

## Conflict and Conflict Resolution in South Asia

*South Asia is a region of abundant natural resources with a rich history starting from ancient times. Densely populated, with ethnic, cultural, linguistic, ideological and religious diversity, South Asia is home to various conflicts. These conflicts have escalated intra-state and inter-state conflicts, creating chaos and de-stability in the region. The scarcity of natural resources throughout the world has led to a new trend in conflicts i.e. resource-driven conflict. South Asia too is facing such conflicts which are increasing day by day and if not addressed immediately would create serious problems in the region. This realization of conflict resolution urged the leaders of the region to resolve their disputes bilaterally resulting in increased activities of engaging in different levels of diplomacy. Track I, II and multi-track diplomacy are the well-known methods of conflict resolution that are also being applied in South Asia. In spite of all the activities not much could be achieved, especially the Kashmir issue could not be resolved up till now. The main reason behind the ineffectiveness is the lack of political will and political maturity which is the most significant factor required for seriously resolving the issues. South Asian disputes can be resolved once these factors are attained.*

**Key words:** South Asia, India, Pakistan, Kashmir, conflicts, diplomacy, conflict resolution, Nepal, Bangladesh

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The word conflict is derived from the Latin word 'confligere' meaning to strike together. Conflicts are inevitable and they occur as a result of clash of interests at individual, group or state level. 'According to de Rueck, conflict is about change in social structure and institutions, in the distribution of resources, in human relations at many levels'<sup>1</sup>. There are different theories and perspective about conflict. Individual characteristic theory explains that conflict is human nature and human behavior causes conflicts. Some theorist claims that conflict is the result of human relationship and human interaction at all levels. John Burton, the pioneer of this world society perspective argues that 'conflict should be understood from the perspective that universal human needs are inexhaustible and often are not allocated correctly. Since these needs are distinct from interests and thus non negotiable, there suppression can lead to conflict because their pursuit is ontological drive common to every human being'<sup>2</sup>. The structural approach believes that main reason of conflict rests within the power structure whereas the formal theorists give mathematical and logical explanation about conflict formation.

There are five important paradigms that shape conflict formation, escalation, prevention, management and resolution:

- 1- International system
- 2- State structures
- 3- Society
- 4- Group
- 5- Individuals

The history is evident that the above mentioned paradigms have worked in both regards i.e. escalating the

conflicts as well as resolving them. Throughout the world history the international system has been an important factor in shaping the conflicts all over the world. The international politics and the desire of the super powers to rule the world gave birth to many issues and conflicts. This trend could be seen in the earlier Euro-centric system, bi-polar world or the recent uni-polar world. Similarly, the state, if responsible, can reduce the risk of conflict acceleration, but, if immature, can double the chances of conflicts in the society. Dictatorial, authoritarian, monarchic, democratic and quasi-democratic forms of governments have different perceptions of conflict and they have their own way of dealing with the issues. Society too plays vital role in this regard because if the society is tolerant, lesser will be the conflicts, whereas if it is intolerant and aggressive, it will aggravate the conflicts. If different groups in a society such as religious, ethnic, sectarian political or economic behave maturely they can be a great source of conflict resolution but if the group is violent it will obviously generate conflicts. Individuals can also create tensions and conflicts with their aggressive and intolerant attitude.

### CONFLICT RESOLUTION:

With conflicts, comes the conflict resolution, and is as old as conflict itself. As a discipline in academics, Peace and Conflict Resolution studies gained momentum during 1960s. Centre for Research on Conflict Resolution was set up in Michigan in 1956 which published a journal of Conflict Resolution in 1957. The journal remained the only one in the field for several years. Similarly, the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) was established in 1959 and it started publishing the Journal of Peace Research (JPR) in 1964. 'Conflict resolution is not about suppressing, eliminating, or controlling conflicts. Nor is it about

avoiding a conflict, and it is certainly not about using superior force to conquer your adversary.... By conflict resolution we mean a range of formal or informal activities under-taken by parties to a solution, or outsiders, designed to limit and reduce the level of violence in conflict, and to achieve some understanding on the key issues in conflict, a political agreement, or a jointly acceptable decision on future interactions and distributions of resources. Conflict resolution is about accepting a conflict, recognizing that there are ways out of it, and engaging in some tacit or explicit coordination, without which none of these goals can be achieved'<sup>3</sup>.

There are basically two methods of conflict resolution:

