which it is not only necessary to ensure friendly relations with neighbours, but also to resolve their disputes. Thus, these created a sense of obligation among the ruling elites to show that they were not only serious about setting their disputes, but also interested to establish peaceful relations with their neighbours. As a result, the then Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee offered a hand of friendship to Pakistan in April 2003. This initiative has provided a breakthrough in India and Pakistan relations. It has also provided new possibilities to increase people-to-people contact between them.

Thus, in a history of relationship peppered with distrust, fear and conflicts, the peace process initiated by Vajpayee has been the most enduring and genuine attempt at rapprochement between the two nuclear neighbours. This has officially called the ‘Composite Dialogue’ the process of simultaneously negotiating the settlement of a multitude of issues that have been bedeviling the
relationship, has so far held through minor confrontations and differences. But more than two years down the line, despite the much hyped bus diplomacy and the tentative bon homie shared between the people of both the states, the peace process might grind to a halt if solutions are hard to come. The gestation period is fast nearing its end and there is a high level of exception on the people of both sides and especially on the part of the people of Kashmir that the leadership of both the countries would soon get down to reaching a settlement at least on issues that could be resolved without much difficulty.25

II. Bus Diplomacy

India and Pakistan opened their road links through introduction of bus services. It was clearly a political breakthrough and proved to be a step of far-reaching consequences. It is based on the presumption that the increased people-to-people contact is likely to increase good will among them. As first initiative both restored Delhi-Lahore road link, which was operational since 20 February 1999, but was stopped after terrorist attack on Indian Parliament on 13 December 2001.26 Another bus service named “Karavan-e-Aman” was also launched on 7 April 2005 between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad, the respective capitals of the Indian and Pakistani parts of Jammu and Kashmir.27 This bus service, to a great extent, has broken down the walls of hatred. During the launch of this event, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh described it as “the first step on a long journey”. He further observed that “a door has been opened and that India was ready to accept Pakistan’s hand, and the two countries, hand in hand, can work for the welfare of their people”.28
History was made when first-ever bus service between Amritsar and Lahore was launched on 20 January 2006. With a bus named “Dosti” carrying 26 passengers from Lahore crossed over to India through the land route at Wagah-Attari border. It is considered another step towards building for more cordial relations. The moment was of historic significance as Amritsar and Lahore are now connected through a surface transport system for the first time since 1947. Bus service, which was a common activity along the GT Road in the pre-partition days, became a rare treat along the re-christened Sher Shah Suri Marg. Running of bus service has completed the long cherished wish of Punjabi people of both countries. Another bus service named “Punj-Aab” between Amritsar and Nankana Sahib flagged off by the then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on 24 March 2006 has come as an answer to a long held yearning of the Punjabis. This regular bus service links two religious centers of Sikhs on both sides. It was not just a spiritual fulfillment, but also an ideal CBM, which the two countries badly need. Fifth bus service between the two countries started between Poonch and Rawalkot on 20 June 2006 which further cemented their cordial relations.

These bus services not only gave boost to a new climate of cooperation, but also increased people-to-people contact between the two countries. Strong bridge of friendship and peace has been built through this process. Through Bus diplomacy both also tied to redefine the nature of the Kashmir conflict, it is because for the first time the two sides enabled the two Kashmir to come together without any prejudices and territorial claims. The most important aspect of this bus cooperation has been that both governments have bowed to the sentiments of their people. Through the launch
of these bus services both sides of the people presumed that it is going to lead a free movement of people and goods. But in practice it hardly satisfies the aspirations of people of both the countries, because of their limited nature and travel restrictions attached them. Through these non-military CBMs, the increasing frequency of civil society dialogue experts, activists, academics and journalists from the two countries has created an ambiance of addressing the contentious issues through peaceful means of dialogue and negotiations. Thus, the roads of peace through buses are bumpy, but are not difficult to cross.

III. Railway Linkages

Another step taken in the direction of non-military CBMs has been the linking of India and Pakistan through railways. First rail link between both countries has been the restoration of “Samjhauta Express” between Atari to Wagh, which has been stopped by Indian government after the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament on 13 December 2001. Another rail link between Munabao to Khokhrapar has been introduced on 18 February 2006 on the western border. Running of “Thar Express” has been resumed which was snapped since 1965 war. During the war Pakistan’s fighter jets bombed the tracks connecting the two countries. This train restored a lost link, which was of immense significance for divided families as well as provided a fillip to the friendly relations emerging between the two countries as part of CBMs.33

The rail link, restored after several rounds of talks, has brought about a new hope of economic prosperity in the border area. Though, at present there is no parcel van attached to the
“Thar Express”, yet it is hoped that once stabilizes and everything goes well, fright operations between the two countries may start. In this new environment both countries have transcended their past rancor and are taking new-initiatives to create cooperative mechanism and regional partnerships. South Asia so far has made big news when India and Pakistan squabble. It is now beginning to make news when India and Pakistan Cooperate. Enlarging the constituency of peace also means that the two governments may give up the temptation to score points and claim victories. Through the running of more trains trade across the border can be enhanced. This may help in strengthening the environment for tangible and long lasting cooperation, where creative solutions to difficult problems become possible. Thus, these linkages are likely to play major role in encouraging people-to-people exchanges and in defining new parameters in their relations.

IV. Soft Borders

Soft border word has been used for the first time, by the then Pakistan’s President Pervez Musharraf on the eve of his visit to India on 16 April 2005. Similarly Manmohan Singh has also observed earlier that “short of succession, short of re-drawing boundaries, the Indian establishment-can live with anything.” Thus both considered that existing borders are not so important and people on both sides are able to move freely. This approach may help India and Pakistan to move towards a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute rather than representing a final settlement by itself. Running of bus services and opening up of different routes within Jammu and Kashmir can be considered as first step towards converting the LoC in to a soft border. However, it is also
a fact that a wide gulf probably separates what the two countries meant by a soft border. In Indian perspective, meaning of soft border has been assumed as “a much freer traffic across the border that people should find it very easy to come and go, meet their relatives; there should be very easy trade relations between the two sides; and it should have very efficient transport linkages between the two sides.” 37 Beside, it not only requires relooking at the Kashmir problem in a different perspective, but also providing chance to both countries to work together. Moreover, it focuses on the interests of the people, creating an environment where both sides of LoC can lead a life of dignity and self-respect. Both have looked forward in the direction of soft border, when there are much freer traffic across the borders, across the LoC, greater transport linkages, cultural exchanges, and shared problems of the environment. In this context, both sides have agreed to pursue further measures to enhance interaction and cooperation across the LoC including agreed meeting points for divided families, trade, pilgrimages and cultural interaction. 38 However, Indian establishment make it clear that it neither meant LoC as permanent border, nor any division of Kashmir. Similarly, Pakistan also added that it also does not accept the proposal of converting of LoC as permanent border. 39

Conscious of the historic opportunity created by the improved environment and the overwhelming desire of the people of the two countries leaders of both states agreed to move forward in this direction. They have decided to carry forward the process and to bring the benefit of peace to their people. 40 As a result, after the earthquake at borders in 2005 both opened the LoC at five points and marched ahead one step forward in the direction of soft
border. In this context, Pakistan’s President Pervez Musharraf observed that, “I believe moving forward in political terms ... let us make the LoC irrelevant. Lets us open it out, let people come on our side or our people come on their side to help each other.” Similar India also look a lot of risk by allowing the softening of the LoC, despite the fact that Pakistan has not done enough to eliminate the terrorist activities. The earthquake relief work provided fresh proof that the terrorists remain as organised and active as before. Therefore, softening of the LoC can be a permanent feature only when the terrorist menace disappears forever and they are not allowed to come in the way of the people who yearn for peace. However, softening of border neither means that the LoC will become a de jure border, nor that the issue of Kashmir will be resolved immediately. The only purpose for this term is to create a suitable environment for smooth functioning of their relations, so that both the countries may get out of the strait-jacket of composite dialogue and expand the scope of strategic dialogue. In this process, the larger strategic objective is to build a solid foundation for future generations.