- 1- Traditional Methods
- 2- Non-Traditional Methods

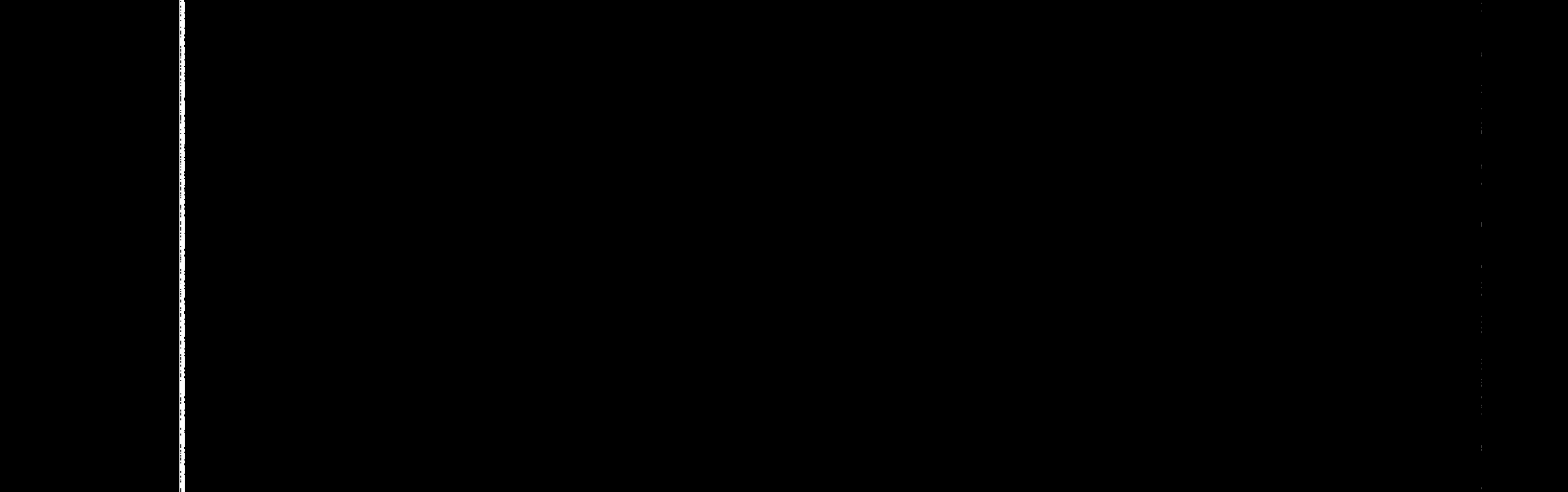
*Traditional* methodology includes diplomacy, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication.

**Diplomacy** may be defined as the art of negotiating between the countries through diplomats or accredited envoys.

**Mediation** is an informal, but structured settlement procedure. A mediator is employed to facilitate and assist parties in reaching an amicable dispute settlement.

**Conciliation** is an alternative out-of-court dispute resolution instrument. Like mediation, conciliation is a voluntary, flexible, confidential process.

**Arbitration** is a method of dispute settlement using private entities known as "arbitral tribunals". Arbitral tribunals usually consist of either one or three arbitrators, the primary role of which is to apply the law and make a dispute decision by administering a so-called "arbitral award". In principle, arbitral awards are final and binding. They can only be challenged before a state court under exceptional circumstances.



**Adjudication** is a term that can include decision making by a judge in a court, by an administrative tribunal or quasi-judicial tribunal, a specially appointed commission, or by an arbitrator. An adjudicator determines the outcome of a dispute by making a decision for the parties that is final, binding and enforceable.

The non-traditional methods are as follows:

- 1- 'Peacemaking and Peacekeeping
- 2- Use of technology
- 3- Use of media
- 4- Use of economic incentives
- 5- Role of non-governmental organizations
- 6- Track II and track III diplomacy
- 7- Gender emancipation
- 8- Role of transnational organizations'<sup>4</sup>.

The end of cold war era is considered as a milestone in international politics because on one hand it ended up the proxy wars and initiated peace process in different countries, whereas on the other hand it gave rise to serious issues and conflicts on the basis of ethnicity, religion, culture and the most important, resource-driven conflicts. 'These conflicts stem from poverty, deepening social inequalities, weak or corrupt governance, the proliferation of factions, and blurred distinctions between the warring parties and international crime. Self-determination, ethnic and religious divisions, resources, private armies and warlords all characterize these conflicts'<sup>5</sup>. The intra-state conflicts had their spillover effects on interstate relations resulting in interstate conflicts. These intrastate conflicts are now of greater concern for the international community as they are considered a threat to the international peace and security.

The shift in the nature of conflict also changed the methods of conflict resolution, replacing the traditional tools with new methods and techniques, to deal with this new trend of conflict. Modern resolution management claims that non-traditional means of conflict resolution are now as important as traditional methods and, if both the tools are applied simultaneously, they would be of greater benefit. 'Scholars such as Kelman, Saunders, Azar and Burton have developed "Problem-Solving Workshops" and introduced the idea of "Conflict Transformation" in which meetings were conducted between the conflicting parties to explore each other's perspective and to find out solutions for the conflicts'<sup>6</sup>. Track II diplomacy, another significant tool, focuses on affecting social constituencies and changing public opinion. John Paul Lederach also introduced a new approach in conflict resolution through transforming the conflicting relationship into a peaceful relation by integrating peace initiatives at different levels. A recent trend in conflict resolution is the multidimensional approach which includes UN peace operations, intergovernmental organizations, regional organizations, and global, regional, local non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This new approach involves global, regional and local levels to resolve the conflicts. Another significant change in the approach is the elimination of gender discrimination and participation of women in conflict resolution. The inclusions of all the sectors of the society in peacekeeping and peace building help it to be more effective and long lasting. 'The major reason why this has never been systematically done is because political violence and armed conflict are seen as male domains, executed by men, whether as armed forces, guerilla groups, paramilitaries, or peacekeeping forces'<sup>7</sup>. In the world of globalization, media can also be used for reducing conflicts as

well as aggravating them. Media has the potential to change the dynamics of the conflict and can also change the social attitude regarding any dispute or issue and can be a source of communications during negotiations. Similarly the internet technology can also be of great advantage in resolving the issues as it is the fastest and easiest way to access each other. Transnational corporations (TNCs) can also play vital role in conflict resolution by increasing economic development in the affected country, reducing the economic sources of conflicts and increasing employment.

Analyzing the current situation of the world politics, these methods and techniques have failed and succeeded simultaneously. Considering the South Asia, despite of all the measures taken to resolve the disputes of the region, the tensions and conflicts still prevail. Increasing water scarcity throughout the world and the need of natural resources have increased the tensions between the South Asian states and created various inter-state conflicts. Although, the states are engaged in resolving the disputes but the region is still in chaos and the situation is continuously deteriorating.

### Conflicts in South Asia:

South Asia has been in a state of turmoil since the British left. 'Conflict and tension arose in South Asia mainly because of the hasty departure of the British who left many complicated and potentially explosive issues unresolved in the newly independent states of the region'<sup>8</sup> and these issues could not be resolved even after 67 years of independence. South Asia has always been a conflict prone region due to its cultural, religious, linguistic, political and ideological diversity. Moreover, the region also faces



corruption, poverty, growing militarization, international factors that are affecting the region and are creating inter and intra state conflicts as well as communal and sectarian issues. 'Political instability in the states is one of the major causes for slow development and an increasingly deteriorating economic condition in the region as a whole which is not very promising'<sup>9</sup>. Conflicts are inevitable especially in those societies that are largely diverse. Currently this region is facing resource-driven conflicts which have been a source of inter-state disputes for decades. The major tension lies between:

- 1- India and Pakistan
- 2- India and Bangladesh
- 3- India and Nepal

### **India and Pakistan:**

Both the countries have been occupied in inter-state conflicts since their inception in 1947. It was basically the Hindu-Muslim rivalry which turned into Congress-Muslim League rivalry later transforming into India-Pakistan rivalry. Also the incidents followed by the partition led to an environment of hatred and mistrust between the two newly born states. The attitude and claims of Indian leaders and politicians at the time of partition, large massacre of Hindus and Muslims , water crisis, unjust distribution and delayed transfer of the assets, the wars of 1948, 1965 and 1971 are all the factors that strained the relations between these neighboring countries. The most significant of which is the Kashmir dispute which is still a bone of contention between India and Pakistan.

## Kashmir Dispute:

Kashmir was one of the 560 princely states of sub-continent that were given the option to accede with either India or Pakistan or stay independent<sup>1</sup>. According to Abdul Sattar<sup>10</sup>, 'This dispute emerged as a result of unjust demarcation of boundaries. Demarcation of boundaries in Punjab and Bengal was entrusted to the boundary commission headed by Sir Cyril Radcliff, a British jurist. Its mandate required it to do so 'on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims'. While it would also take into account 'other factors', it was expected to be just and impartial. But Radcliff yielded to Governor General Mountbatten's pressure and awarded several Muslim majority areas to India, including two tehsils of Gurdaspur district providing it access to the state of Jammu and Kashmir<sup>11</sup>. Kashmir was a Muslim majority state ruled by a Hindu Maharaja Hari Singh Dogra and its annexation with India was against the will and wish of the locals. Whereas the states of Hyderabad and Junagadh, which were Hindu majority states ruled by Muslims, were annexed with India as per the desire of the people. This biased actions led to a full fledged war between India and Pakistan. India raised the Kashmir issue in United Nations Security Council on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1948 and lodged a complaint against Pakistan under the article 35 of chapter VI of UN Charter. United Nations passed several resolutions in order to resolve this territorial dispute and emphasized on conducting an 'Impartial Plebiscite' in the region and let the people of Kashmir decide to whom they want to accede with. United Nation Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was set up under the resolution of 20<sup>th</sup> January 1948 to play a mediatory role between both the countries and help resolve the issue but all the efforts

went in vain. This commission was replaced by the UN Representatives in March 1950 but all the proposals put forward by them turned out to be fruitless. The war of 1965 and 1971 strained the relations of India and Pakistan which had negative impact on the Kashmir issue. The 1972 Simla Agreement clearly mentions that 'the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them'<sup>12</sup>. After this agreement the internationalized dispute turned into a bilateral dispute and the issue of self determination of the Kashmiri's transformed into a territorial issue between India and Pakistan. The Siachen dispute of 1984 and the Kargil episode of 1999 added fuel to the fire and worsen the already deteriorating relations. It is claimed by the Indian government that that Kashmiri locals are enjoying their rights in Indian occupied Kashmir. However the recent act of expulsion of the Kashmiri students from Indian universities<sup>13</sup> after the India Pakistan match is a big question mark on the above mentioned claim.

Water is another source of conflict between India and Pakistan which arose after India stopped Pakistan's water on 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1948. The Indus River is the only source of water for Pakistan whereas India receives water from Ganges, Brahmaputra and indigenous rivers flowing in the southern plateau. The Indus Water Treaty (IWT) of 1960 resolved the water conflict, according to which Pakistan was given exclusive rights on the western rivers-Indus, Jhelum and Chenab whereas India gained full control over the three eastern rivers-Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. The main dispute is on the following projects:

- 1- Kishenganga hydro-electric project
- 2- Uri-II hydro power project
- 3- Baglihar dam
- 4- Wullar Barrage

Out of these four projects 3 of them are being constructed on river Jhelum (Kishenganga, Uri-II, and Wullar) whereas the Baglihar dam is located on river Chenab. 'India is believed to have constructed 17 power projects on Chenab and 16 on river Jhelum'<sup>14</sup>. The most recent development in this regard is India's plan to build another dam on the Chenab River with the name of 1,380 MW Kirthai hydropower project in Held Kashmir<sup>15</sup>. Pakistan has serious reservations on the construction of these dams as it will directly affect the already water scarce and stressed country.