Some scholars have questioned the idea of soft border as dangerous is likely to create more problem than solution. As a result, positive likely scenario will be that Kashmiris in India once travels to PoK to witness the pitiable condition there and then they may decide to live with India rather than Pakistan. Negative scenario may be the resurgence of Kashmiri nationalism among both parts of the region. There is also the chance that once the LoC is softening, it may increase demand for accession to Pakistan. But all are hypothetical questions these cannot be so simplistically addressed without understanding the complex
historical and geo-political conditions prevailing on both sides of the borders.

Hence, soft border approach to be understood in limited sense of opening of the LoC to enhance the interaction between people of divided Kashmir. This may create a climate conducive to the final settlement of the territorial dispute. Amidst all the proposals and counter-proposals this is perhaps the first one that resembles a common vocabulary pursued by both states. But both the states are still far away from a breakthrough on Kashmir issue. However, both have moved a step forward is moving in the direction to create new climate for the initiation of non-military CBMs.

V. Environmental and Disaster Management

Possible cooperation among India-Pakistan on environmental issues has immense potential to generate confidence and trust. Problems like earthquake in 2005 and flood situation in 2010 and 2014 provide opportunities for both of them to work together. In such situations can share their data on climate and natural resources and collaborate closely to thwart environmental degradation. For instance, during the earthquake and floods India offered to help the affected people not only in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) but also in entire Pakistan. Cooperation in disaster management on both sides of the LoC has been given impetus in present times.

The massive destruction caused by the earthquake of 8 October 2005 has thrown up huge challenges of rescue, relief and rehabilitation on both sides of Kashmir. The losses on Indian side have been comparatively less than in PoK where the figure of
affected people crossed 50000.\textsuperscript{45} Despite huge environmental calamities, authorities have effectively managed to overcome the effects of the disaster. The enormity of the destruction required rebuilding and rehabilitation in the affected areas and conditions in PoK became unmanageable for the Pakistani state. As a result, an appeal for massive international aid was made. India was quick to respond to Pakistan’s appeal and quickly rushed all such help to Islamabad.\textsuperscript{46} Within hours of the disaster India provided relief material including tents, blankets, food items and medicines to Pakistan. Indian also supplied medicines to the time of 82 tones, 104550 blankets, 26020 tents, 35000 mattresses, 28 tones of plastic sheet, 100 tones of fortified biscuits. Additionally, a few hundred cartons of assorted items like pluses, rice, sugar and tea were also dispatched.\textsuperscript{47}

India’s diplomacy thus conveyed its gesture support and help towards Pakistan. As a result an extraordinary atmosphere of cooperation and harmony prevailed all along the LoC. The entire Indian offer to send relief goods indirectly enhanced confidence building process between the two countries. This time both India and Pakistan worked together in rescue and rehabilitation efforts in Kashmir. However, some suspicions and security concerns prevented the two countries to develop full scale cooperation. But level of understanding between the two countries definitely reached to a very different plane. Consequently, both agreed to allow the movement of people across the LoC. Indian government also re-activated the dormant telecommunication links between two sides of the LoC. India’s progressive outlook to help people across the LoC is likely to create greater goodwill between the governments and people of both the countries. Any unrealistic
offers however generous could be perceived as efforts of diplomatic one-upmanship. Moreover, Pakistan’s agreeing to assistance from India further reflects about the prevailing positive moods among the two countries.⁴⁸

Cooperation in the direction of disaster management, thus, led to the opening of the LoC at five points for facilitating relief, reconstruction and rehabilitation work. Both also agreed that, with prior information and acceptance, relief items can be sent in either direction and can be handed over to local authorities at approved crossing points.⁴⁹ First such point of the LoC was opened on 7 November 2005 at Titrinote in Chakan Da Bagh. This was for the first time in the history of the sub-continent that the LoC was opened for the movement of goods.⁵⁰ For a moment boundaries have disappeared, as officials and scribes crossed over into each other’s territory. “It is really a historical moment because I had never thought that I could cross the LoC. I cannot express my feeling because the event speaks for itself,” said a local residence. On 9 November 2005, second relief point in Kaman Post along the LoC, for exchange of relief material for the earthquake hit people of Pok was opened. Though, it is being done as a goodwill gesture on both sides, yet civilians have not been allowed to crossover the LoC.⁵¹ The third relief point at Teetwal in Tangdhar along the LoC was opened on 12 November 2005. As soon as the point was opened people from both sides waved at each other, eager to cross over but they were not allowed. At this Hameeda Nayeem, a university teacher remarked that, “Exchange of relief is a symbolic gesture to impress diplomatic circles around the world. The two countries need to allow exchange of emotional relief. It is cry of the heart, not the stomach.”⁵² Another teacher in
Teetwal Raja Gowhar Ali, whose four uncles are living in PoK, said that, “It will be the beginning of a very good mission. It is a historic day in our lives. We will be sending more relief in the coming days and hope that people start crossing over soon. We are very eager to go there and help our brothers.” Fourth, LoC relief point was opened in Balnoi (Mendhar) on 14 November 2005. Fifth and final LoC point was opened at Silikot (Uri), for the exchange of relief material, on 16 November 2005.

Through the opening up of crossing point at LoC, both countries moved forward in the peace process. Efforts have been made with a spirit to help for the affected people across the LoC. It is a good step towards the normalisation of the situation. But it is a fact that neither India nor Pakistan went back to the pre-earthquake phase in Kashmir. The irrelevance and melting of the LoC indeed proved a rhetorical theme between both countries and a halfway house in resolving the Kashmir issue. Need of hour is to give some substance to this idea. At popular level, however, one can imagine a more favourable image of India resulting the very willing and spontaneous help made available to the helpless people of Kashmir across the LoC. It also seems that now Kashmir issue may not be determined by scoring points against one another, but rather be utilized as an opportunity to climb a few more steps on the ladder to peace. Besides, it is essential to grasp the geo-political aspects of the problems raised by the earthquake devastation. But one thing suspects every one that why Pakistan did not allow the Indian trucks carrying relief materials for the victim to cross the LoC. It is also being suspected that why it refused to accept Indian helicopters for rescue operations, when all these efforts were meant purely for
humanitarian purposes. Moreover, despite the support of some moderate Kashmiri politician, some Islamist groups continue to engage themselves to interrupt in any improvement in their relations. As long as those groups find shelter in Pakistan, a peace settlement is likely to be impossible.\textsuperscript{56}

Flood in Pakistan in July 2010, has provided massive challenges of rescue and rehabilitation of people. It’s affected over 20 million people and over 1.9 million households were destroyed or damaged. Approximately 2,000 people died and over 3,000 were injured. India was quick to offer all kind assistance and provided an aid of $ 5 million (£ 3.2 million). Pakistan acceptance of such financial aid indicates improvement of relations between the two states. It is likely to have significant implications for future relations between the two regional states.\textsuperscript{57} Similar kind of assistance was provided by India at the time of flood in September 2014. Thus, natural calamities on LoC provided opportunities to both India and Pakistan to help each other. It brought both of them closer to each other and enhances confidence between the two.