### India-Nepal Conflicts:

Nepal is a land-locked country located between India and China with an area of 147,181 sq.km and holds an important strategic position in the region for its location as a buffer state between the two countries. It is also important as the water towers of South Asia lies in this country. The total land boundary of Nepal is 2,926 km out of which 1,236 km is with China and 1,690 km is with India. Nepal is surrounded (from east to west) by Indian states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Sikkim. Unlike Sino-Nepal border which has Himalayas as natural boundary, the Indo-Nepal border lacks such a natural barrier which is the main cause of the territorial conflicts between the two states. The main issue is the demarcation of the boundaries and Indian encroachment in the Nepalese land. 'This unsettled portion of the border consists of the Kalapani-Limpiyadhura encroachment (17 km), Susta (24 km) and various other spots (15 km). There are encroachments, cross-holding occupation,

disputes, conflicts, claims and counter-claims in 71 spots having approximately 606 square kilometers. The prominent areas have been identified as Kalapani-Limpiyadhura, Susta, the Mechi river area, Tanakpur, Sandakpur, Pashupatinagar, Hile, Thori, etc. The largest single chunk of encroachment is Kalapani-Limpiyadhura (370 km<sup>2</sup>) of the Darchula district and the smallest portion is Fatak (240 m<sup>2</sup>) in Pashupatinagar of the Ilam district'<sup>16</sup>. Some are of the view that the open border system is the actual reason for such border encroachment, some believe that it's the weaknesses of the Nepalese government that the Nepalese territory is still under India's control while some relate these disputes as the result of India's expansionist and hegemonic attitude.

The water dispute between India and Nepal is a bit different from that of Indo-Pakistan or Indo-Bangladesh as Nepal here is the upper riparian state. Nepal is a significant water resource in the Gangetic belt with two major water towers, several glaciers and more than 6,000 rivers in this country. Nepal's four major rivers (Mahakali, Karnali, Gandak and Kosi) and five minor tributaries (Babai, West Rapti, Bagmati, Kamala and Kankai) flow in India. In spite of the treaty of Sarada (1920) before and treaty of Kosi (1954) and Gandak (1959) after the independence, the water disputes could not be settled between the two states possibly because Nepal is comparatively a weak state in terms of planning and development and no appropriate measures have been taken for the storage and distribution of water by the Nepalese government whereas India is working efficiently as it would be of great benefit to the northern Indian states. Nepal is not satisfied with the projects and plans proposed by India and there is a general perception that the Nepalese are being cheated and dominated by their powerful neighbor. These

territorial and water conflicts have resulted in anti-Indian sentiments in Nepal and anti-Nepal sentiment in India which will keep on increasing if these conflicts are not addressed immediately.

### Indo-Bangladesh Conflicts:

Bangladesh is situated in the eastern side of the region covering an area of 144,000 sq km. It has only two neighbors, India in the west, north and east and Myanmar lies to the south of Bangladesh. 'The India-Bangladesh border is 4,096 km long covering the states of West Bengal (2,216.7 km), Assam (263 km), Meghalaya (443 km), Tripura (856 km) and Mizoram 318 km'<sup>17</sup> whereas the border with Myanmar is only 193 km. The territorial conflicts of India and Bangladesh can be categorized as following:

- 1- Un-demarcated boundaries: Almost 6 km border between India and Bangladesh is still un-demarcated.
- 2- Enclaves: They are small and scattered pieces of landmass belonging to one country located in or surrounded by other country. There are 111 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh approximately 17000 acres and 51 Bangladeshi enclaves in India 7,000 acres.
- 3- Adversely Possessed Lands (APL): About '2,853.50 acres of Indian land under adverse possession of Bangladesh and 2,154.50 acres of Bangladeshi land is under adverse possession of India'<sup>18</sup>.

It was expected that after Bangladesh's independence in 1971, these two countries, having cordial relations, would resolve their disputes successfully but eventually it proved wrong and the disputes and conflicts still continues.

Bangladesh is criss-crossed by rivers, and 86 percent of the total land is based on three major river basin system- Ganges, Brahma Putra and Meghna. Bangladesh shares 54 rivers with India and the water dispute between India and Bangladesh originated on the sharing of the Ganges water. The main water disputes are:

- 1- Farakka Barrage
- 2- Tipaimukh Barrage
- 3- Moore Island / South Talpatti (Maritime dispute)
- 4- Territorial Water

These conflicts have created chaos, turmoil and de-stability in the region and the delay in resolving these disputes is creating an environment of mistrust between the member states. There have been various measures taken to resolve these disputes but the situation is still not getting any better. Both, traditional and non-traditional techniques have been carried out for conflict resolution but not much has been achieved. Giving a brief account of the efforts done in this regard, this paper would further analyze the main reason of their failure.

### **South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC):**

During the sixteenth SAARC Summit which was carried out in Thimpu, Bhutan, the South Asian leaders admitted a collective failure to develop their conflict-ridden and to forge a united front against the threats of climate change and terrorism. The question is that why SAARC has been a failure even though it was made on the pattern of European Union (EU) which itself is a successful regional organization. M.L. Qureshi states three important hurdles in the regional integration: political relations of the

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member countries, South Asian countries having diverse stage of economic growth and lack of inter-dependence of the member states (Manonmoney, 1992). The point here is that Professor M.L Qureshi mentioned these factors decades back when SAARC was a newly born organization, but if we analyze the current situation of SAARC, we will come to know that more or less these problems are still prevailing, thus creating hurdles in the way of a prosper region. Political relations are still tensed between India and Pakistan and the issues still not resolved. The Indo-Nepal relations are also not very promising as the insurgency and separatist movement along with the water and territorial disputes are a great source of disturbance. Recently the Maoist activity of killing Indian soldiers in Chattisgarh is one of the several incidents that are deteriorating the relations of both the countries. The economic situation of the countries is not very well; especially Pakistan's economy has suffered a lot due to its participation in War on Terror. Poverty is increasing day in and day out which is a big challenge for the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) of the region. Also these countries have economic and trade relations with other countries rather than their own neighboring states which is of course a burden on the economy.