\textbf{VI. Educational, Ideological and Cultural Exchange}

Predispositions of ideological, educational and cultural exchange between the two countries have their own importance so far as the strategic dimension of foreign policy is concerned. This is because public opinion more shaped by such activities as compared to political and military relations, where perceptions of ruling elites play more significant role. Moreover, the perceptions and policies of countries are deep rooted in its socio-cultural ethos. In analysed properly it seem that India-Pakistan relations
are more shaped by artificial barriers created by hostile political and military relations as the latter are based on aggressive perceptions. Besides, both the states belonged to one civilization and share similar traditions and culture. But these important segments have been neglected during the last 68 years in their relations. Ideological, educational and cultural exchanges between them never took place in an organised manner, supported by concrete plans and policy documents from both the governments. Basic it has been the result of Pakistan’s efforts to evolve a different culture and ideology of its own in the post-independence era. As a result, Pakistan always emphasised on the points of divergence rather than harmony with Indian culture. Creating rhetoric of cultural invasion by India, the Pakistan ruling elites have restricted any kind of cultural interaction with the former.

In hostile political and military relations between India and Pakistan non-military CBMs, through educational and cultural exchanges, provide an alternative route towards the normalisation of bilateral relations. Although, both have taken some initiatives in non-military CBMs from time to time, yet they are either inadequate or insufficient. First such comprehensive cultural agreement signed in December 1988 by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Pakistan’s Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto for envisaging cooperation in art, culture and education. These included scholarships and fellowships to the students in both countries and exchange of historians, academicians, scientists and educationists. Both have also agreed through the exchange of musicians, artists, theatre groups, and folk dance groups, exhibitions of arts, poets, writers and painters. Besides, they agreed to participate in painting exhibition, film festivals and
exchange of television and radio programmes and allowed the posting of more newspapers and correspondents in each other’s country. Both have also envisaged revision of geography and history textbooks to erase misperceptions of facts and break the stereotype prejudices poisoning the minds of the younger generation. However, leaders of both countries failed to create political reconciliation in their respective countries. As a result, attempts of the enlargement of educational and cultural exchanges could not be realized in practices.

Some initiatives to boost people-to-people contacts and efforts at NGO level have been taken visualised by both the countries. Some forums like, Neemrana Group and Pakistan-India People’s Forum for Peace and Democracy (PFPD), are working as NGOs to initiate interactions between writers, artists, poets and scholars of both the countries. Besides, the Neemrana Group submitted a joint policy paper identify the options for resolving the Kashmir dispute. Though, progress of these forums, in terms of any quantifiable impact on Indo-Pakistan relations is limited, yet, their frequent meetings attest to the growing desire of the people of the two countries to prevent war and create normal conditions.

In this process not only both the countries are involved, yet different groups, NGOs and individuals, who are in favour of peace, harmony and good neighbourly relations between them are associated with such initiations. They are in favour of enhancing the people-to-people contacts through their visits to religious places and in educational institutes in each other’s countries. After the meeting of joint commission working groups on education has met on 22 February 2007 in Delhi areas of
technical education, business administration, science and information technology etc. are considered for collaboration. Possibility of exchange of experiences among Pakistan’s institution like National Book Foundation (NBF) and India’s National Book Trust (NBT) and National Council of Education and Research and Training (NCERT) are explored. Institutional linkages between Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan and India’s University Grants Commission (UGC) and National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA) are also considered.63 Important initiative in this field has been taken by University of Mumbai in India and University of Sindh in Pakistan in July 2007, as both the universities have signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) for exchange of faculty, scholars and students.64 Another accord between state run think tanks, Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) New Delhi and Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS) Islamabad was brought into effect in 2008 for facilitating regular contact between them; so that the confidence building channels of communication at the level of scholars could be build. Both have also decided to cooperate through exchange of information, joint workshops, symposia, seminars, visits, training and collaborative research.65 Beside, a major development emerged between the media of both the states, when two leading newspapers of India and Pakistan (Times of India and Jang Group) started “Amman ki Aasha” to develop cooperation among the people of both the countries.66 This platform provides interaction between divided families, pilgrimages and to enhance development of diplomatic and cultural relations between the two states.
India and Pakistan, to a greater degree have similar cultures, cuisines and languages which strengthen the historical ties between the two. Pakistani singers, musicians, comedians and entertainers have enjoyed widespread popularity in India, with many achieving overnight fame in the Indian film industry i.e., Bollywood. Likewise, Indian music and films are very popular in Pakistan. So, both the states have agreed in June 2006 to host festivals displaying each other’s movies in their countries. In this regard Pakistani government allowed for the legal release of Indian films in Pakistan in 2008; although, India had already permitted them. After this ‘In the Name of God’ or ‘Khuda Key Liye’ became the first Pakistani film in four decades which got formal approval for release in Indian theaters.67 Being located in the northern region of the South Asia, Pakistan’s culture is somewhat similar to that of North India. The Punjab region was split into two parts between Pakistan and India in 1947. The Punjabi people are today the largest ethnic group in Pakistan and also an important ethnic group of northern India. The founder of the Sikh religion was born in the modern-day Pakistani Punjab province, in the city of Nankana Sahib. Each year, millions of Indian Sikh pilgrims cross over to visit holy city of Nankana Sahib. Likewise, many Pakistani Muslim people visit India to devote the holy chader at the Sufi Saint Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti’s shrin in Ajmer. The Sindhi people are the native ethnic group of the Pakistani province of Sindh. Many Hindu Sindhis migrated to India in 1947, making the country home to a sizable Sindhi community. In addition, the millions of Muslims who migrated from India to the newly-created Pakistan came to be known as the Muhajir people; they are settled predominantly in Karachi and still maintain family links in India.
Thus both have opened numerous of religious shrines for pilgrimages. As a result, large number of Sikh pilgrims have been participating in ‘Parkash Utsav’ the 400th birth anniversary celebrations of Guru Arjan Dev on 16 June 2006 at Gurdwara Dehra Sahib in Lahore. A historic moment was scripted, when the Guru Granth Sahib in the golden palanquin has been sent to Pakistan through Wagah Border. The Radcliff line seemed to have disappeared for some time to mark the historic event as hundreds of devotees accompanying the palki crossed the zero line. This has revealed the emergence of cooperation between the people of both countries. India also proposed that Kashmiris be allowed to visit their religious shrines in Pok and build contacts by allowing families from the two Kashmiris to meet on a regular basis. The two Kashmiris can cooperate on forestry management and setting up points along the LoC for trade. These and similar other proposals have good potential to improve India-Pakistan bilateral relations.

Release of numerous civil prisoners and fishermen, since the beginning of peace process, have been also a goodwill gesture shown by both the states. Further, during Home Secretary level composite dialogue on 29-30 August 2005, both also have agreed to provide consular access to all persons. Both agreed to release the prisoners immediately after completion of sentence and nationality verification. Even fishermen and civilian prisoners who have completed their sentence and whose nationality has been confirmed were also released. Consequently, India released 97 Pakistani civil prisoners and 51 fishermen on 12 September 2005 across the Wagah border. Similarly, Pakistan repatriated 371 Indian fishermen and 64 prisoners. In this process more than
500 fishermen and civilian prisoners have been released by both the states in repeated instances till December 2007. As part of major initiative a Joint Judicial Committee (JJC) of eight retired senior judges has been established by both the states. This committee is working to look into the conditions of fishermen and civilian prisoners jailed in both the countries. Its aim is to seek welfare and release of those whose sentences have been served.\textsuperscript{70} Since their first meeting in 2008 till 2014, India released 386 Pakistani Civil prisoners and fishermen and Pakistan released 1069 Indian Civil prisoners and fishermen.\textsuperscript{71}

India and Pakistan have increased the strengths of their respective High Commissions from 75 to 110 in Islamabad and New Delhi.\textsuperscript{72} Both are also trying to reopen the consulates in Mumbai and Karachi, which had been closed since 1992. Apart from visa liberalisation, both have taken steps and a number of categories of people like children, senior citizens, poets, writers, students, artists and journalists were exempted from police reporting and the visa fees were also waived for them. A major visa agreement was signed by both the countries on 8 September 2012 for easing travel restrictions for businessmen and a new category of group tourism was also introduced. Travel for tourism and pilgrimage were also expanded.\textsuperscript{73}

Thus, above cooperation in cultural and educational fields has contributed towards the growth of durable structure for peace and stability. The conscious policies of both countries have been people centric. It is also true that without governmental support and funding, such initiatives cannot sustain for a long period. Hence, both are making efforts in promoting people-to-people exchanges across the spectrum. These increased linkages are not
only likely to encourage greater contact among the people, but also likely to create awareness of the need to transcend border for the sake of prosperity and well being on both sides. It is hoped that in future a more positive approach may evolve and such cooperation may gain primacy to settle the political and ideological hostility between them.

VII. Cricket Diplomacy

Cricket diplomacy as a part of cultural exchange has also been utilized by them to forward their foreign policy goals. This has been operationalized both at the popular level, as well as, at the official level. It consists of using the game as a political tool to enhance diplomatic relations between two cricket playing nations of India-Pakistan. The cricket matches between them is one of the most passionate sports rivalries in the world. After their independence, both countries laid foundations for the emergence of an intense sporting rivalry between the two, who had earlier shared a common cricketing legacy. Many people in both countries feel that Cricket exchange is a positive move, which facilitate leaders of both sides to visit the opposite side to enhance their relationships. In the past, Cricket matches have been used as meeting opportunities or icebreakers on the sidelines. The then President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari rightly observed that the resumption of cricketing ties with India, as a formidable CBMs, is preformed way to encourage people-to-people contact. It is believed by both countries that such inputs have added a positive environment in their bilateral discourse. Leaders of both states also stated at the time of World Cup cricket semi-final match between India and Pakistan at Mohali in 2011, that Cricket diplomacy has proved to be a means for improving ties between
the two and definitely it had brought the two nations and two governments more closely. However, sports and politics have had both positive and negative implications as far as relations between India and Pakistan are concerned. Nationalistic enthusiasm is sometimes linked to victory or loss on sports fields. In case of India and Pakistan, cricket has frequently been the victim of poor relations between these neighbours with tours blocked for years because of bitterness. Nevertheless, it has also been used to build trust and confidence when ties are improving. Through the positive presentation of media, however, Cricket diplomacy can play great role in enhancing bilateral relations between them.

VIII. Economic and Trade Exchange

Economic and trade exchanges also bind the nations and communities, as on the one hand, these activities enhance economic co-operation; and on the other hand, barriers of mistrust is removed through such activities. In today's globalised world of competitiveness, economic factors do play a major role in determining relations between the states. This inter-community and cross-border trade has provided a basis for dialogue and co-operative approach to resolve the problems beyond the economic sphere. With the emerging thaw in India-Pakistan economic relations, the issues of trade and commerce have acquired important position. Both are the two largest economics of South Asia, but both are also low-income, poorest and least developed countries in the world. Trade and economics exchanges between them have always been disturbed by politics. Although bilateral trade between both the countries has increased in recent years, particular after the Kashmir initiatives, but obstacles remain in realisation of their trade potentials.
However, trade among India and Pakistan has always been linked to political relations of the two countries, rather than being governed by economic factors. After their independence trade fell significantly till 1974, when both the countries signed an agreement and resumption of trade relations. But why India and Pakistan having such restricted trade relations? Though there was a tremendous potential of trade between them, yet no concerted effort has been made to strengthen a framework of formal bilateral trade. Even this small amount of trade was also being done through informal channels like, third country routes and smuggling. In this globalized world where both countries have liberalised their economies and members of WTO regime, this low levels of trade is an anomaly. A major development emerged in their trade relations when India accorded Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to Pakistan in 1996, but Pakistan yet to accord such status to India. Although Pakistan has continued to allow imports of a limited number of items from India, collectively known as the positive list, and the number of items on the list has been increasing regularly. Recently in 2011 in-principle Pakistan has decided to accord MFN status to India, but such promised still remains unfulfilled. MFN treatment ensures non-discriminatory trading terms among WTO members. It guarantees that if favourable tariff rates are given to one trading partner, then all other member countries will receive the same terms. Although, the principle does not entail giving extra advantages to any one partner, rather it provides for uniform terms of trading for all member countries. In January 2014 after the meeting between the Commerce Ministers of both states, it has decided to change the WTO acronym MFN to NDMA (Non-Discriminatory Market Access). Later on Pakistan has also indicated that it plan to grant
NDMA to India in place of MFN. This NDMA is a new terminology that Pakistan is adopting in place of MFN. This change in nomenclature will help in achieving the goal of increasing trade and investment among India and Pakistan.\textsuperscript{82}

But, Pakistan domestic constraints and slow economic growth are mainly responsible for not granting MFN status to India. Besides, it has delayed on account of apprehensions of a strong lobby of agriculture sector, auto engineering industry and pharmaceutical industry, who seek protection of local manufactures. The main concerns they have expressed that if India will allow non-discriminatory market access to the Pakistani market, then these sectors cannot compete with Indian products, which are three times cheaper than Pakistan’s. Despite India’s granting MFN status to Pakistan, the balance of trade has remained in favour of India and if Pakistan granting MFN status to India then this trade gap has continued to increase.\textsuperscript{83} This increase in trade volume is going to benefit Indian exporters and it destroyed the Pakistan’s industrialists. Thus, these main concerns have mainly responsible to Pakistan not fulfilled his promise.

The process of trade normalization was set in motion after Commerce Secretary level talks held on 11-12 August 2004 in Islamabad. In this discussion Joint Study Group (JSG) on Commercial and Economic Co-operation was constituted. This was probably the first shift in the direction of delinking trade dialogue from political issues. The JSG further constituted two Working Groups on Customs Cooperation and Trade facilitation and Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs).\textsuperscript{84} Beside, in 2004 a major development emerged between India and Pakistan relations, when both have signed the South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA)
as members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). However, even after the ratification of SAFTA in 2006, it has failed at helping normalize of trade relations between the two. Thus, neither the both of them are trading under MFN rules of WTO, nor Pakistan has accorded MFN status to India. Both continued to trade on the basis of positive list.