Mohammad Shoaib Pervez in his book 'Security Community in South Asia: India-Pakistan' mentions two reasons for SAARC's failure 'the first reason is because there are inherent flaws in its charter. The second reason is the rivalry between India and Pakistan that has made the entire organization ineffectual'<sup>19</sup>. He further elaborates his points that 'when we look at the first reason, it is evident that SAARC has had little effect. The SAARC charter not only prevents its member states from discussing bilateral contentious issues at the forum of SAARC, but it is also being promoted primarily as an economic organization leaving aside the contentious security issues....focusing solely on economic interdependence, with utter disregard to the security problems among its member states, has led to SAARC'S failure. The second interrelated cause is the rivalry between India and



Pakistan, the two neighboring nuclear countries of the region<sup>20</sup>. While discussing the failure in economic integration Mohammad Shoib states ' SAARC'S effort to establish joint economic action have so far not been successful because the economies of the participating member country is producing similar products with agrarian-based economies...the solution again lies in providing an adequate security shield through the re-chartering of SAARC by incorporating a security clause in it, whereby all states will be able to settle their security disputes at this forum'<sup>21</sup>. Another significant reason is that all the South Asian states are tangled in their intra-state issues such as militant activities, insurgencies and liberation movements, these states hardly get time to focus on the regional level.

SAARC may be influential and active regarding socio-economic issues, but it has not been affective in resolving the political issues, and it is very much accepted that without political stability even the socio-economic efforts would be of no effect. 'It is up to the states of the region now that it has in SAARC a ready-made instrument to use it as a medium for laying the foundations for an enduring peace and prosperity. This calls for political goodwill on part of SAARC leaders, getting rid of distrusting, mutual suspicions and fear perceptions, besides sorting out conflicting policies which give rise to them'<sup>22</sup>. Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi gives a realistic approach towards making SAARC an active and effective forum. He believes that a strong network (official and unofficial) would be of great benefit for the regional cooperation. In order to have cordial relations and a strong network it is necessary that South-Asian countries should play down their political disputes through peaceful means at the bilateral and regional level. He further says that India being the BIG BROTHER in the region should play its role and assure smaller states of South Asia that India is not against them and is ready to work for regional peace, security and stability. He is of the view that unofficial interaction should also be facilitated which includes scholars, journalists, artists, voluntary organizations, cultural groups and ordinary

citizens. He firmly believes that 'these individuals and groups will cultivate personal/group interest in the continuation of peaceful relations and cooperation. Even when the official relations are strained, the unofficial relations will survive; these will build pressures on their governments to moderate their attitudes. These 'lobbies of peace' will provide a strong foundation for regional cooperation'<sup>23</sup>.

The emergence of such People's SAARC (1995) is also an indicator that SAARC has failed in achieving its goals. SAARC talks about economic integration among the member countries but what I believe is that no country or region can prosper and flourish economically without political stability. Therefore it is much needed to first consider the political chaos and make measures to resolve the political issues in the region which will naturally bring closer, the south Asian states, and engage them economically, leading towards a prosper region. India and Pakistan, being the two biggest and comparatively better states in the region will have to take initiative in order to bring political stability.

### Track I Diplomacy:

Track I diplomacy refers to the diplomatic efforts to resolve conflict through official channels and many inter-state issues have been resolved through this traditional tool of conflict resolution. 'Pure Track One conflict resolution efforts are facilitated or mediated by government representatives or representatives of political institutions such as the UN and regional groups. President Clinton's Camp David mediation between Yasser Arafat and Ehud Barak is purely Track One, while Former Finnish Prime Minister Martti Ahtisaari's mediation in Aceh is Track One and a Half'<sup>24</sup>.

India and Nepal have sought their disputes primarily through Track I diplomacy. Almost 98% of their disputes have been

resolved and they are further looking forward for the solutions through diplomacy. Indo-Bangladesh disputes are also being addressed through negotiation on government level and the states are engaged in resolving the issues officially. As for Indo-Pak relations, the India-Pakistan Composite Dialogue Process initiated in 1997, when Indian Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral and his Pakistani counterpart Nawaz Sharif discussed the idea of Composite Dialogue Process in which India agreed to include Kashmir and Pakistan relented to include terrorism. Two rounds of talks were held in 1998 but there was no progress. The relations between India and Pakistan faced many ups and downs and after the nuclear tests in May 1998, there was a lot of pressure from the international community to resolve the disputes in order to prevent another war between the two nuclear neighbors. The need for bilateral talks to resolve the issues bring together the head of governments, Nawaz Shariff and Atal Bihari Vajpaye, in February 1999 for Lahore Declaration. During this visit Vajpaye, who belonged to extremist Bharatya Janata Party (BJP), visited Minar-e-Pakistan which was considered as a good gesture and was much appreciated by the people of both the countries. The proposals presented in this dialogue could have helped improving the bilateral relations but unfortunately the Kargil episode disturbed the whole process and created tensions again.