The Commerce Secretaries of the two countries met again in August 2005 and have agreed to open Bank branches in each other’s countries. After this Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and its Pakistan counterpart announced that the process for opening two branches by each side would start. The third round of economic and commercial co-operation talks was held on 28-29 March 2006 at Islamabad. Both countries discussed initiatives and progress which the two sides had made since the first round of talks. A broad range of issues like tea trade, shipping procedure and feasibility of trade in IT were discussed. Beside, JSG meeting was also held one day before of this trade dialogue on 27 March 2006. The Group emphasised establishing facilitation measures to enhance bilateral trade and addition negotiations on substantive trade issues. Thus, the bilateral trade dialogue between India and Pakistan which began in 2004 and continued for four more rounds of talks till 2007. It has resulted in three major outcomes: first, increase of the positive list; second, opening of the road routes; and, last, revision of the uncertain naval procedure.

MoU between the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) and Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan (SECP) has been signed on 28 January 2008 to facilitate the sharing of information between two agencies. On 21 October 2008 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 date, these two crossings points were used only to cross LoC bus services between them. The cross-LoC travel initiative led to greater advocacy among Kashmiris on both sides for the resumption of cross-LoC trade. The mainstream Kashmiri political parties on both sides and a majority of the Civil Society leaders supported the reopening of these routes for trade. Business and trader community across the LoC welcomed the beginning of such initiatives. They felt that trade may bring people closer and reduce tensions between them. When cross LoC trade was originally implemented, it was limited to one day per week. But soon after, it was extended to two days in a week and on these days only 25 trucks from either side were allowed to cross the LoC. However, after Mumbai attacks in November 2008, this process was slowed down and bilateral trade declined between these countries. It only resumed after the fifth round of talks in April 2011 while laid down the blueprint for normalizing their trade. However, during these three years, no practical measures were taken to block trade such as those initiated in response to the Parliament attack in December 2001.

After the fifth round of talks of Commerce Secretaries held in Islamabad on 27-28 April 2011, both the countries agreed to create an enabling environment for trade. It has also been decided to set up a number of Joint Working Groups (JWG) to explore the possibilities of mutual trade. During the meeting of JWG in New Delhi on 18 July 2011, both sides reviewed the existing cross LoC travel and trade arrangements to ensure their effective implementation. Both also exchanged views on further measures
to facilitate cross LoC travel and trade. On 27 July 2011, foreign ministers of both announced enhancement of CBMs for trade and travel across the LoC in Kashmir. Both have also decided to enhancing the number of trading days from two to four and a total number of 100 trucks from either side in a week, six month entry permits and encouraging travel for both tourism and religious purposes across the LoC.

The Joint Statement issued in November 2011 laid down the sequencing and timelines for full phasing in of MFN status for India. It has also welcomed decision of Pakistani Cabinet for working towards complete normalisation of trade relations with India. The move to full normalisation will be sequenced, in the first phase; Pakistan would graduate from the positive list to a small negative list specifying banned rather than permitted items. In the second stage, the negative list would be phased out; overall as well as for the road route on which trade takes place for only a fraction of the items on the positive list. The visit of Commerce and Industry Minister Anand Sharma from 13-17 February 2012 was the first ever visit of Indian Commerce Minister to Pakistan in last 30 years. The Minister was accompanied by a strong delegation of 100 persons of senior representatives of India’s trade and industry segments. During the visit he participated in “India Show” sponsored by FICCI, the first ever India specific trade exhibition in Pakistan organised at Lahore Expo Centre (LEC), which had participation of over 150 representatives of Indian trade, business and industry organisations. Beside these, both concluded three agreements i.e. Customs Cooperation Agreement, Mutual Recognition Agreement and Redressal of Trade Grievances Agreement. In March 2012, Pakistan made a transition from the
positive list approach to a small negative list of 1,209 items. However, it continued to restrict road-based trade by allowing only 137 items to be imported from India via road; while India took a number of steps to address Non Tariff Barriers (NTBs).

Pakistan Minister of Commerce also visited India to participate in “Lifestyle Pakistan” a collaborative exhibition of Trade Development Authority of Pakistan (TDAP) and India Trade Promotion Organisation (ITPO) from 12-14 April 2012 at Pragati Madan. It is first and biggest-ever Pakistan specific trade exhibition in India organized at New Delhi, which had participation of more than 600 top representatives of Pakistani business, trade and industry segments. In a joint statement issued after the meetings of Commerce Ministers, both sides agreed to take all further action to encourage greater trade through the newly inaugurated Integrated Check Post (ICP) at Attari-Wagah border. Beside, India and Pakistan have decided to fast track the ongoing talks for trade in petroleum products and electricity. It was also decided that the issue of opening bank branches in each other’s countries would be taken on priority. A major development has emerged in cross LoC trade, when traders from both sides of Kashmir for first time in last 65 years, set together in a conference in July 2012 in Srinagar. They made a common appeal to both the governments to make areas on either sides of the LoC a free trade zone and complete all the promises made to them to realize the vision of free trade.

During the seventh round of talks held in September 2012 in Islamabad, both have agreed to further deepen the preferential arrangements under SAFTA, with India offering concessions to Pakistan in exchange for latter’s granting MFN status to India. In
a major initiative, India pruned its sensitive list to 614 items.\textsuperscript{99} In July 2013, India has decided that he would bring down its SAFTA Sensitive List to 100 tariff lines; with Pakistan simultaneously granting MFN status to India, including the phasing out of negative lists and removal of restrictions on items traded by road. As India notified the reduced Sensitive List, Pakistan also simultaneously notifies its date of transition to bring down its SAFTA Sensitive List to a maximum of 100 tariff lines before end of 2017.\textsuperscript{100} Thus, both the countries have taken several steps during 2013 and 2014. Both have established a Joint Business Forum (JBF) and decided the priority areas of economic cooperation in agriculture, automobiles, healthcare and pharmaceuticals. Improvements in economic relations and trade relations have facilitated towards better political understanding between them.

These non-military CBMs have contributed towards the growth of creation of structure of peace, stability and cooperation in India-Pakistan relations. Infact, civil society has been a major driving force in bringing about the positive changes in their relations. People of both the states have shown the way forward to peace and friendship. The conscious policies of both countries have promoted people-to-people exchanges across the spectrum. These increased linkages through non-military CBMs are likely to encourage greater contact among people towards creating awareness of the need to transcend borders for the sake of the prosperity and well being on both sides. Both are working towards a situation where borders begin to matter less and less and serve to unite rather than divide people. Both have realised that complex and longstanding issues stand very little chance of being
tackled successfully in an atmosphere of suspicion and hostility. Such issues need to be dealt in tandem with a non-military confidence building process that enlarges the public constituency for peace and friendship on both sides. Both the countries have been practical and realistic in their approach. Through dramatic results may not be expected in such a short period, yet their continued engagement may contribute towards long-term peace. All these efforts indicate that there have been effective frameworks of peace and thoughtful ideas to resolve the conflicts between them. But the implementation of these ideas has been very slow. Neither India nor Pakistan has built such measures in a spirit of cooperation; rather they have used them as a means to counteract the other. Hence there is need for effective implementation of these measures for long term and durable between the two states.