Agra Summit 2001 was another effort made by India and Pakistan but it too went unsuccessful as Pakistan wanted to discuss Kashmir as prime issue whereas India wanted to talk about cross-border terrorism and economic exchanges. The prospects for further negotiations worsened due to the 9/11 and December 13, 2001 terrorist attack on the Indian parliament. It was not until 2003 when India, in April, began 'step-by-step'

initiative towards Pakistan in which diplomatic relations and direct transport links were re-established between both the countries. The Composite Dialogue Process revived in 2004 in which four rounds of serious discussions took place between India and Pakistan, focusing on following eight important issues:

- 1- Peace and Security, including CBM's
- 2- Jammu and Kashmir
- 3- Siachen Glacier
- 4- Wullar Barrage/ Tulbul Navigation project
- 5- Sir Creek
- 6- Economic and Commercial Cooperation
- 7- Terrorism and Drug Trafficking
- 8- Promotion of friendly exchanges in various fields.

Again the Peace Process was disrupted by the Mumbai attacks in 2008 which stalled the ongoing Composite Dialogues. However, it was the 'Cricket Diplomacy' in 2011 that brought both the countries closer and they agreed for resuming the dialogues. Since then India and Pakistan are engaged in discussions in order to solve the issues.

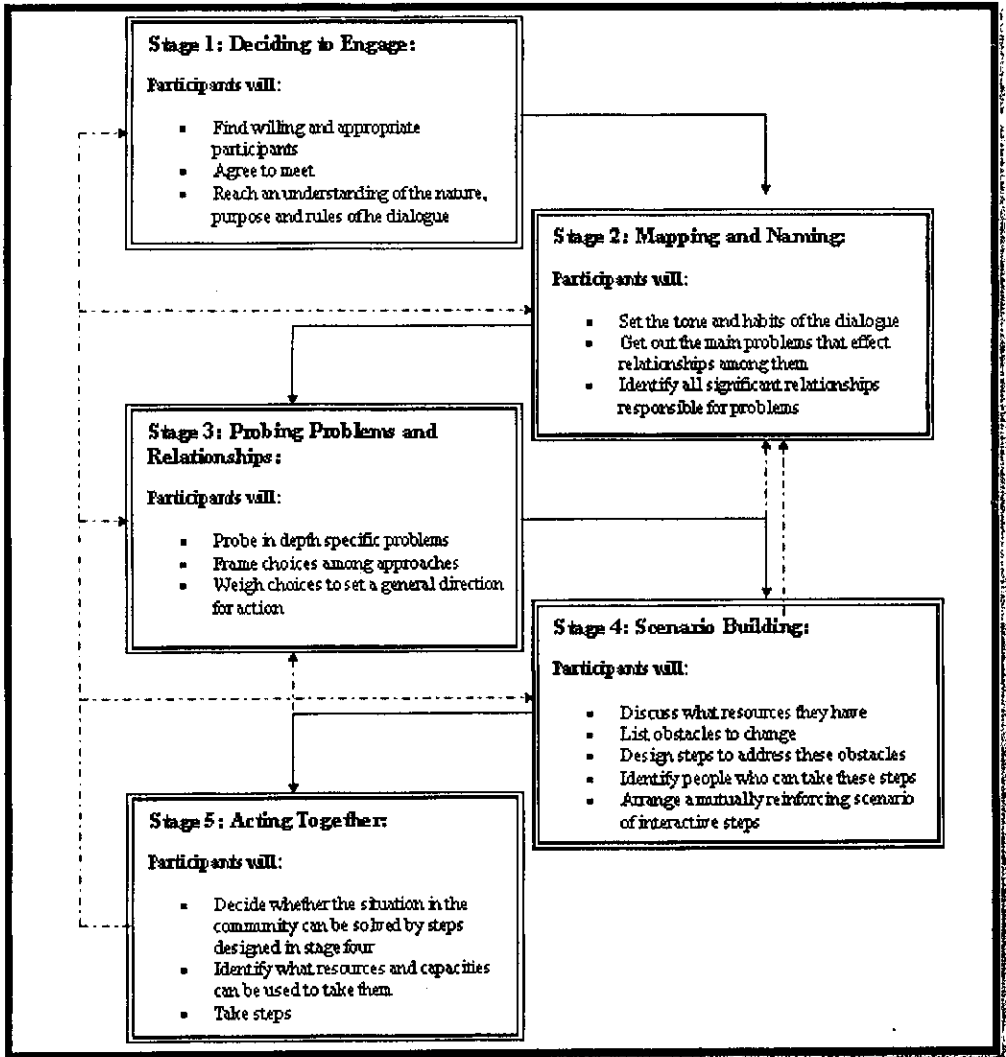
## **TRACK II DIPLOAMCY:**

Track II can be defined as the 'Peace building initiatives undertaken by civil society outside the structure of government'. Joseph Montville, an American specialist in the field, defines this term as 'unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations which aims to develop strategies, influence public opinion, and organize human and material resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict'<sup>25</sup>. Track two advocates argue that this form of diplomacy can be useful in many ways. Track two diplomacy may:

- (1) 'Help resolve ongoing disputes,
- (2) Prevent the emergence of new disputes,
- (3) Ease tensions and build confidence between the parties involved, and
- (4) Serve as a platform for exploring alternative approaches to rigid official positions and provide governments the opportunity to pick up new ideas when the political will to improve relations is forthcoming'<sup>26</sup>.

Although this term was first used in 1981, the first track two initiatives were carried out through Dartmouth Conference in 1960. It was the first non-governmental, citizen-to-citizen meeting between the USA and USSR which sustained for thirty years. Commenting on this US-Soviet track two process, Harold Saunder says 'We sat down together as enemies, when there was virtually no serious dialogue occurring between our two governments....it was one of the lowest points of the Cold War....We dared to hope that our work might make some contribution toward improving the Soviet-US relationship. By focusing on the overall relationship itself, we shaped a non-traditional agenda.... We did not talk about our conflicts as disputes over technically defined issues. Rather, we have talked about them as deep-rooted human and political conflicts. More important we talked about the resolution of these conflicts not simply in the diplomatic terms of negotiation, but also in human and political terms'<sup>27</sup>. The Dartmouth track two process offers important insights about the limitations of official diplomacy and the role that multi-track diplomacy can play in shaping and sustaining a peace process. One of the most significant outcomes of the conference was Harold Saunders' conceptualization of a dialogue methodology, which is known as 'sustained dialogue'. He discussed five steps for these dialogues:

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(Source: [www.sustaineddialogue.org](http://www.sustaineddialogue.org))

There have been various projects on bilateral dialogues as well as on regional basis about conflict resolution in South Asia. The civil society of India and Nepal worked together to reduce the tensions between the two countries and so does the Indian and Bangladeshi society. Recently, the civil society of India and Nepal gathered at the Indo-Nepal border and hoisted their national flags and showed respect to each other by singing their

national anthems. Another event was organized by the "Peace for Nepal and Nepal-India Journalists Joint Forum" at a crossing point of the Nepal-India border in Nepalganj-Rupaidiya on 2 October 2010 to celebrate the occasion of World Peace Day and the birthday anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. At that event, Nepalese and Indian nationals held toy guns as a protest against armed violence at the border. They later burnt the toy guns in the no-man's land as a symbolic gesture against violence and terror in the frontier area. There are many other efforts for instance the Young Parliamentarians from Nepal visited India in November 2010. Four rounds of dialogues were carried out under the public diplomacy division of the Ministry of External Affairs in which civil society representatives were present from both the countries.

The civil society of India and Bangladesh are also engaged in track II diplomacy to find better options for resolving the disputes. Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS), founded by Major General (Retd) Muniruzzaman is a group of different strategic thinkers, academics, former member of the civil and armed forces and media persons who work together for peace building and peace consolidation in the region as well as globally. BIPSS has carried out track II dialogues with Indian based United Service Institution New Delhi. Another important organization in this regard is Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) Bangladesh which was established in 1993 by Professor Rehman Sobhan. It is a well-reputed centre for carrying out research and conducting dialogues on regional basis.

As for India and Pakistan, various platforms are working as track II diplomacy initiative to resolve the disputes. Neemrana Dialogue, in October 1991, was the first initiative taken by Pakistan and India in terms of track two diplomacy. It comprised of former diplomats, former military personnel, media persons, NGO workers, educators and academics from the two countries. Another important group for initiating peace building measures is the Balusa group which comprised of leading opinion-makers from Pakistan, India and USA. The Balusa Group is a well-

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respected track two initiative founded by Dr. Shirin Tahir Kheli and her brother, Dr. Touqir Siddiqi to develop durable solutions to the India- Pakistan conflicts. This group primarily focuses on cooperation in economic, environmental and energy interests shared by both the countries. Kashmir Study Group (KSG) was formed in 1996 in which different group of academics, former officials, NGO leaders, and legislatures were gathered to form a forum in order to advance a peaceful, practical and honorable solution to the Kashmir problem. Another important effort is being made by the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, D.C. since 1991. This institute has been training Indian, Pakistani and Chinese officials, military persons, academics and journalists of regional confidence building measures. The formation of India-Pakistan Soldiers' Initiative for Peace in 1999 was also an effort in diffusing tensions between the two states and promoting peace through track II. The group comprised of retired armed forces personnel from India and Pakistan, who communicated with the political and military leadership and different civil society groups, which helps forming closer ties between the militaries of both the countries. Another example of track II diplomacy is the nuclear risk reduction talks led by the Delhi Policy Group and the Islamabad Policy Research Institute. Ottawa dialogues are another important platform for the discussions of non-official personnel to defuse tension between India and Pakistan. The Ottawa dialogue is an ongoing series of meetings led by Dr. Peter Jones from the University of Ottawa. Like the Balusa group, attendees are academics and high level retired military and government officials. The Chaophraya Dialogue is another joint India-Pakistan Track II initiative undertaken by the Jinnah Institute (JI) and Melbourne-based Australia India Institute (AII), to encourage informed dialogue on Indo-Pak relations. The process has so far led to eleven rounds of dialogue and is now entering its sixth year. The Chaophraya Dialogue is primarily meant to give informed members of the strategic community in India and Pakistan an opportunity to interact with each other on



a sustained basis. Past participants in the Chaophraya Dialogue have included senior former officials (including Ambassadors, Foreign Secretaries, Intelligence Chiefs and top-ranking members of the Armed Forces), academics, journalists and political leaders from India and Pakistan. Initiated before the Mumbai attacks of 26/11, the process played a critical role in bringing together senior interlocutors from the two countries when the official dialogue process was suspended. Pugwash Conferences, which began in 1957 and to date, 'have attracted over 10,000 attendees for over 275 dialogues on a host of conflicts'<sup>28</sup>. The first India-Pakistan Pugwash meetings occurred over in Islamabad in 2010. Since then, yearly meetings have occurred in various locations. The basic strategy of this platform is to engage the government officials of both the countries in a non-official dialogue so that the participants could look for alternative approaches and solutions for conflict, which can ultimately penetrate official policy. Pugwash dialogues include journalists, experts, former government officials, as well as current policymakers. 'In May 2011, The Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs successfully organized the first all Member of Parliament (MP) India and Pakistan Conference to advance peacebuilding. Twenty-three MPs from India and Pakistan attended and developed unofficial strategies to reduce tensions between the two countries'<sup>29</sup>.