2. Military Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs)

Military Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are as old as conflict itself and there is no doubt that it invoked in past times for the same reasons as they are invoked today. Military CBMs, like the non-military ones, are also important component for the creation of good will between the nations. These have facilitated an understanding in strategic areas between the decision makers of the two countries. These CBMs are more important because the successful implementations of non-military CBMs are largely dependent upon the success of the Military CBMs. These measures have encouraged them to work for good will among the people to provide an opportunity for the nations to avoid conflict. In this process, time and space have acquired importance as when to initiate negotiations and discussions towards resolution of their differences. In some cases the momentum is determined by
external actors who for reasons of their own do not wish to see conflict breaking out, but in other cases internal forces seeking change for their own interest.\footnote{101}

The concepts of military CBMs are not totally new in India-Pakistan relations. Efforts in this direction have already been made since their independence. Both countries have entered into some embryonic forms of military CBMs aimed to reduce tension and create confidence between the defence think tanks of the two sides. Most of these measures have been designed to avoid military conflict. They are supposed to check escalation in military encounters between the two states. Although, intensity of bitterness between the countries has been very high, yet there have been many initiatives for promotion of better understanding and some degree of cooperation at the official level in their relations.

Presently, military CBMs are essential between India and Pakistan because armies of both the states have unequal position in their respective countries. In case of Pakistan army is so strong that it not only sets military actions but also decides political agenda. In this context, contacts between the military establishments are necessary to find out the areas of co-operation among them. Exchange of visits by teams from the respective National Defense Colleges have been a good starting point. It may help in shaping perceptions and to determine what minimum credible deterrence means vis-a-vis threat perceptions in the context to India and Pakistan. This communication between the militaries is also necessary for the growth of regular measures for non-escalation and the settlement of LoC issues.\footnote{102} In this context a new dimension has been added in 1998 when both countries
became nuclear powers. After post-nuclear status era, this issue became has acquired significance in this subcontinent. So it is inevitable that the armies directly discuss the issues related to nuclear safety and unauthorized use of nuclear weapons. Military CBMs, however, can largely be effective only if initiated in combination with other moves of conflict resolution. In recent times following steps have been taken by both countries in the direction of Military CBMs:

I. Conventional Measures

The positive expression from the two sides have couched the reluctance to move forward on a range of conventional military CBMs that would have called for structured interaction and communication between the two military establishments and political decision makers. The top diplomats from both the sides have produced a number of constructive results in terms of agreements on conventional military CBMs. Following the India-Pakistan war in December 1971 a “Hot-Line” contact was established between the Directors General of Military Operations (DGMOs) of both the countries and in 1992 it was decided to use it on weekly basis. Beside, both have also established a hot-lines contact between the Prime Ministers, first time in 1989 among Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto, then in 1990 Chander Shekhar and Nawaz Sharif, in 1997 I.K. Gujral and Nawaz Sharif and later A.B. Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif and in 2005 Manmohan Singh and Pervez Musharraf to facilitate direct communication at Track-I level as a part of military CBMs. Some skirmishes and stand offs have been diffused by contact over this hotline. In the 1990 foreign secretary level talks have been held in Islamabad and New Delhi, which have produced a code of conduct to protect
diplomatic personnel and guaranteeing them freedom from harassment. But this code has often been violated by both countries in letter and spirit. Diplomatic personnel are often harassed by intelligence services in both countries and equal expulsions of diplomats happen periodically. Pakistani authorities did not protect Indian officials and property in Karachi and Islamabad. For instance, after Indian nuclear tests in May 1998, an Indian diplomat in Islamabad was roughly beaten by a Pakistani security guard. Thus, the two countries have haltingly moved forward to sign certain security related CBMs.

After a series of negotiation on military CBMs, the Foreign Secretaries of both the countries have signed two major agreements in April 1991. First, both countries agreed for the prior notification of military exercises. It is agreed that no military manoeuvres, exercises and troop movements can be held within five kilometers along India-Pakistan borders. Exercises at the corps level must be held forty-five kilometers away and at the division level twenty-five kilometers away from the international border. Second, both have also signed an agreement to prevent air space violations. It allowed civilian aircrafts to fly through specified corridors. In August 1992 both countries agreed not to develop, produce, acquire or use of chemical weapons. Both countries also established a hotline between their respective Air Forces and Naval Vessels or Coastguards in May 1993. From time to time both have made efforts for establishment of hotline between their Sector Commanders. Following the Lahore Summit in February 1999, India and Pakistan agreed to review all existing communication links with a view to upgrade and approve the DGMOs and other hotlines.
On 23 November 2003, Pakistan had offered a ceasefire on the LoC. India welcomed the proposal and extended the offer to Siachen as well. Subsequently, the DGMOs of the two countries agreed to observe ceasefire on the International Border, LoC and the Actual Ground Position Line (AGPL) with effect from the midnight of 25 November 2003. But, this ceasefire could not sustain for a long time and both have routinely accused each other of triggering incidents on the LoC and violating the ceasefire continuously. These increases in infiltration and ceasefire violations at LoC have mainly been result of a shift in Pakistan’s strategy. The LoC is likely to become the focus of Pakistani military misadventures involving heightened terrorist activity and bids to infiltrate into Kashmir to strengthen the reducing numbers of terrorists there. In 2004, India’s Border Security Forces (BSF) and Pakistani Rangers have decided to hold biannual meetings between them. It has been also agreed that local commanders should meet more frequently to resolve local problems. After a gap of 15 years the talks on conventional CBMs were held in New Delhi on 8 August 2005. Both have signed two conventional CBMs: first, prior notification of army exercises of a certain size near the border and second, a commitment not to violate each other’s airspace.

Later, in the meeting of foreign secretary in January 2006 both have agreed not to undertake any fresh construction within 500 meters of the LoC. Pakistan has proposed two important military CBMs, first, to declare South Asia “anti-ballistic missile free zone and second, non-deployment of strike formations of the army on the borders.” On the other hand India also proposed a friendlier military-to-military contact. Both have also committed
themselves to work together in confronting the phenomenon of terrorism. Thus, both sides have received each other’s proposals and agreed to study them and get back to each other.

In the direction of military CBMs a comprehensive step has been taken by Indian Government to withdraw about 5000 troops from Jammu and Kashmir due to an improvement in the situation. Chief of the Army Staff J.J. Singh indicated that more troops can be moved from Kashmir if the situation improves further. The troops were moved from the area of LoC and Pir Panjal range on the Jammu. Pakistan welcomed the Indian proposal of the withdrawal of troops from Jammu and Kashmir. It is very important for the two countries to move from conflictual to cooperative relationship. Mutually balanced force reduction and pull back of forces from forward areas can be achieved without compromising security. India and Pakistan on 27 April 2006 agreed to work on the finalisation of border ground rules for implementation along the international border to avoid conflict. The decision was arrived at Islamabad at the time of third round of the Pakistan-India expert level dialogue on conventional CBMs. The two sides have agreed on the modalities for holding quarterly flag meetings on need basis at sector level commanders in agreed sectors. Besides, it was agreed that consistent with the intent of the pact reached on development of no new posts and defence works along the LoC, the existing posts and defence works would not be fortified. The Pakistan presented a draft agreement to the Indian on the prevention of incidents at Sea in order to ensure safety of navigation by naval vessels, and aircraft belonging to the two sides. Both agreed for periodical discussion on CBMs and to
review and monitor the implementation of existing conventional CBMs as called for in the Lahore MoU.\textsuperscript{111}

Later on Pakistan gave a proposal to establish an “anti-terror joint mechanism” between both countries. India welcomed of proposal because it was a workable idea despite the history of hostility between the two countries. After the meeting between Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh his Pakistani counterpart President General Pervez Musharraf in Havana on 16 September 2006, on the sideline of the NAM Summit, both have agreed to constitute a Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism (JATM). The first meeting of JATM was held on 6-7 March 2007 and it was agreed that specific information will be exchanged through this mechanism. This may facilitate investigations on either side related to terrorist activities and prevention of violence and terrorist acts between them. The second meeting of the JATM was held in New Delhi on 22 October 2007 and both sides reviewed the follow up steps taken on the information shared during the first meeting. They also agreed to continue to work to identify measures, exchange specific information and assist in investigations.\textsuperscript{112} Theoretically these mechanisms are importance and can be useful instrument, but practical reality is altogether different. This became evident in the wake of Mumbai terrorist attack in which Pakistan’s involvement has been established beyond doubt.

The Fifth Round of Expert Level Talks on Conventional CBMs was held in Islamabad from 26-27 December 2011. Both have discussed the existing arrangements and considered additional measures. On 24 December 2013, the DGMOs of both the countries met after a gap of 15 years at Wagah and reiterated
their resolve and commitments to continue efforts for ensuring ceasefire, peace and harmony on the LoC. The talks among the officials of the two countries came at the end of a year of unusual tensions along the LoC, which threatened ten years old ceasefire.\textsuperscript{113} In a joint statement, issued after the meeting both have agreed to develop consensus to make hotline contact between them more effective and result oriented.

These Conventional Measures have contributed towards the growth of long-lasting structure of peace and stability between them. These linkages may encourage greater contact among the officers of both the states. These cooperative politico-security structures will, however, only be possible when there is significant movement on the political front. It is through a combination of political understanding and a process of arms restraints that India and Pakistan can transform their relationship on sound footings. It is hoped that in future a more positive approach may evolve between them to settle their political and strategic conflicts.

\textbf{II. Nuclear Measures}

India and Pakistan have some basic agreements on the nuclear issue for over two decades. Today, nuclear South Asia is a reality as both states have conducted nuclear weapon tests in May 1998. As a result, debate on nuclear security and stability has assumed significance because earlier such issue mainly limited outside the Indian subcontinent.\textsuperscript{114} Acknowledging the fact that the nuclear issue is very significant in their strategic relations, both states have tried to develop mechanism for ensuring the long term security of South Asian region. For this purpose, many steps have been taken to limit the catastrophic impact of this
technology. First such step was taken in 1980s; when a major agreement on the “prohibition of attack against nuclear installations and facilities” was signed on 31 December 1988 and ratified in 1991 by India and Pakistan.\textsuperscript{115} This will prevented the launch of surprise and pre-emptive attacks on each other’s nuclear sites. Further, on the first day of each calendar year, both countries will exchange updated list of each other’s nuclear facilities.\textsuperscript{116} This practice is in regular use ever since it came in to effect and it did not stop even during periods of crises, though there have been periodic questions about the totality of the lists. Thus, it was one of the best ever running nuclear CBMs between the two countries.

A further boost in nuclear CBMs was achieved during the Indian Prime Minister’s visit to Lahore in February 1999 when both states signed a MoU in this regard.\textsuperscript{117} Both states agreed to engage in bilateral consultations on security issues and nuclear doctrines, to avoid further conflict. The two states further agreed to provide each other an advance notification of ballistic missile tests. Both have also assured of continuing their unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.\textsuperscript{118} This MoU included many significant issues such as national measures to reduce the risks of accidental use of nuclear weapons; notification in the event of any accidental attack; prevention of incidents at sea in order to ensure safety of navigation by naval vessels and aircraft belonging to the two sides; review of the existing communication links between the respective DGMOs; and, periodic review of existing CBMs. The two sides also agree to engage in bilateral discussion on security, disarmament and non-proliferation issues.\textsuperscript{119} However, this process got derailed very soon due to Kargil war and terrorist
attack on Indian Parliament. But a fresh beginning to improve their bilateral relations was made at the feg end of Vajpayee regime.

Later, the expert level meeting in June 2004 resulted in a joint statement on nuclear CBMs with some repetition of main issues under the Lahore MoU. In a joint statement both have recognised their nuclear capabilities and acknowledged that the nuclear weapons have provided a major role in stability of South Asian region. Both have also decided to move beyond the past conflictingambits of threat perceptions, for holding nuclear weapons in the particular countries.120 Besides, they decided to upgrade of existing hotline between DGMOs. Establishment of new hotline between foreign secretaries to prevent confusion and risk reduction was also proposed. Both agreed to conclude an agreement on pre-notification of missile testing, bilateral discussions and further meetings to work towards the implementation of the Lahore MoU.121 Thus, the provision in the joint statement between India and Pakistan seems to reflect the shared view of both the states against the bias attitude of international regimes and policies of disarmament.

During the meeting of their foreign secretaries at Islamabad in December 2004 both reviewed the progress by experts on nuclear CBMs. They further manifested their differences on the draft agreement on pre-notification of flight-testing of ballistic missiles and agreed to work towards its early finalisation. Pakistani also twenty new proposals, such as: elements of a ‘Strategic Restraint Regime (SRR)’ comprising conflict resolution through a sustained and results-oriented dialogue; measures for nuclear restraint and conventional balance to be discussed at the
political and experts level; objective of minimum credible deterrence; maintenance of nuclear weapons on low-alert status; no operational deployment of nuclear capable ballistic or any other type of delivery systems; no acquisition of anti-ballistic missile systems; avoidance of a nuclear, missile or conventional arms race; and, continuation of their national nuclear test moratoriums. Though some fresh proposals in future meetings were added, yet there was little hope for any ultimate conclusion.

Third expert level dialogue on nuclear CBMs was held in New Delhi in August 2005. The two countries continued to hold discussions on their respective security concerns and nuclear doctrines. Both have reached an understanding on pre-notification of flight testing of ballistic missiles. This commits both sides to pre-notify in a structured format about flight testing of ballistic missiles. Two countries also emphasised on early operationalisation of the hotline link between the foreign secretaries, to prevent misunderstandings and risks reduction. But within a week of such dialogue, Pakistan tested a cruise missile Babur, which created uncertain in their strategic stability. However, both consented towards formation of two experts groups for consultations on security and nuclear issues. As a result, both signed an agreement, on 3 October 2005 in Islamabad; make it essential for them to notify such activity at least 72 hours before testing of ballistic missiles within a 40 kilometers radius of the international border and the LoC.

The fourth round of expert level dialogue was held in Islamabad on 25-26 April 2006. Both reiterated their desire to keep working towards further elaboration and implementation of Nuclear CBMs. Two sides expressed their satisfaction on the
signing of the agreement on pre-notification of flight-testing of ballistic missiles and the operationalisation of the hotline link between the two foreign secretaries. They also agreed that future expert level talks would discuss, review and monitor the implementation of nuclear CBMs.\textsuperscript{128} \hspace{1em} Beside, on 21 February 2007; both have signed an agreement on reducing the risk from accidents related to nuclear weapons. However, Mumbai terrorist attack in November 2008 halted process of nuclear CBMs. It was only in December 2011 this process was again restarted, when both extended the validity of above two agreements for another five years.\textsuperscript{129}

Thus, after successful completion of various rounds of talks, both have taken many steps including measures for restraint and risk reduction. The talks, however, could not resolve more complex security issues. On one hand, India reiterated its assurance of no first use of nuclear weapons; whereas, on the other hand, Pakistan agreed to negotiate an agreement on the non-use of military force. However, India could not agree to any nuclear restraint regime because Pakistan’s nuclear programme is basically India centric and not the vice-versa. Due to this divergence both sides decided to focus in the positive direction.\textsuperscript{130} They recognised that there is a great need for regular meetings of scientific and technical experts, because it would not only help bolster confidence in regional nuclear security, but also allow exchange of new ideas in concerning nuclear safety.

Questions related to deployment, targeting and de-alerting of nuclear weapons were consciously not taken up. However, they manifested a will to continue meetings on more significant issues, such as exchange of nuclear doctrines and command and control.
structures. Thus, a desire for durable peace in the subcontinent has been visualized. Both the states seem to have been aware about their commitment to people and global society and towards “strategic stability.” This can be manifested as a new spirit in their dialogue, which has been missing earlier.

However, fragility of strategic stability remains the cause of concern in South Asia. Though both tried their best to put restraints on their capacities, yet security vulnerabilities due to accidental reason cannot be ruled out. For this there is need to evolve mutually agreed frameworks of bilateral nuclear CBMs. Difference of perceptions between them are likely to be associated as long as Pakistan does not shed uncertainty in doctrinal formulations. By maintaining ambiguity, Pakistan wants to keep the nuclear threshold high in the region. Any ambiguity in force preparedness is permissible to such an extent that it will not otherwise impede the process of ensuring nuclear CBMs. Thus, mutual consultations on security concerns and nuclear doctrines may help bridge the gap of mutual distrust. These consultations may be implied under official privacy, but they also convoy with mutual pledge in public. A significant step in this direction can develop some postulates on nuclear signaling at proper levels in their respective governments.

The talks on nuclear CBMs have achieved minor success and paved way for future discussion. At least for the first time both have manifested their desire to go beyond rhetoric and to do something substantive and concrete. Both made numerous efforts in the direction that nuclear weapons should work as a means of creating strategic stability rather than as weapons of mass destruction. Thus, these dialogues on nuclear CBMs are not only
symbolic, but also aimed at to reassure the world that the present peace attempt is based on a firmer basis.

III. Demilitarization of Siachen Area

Both have also tried to build confidence between each other in other areas of strategic concerns. For instance, both made serious efforts for the demilitarisation of Siachen glacier. Since 1989, when both first agreed to redeploy their military away from the disputed height, the issue of Agreed Ground Position Line (AGPL) authentication has prevented the conclusion of a rational agreement. In a joint statement, released on 17 June 1989, both agreed to redeploy their armed forces to reduce the possibility of conflict, so as to conform to the Shimla Agreement and to ensure durable peace in the Siachen area. By 1992, a “zone of complete disengagement” had also been worked out but it cannot be operationalized due to Pakistan’s authentication of AGPL prior to withdrawal.\textsuperscript{134}

With the beginning of peace process both resumed negotiations at the Defence Secretary level in 2004. They again agreed to discuss the modalities for disengagement and redeployment of troops in this region.\textsuperscript{135} Later in March 2006, when Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had offered a “treaty of peace, friendship and security”\textsuperscript{136} to Pakistan also hinted that the dispute over the Siachen glacier can be resolved soon. But no final agreement was reached because of mutual mistrust. Even today, both have not reached a single draft agreement about the Siachen glacier. Discussions are on to finalise the modalities for the confirmation of the present troop positions, which may pave the way for the demilitarisation of the world’s highest battleground.\textsuperscript{137}
In May 2006 dialogue did not materialise because Pakistan was no longer interested in demarcating the actual ground position line.\textsuperscript{138} Thus, demarcating of AGPL and demilitarisation of Siachen have not been done by both the states.

Thus, the demilitarisation of Siachen is big military CBMs, which will unlock the LoC. Siachen issue, can be considered as a major step to building trust and confidence among India-Pakistan if both sides agree to formalise it through a MoU. This can be accompanied by a Helsinki-type political agreement that either state will not modify borders by use of force and will forever spirit of Simla Agreement.\textsuperscript{139} An agreement on Siachen will pay rich dividends on the Kashmir front, where the contours of a no-territorial solution have already begun to emerge.

\textbf{IV. Security of Sea Lanes}

Maritime trade is an important component of India’s trade policy. This is pretend in case of Pakistan as well because over 95 percent of overseas trade of both is carried out through ships. Both are heavily dependent on unrestricted flow of oil from the Persian Gulf states. Given this dependence on sea-borne trade, a maritime conflict bears significant negative impact on the economies of both the states; hence, freedom of a sea lanes communications is very vital for the economic development of both the states.\textsuperscript{140} Therefore, cooperation in the maritime field offers great opportunities to developed cooperation between both the states. Maritime cooperation between both the countries, thus like cooperation in other fields, cannot be de-linked from progress in setting the core issues.\textsuperscript{141}
Maritime CBMs between India and Pakistan have been very limited. So far both have signed two agreements in 1968 and in 1991, but these agreements did not resolve their maritime concerns. In February 1999, both have signed an agreement to prevent incidents at sea. Later on 3 October 2005, a MoU has been signed between the Coast Guard of India and Pakistan Maritime Security Agency (PMSA) to establish communication links among them. This communication link was devised to facilitate the early exchange of information on fishermen, who inadvertently stray in to each others’ territories and also information on smuggling, pollution, search and rescue operations. All these efforts were aimed to encourage friendly relations and to create congenial atmosphere at sea. These efforts cannot become effective due to interruption from the radical elements and political uncertainties. As the atmosphere is not much favourable to enhance such dialogue, it is essential to adopt an incremental bottom-up approach involving low-level, technical experts and professionals, thereby avoiding the possible pitfalls of high-profile failures. Initiatives in the maritime field can only be taken by focusing on substantive issues through a strategy of employing modest and pragmatic steps, leading increasingly to larger solutions.

It can be concluded that, at least India and Pakistan have begun to discuss the military CBMs in general and negotiated settlement on nuclear issue in particular. This marks a new beginning and holds the potential for defusing India-Pakistan rivalry, which got greatly exacerbated since both became nuclear power in 1998. It became all the more serious when they fought conventional armed conflict in Kargil in 1999. It is also a fact that
dialogue has not yet produced significant gains on the ground, barring renewal of full diplomatic relations and reiteration of agreements reached in the past. Though, talks are going on, yet without any agreement on proper nuclear risk reduction measures. The idea that nuclear weapons have made India and Pakistan more accountable powers is a dangerous illusion because it is belied by actual experience. Despite these flaws, the reaffirmation by both of an assurance to sustain and serious dialogue, and devoid of mutual allegation, marks a positive step forward.

Thus, the peace process through non-military and military CBMs are a desirable approach between India and Pakistan, if attempts are made to find immediate solutions of their old and complex problems. There is no alternative of this process as a few summit level meetings cannot bring peace. These CBMs have enhanced connectivity and contacts between India and Pakistan on regular basis. Though, dialogues have not succeeded in resolving any major issues, yet they have reduced mutual distrust between them. The task to reach solutions is not so easy; hence next chapter is devoted to problems and their likely outcomes in future.
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