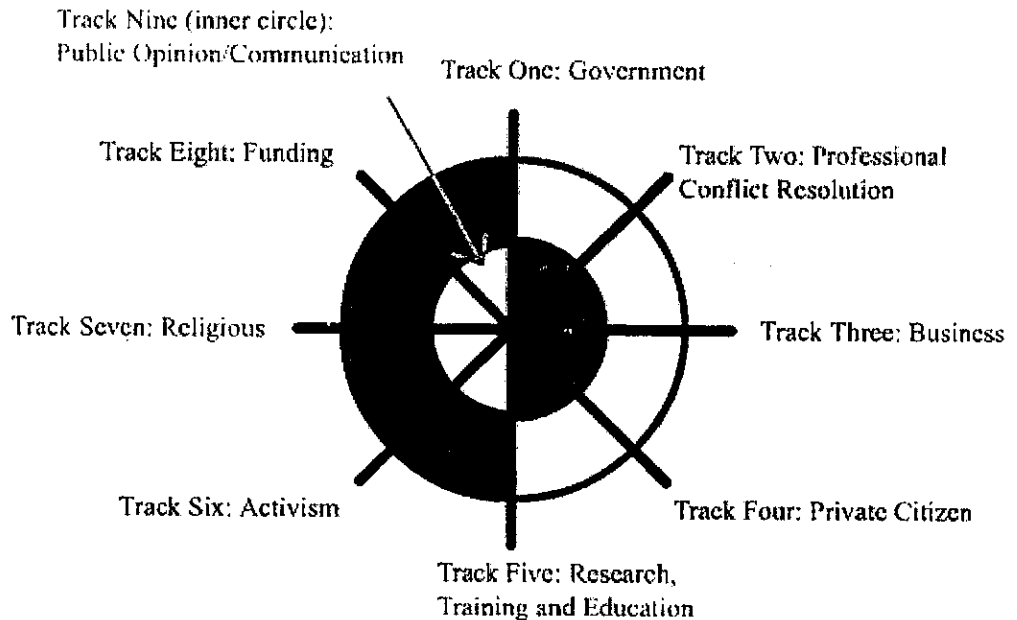
The most recent and talked about track II initiatives is Aman ki Asha which means 'hope for peace'. It is a campaign for peace between India and Pakistan, jointly initiated by the Jang group of Pakistan and The Times of India Group. This idea was launched on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2010.

## **MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY:**

This track was designed by Dr. Louise Diamond, co-founder, and Ambassador John McDonald, founder of 'Institute

of Multi-track diplomacy'. They reorganized the relationship between the various tracks and instead of putting track-one on the top, they redesigned the diagram and placed the tracks in an interconnected circle which shows that no one track is more important than the other and they are not interdependent, rather each track has its own resources, values and approaches but since they are all linked, they can operate more powerfully when they are coordinated.

### The Nine Tracks of Multi-Track Diplomacy



(Source: [www.imtd.org](http://www.imtd.org))

All these nine tracks can be of great significance in promoting peace in the region. Talks on official or government level can help reduce tensions between the rival countries and helps gain trust. The positive point of these official dialogues is that policy-makers are under the influence of these officials which makes it obvious that any dialogues conducted at this level

would definitely influence the policy-makers. The negative point is that any incident at any time can stall the official dialogues, effecting the relations of both the countries. As for track II, it is very effective in terms of formulating innovative ideas in terms of conflict resolution but only if the ideas tend to penetrate in the policy-making sector. Track III, is also essential as it involves the business community which helps the countries in engaging economically. The Punjab, Haryana and Delhi (PHD) Chambers of Commerce and Industry India-Pakistan Desk which was set up in 1982 plays an important role in promoting business diplomacy between the two countries. Joint meetings and conferences are conducted through this platform which works on trade relations between the two countries and suggests new proposals for the betterment of trade between the two countries. Also the India-Pakistan Chamber of Commerce and Industry (IPCCI) formed in 2005 by Federation of Indian Chambers and Commerce (FICCI) and The Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCCI), with the mission on having economic ties with each other as well as with other members of south Asia. Moreover, the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER) has recently launched a three year project "Strengthening Research and Promoting Multi-level Dialogue for Trade Normalization between India and Pakistan". Private Citizen Interaction is also of great importance as it helps to reduce the hostile attitude of the masses of the member states. Louis Diamond and John McDonald define this track as 'Each person can make a difference.... We can take personal responsibility for changing our world.... When we have personal relationships with others, we inevitably find our common humanity and are not likely to view them as enemies'<sup>30</sup>. The re-launch of Delhi-Lahore Bus Service is an excellent step taken by

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the two governments as it would definitely increase person-to-person interaction, creating cordial relations on the societal level. Track V diplomacy which is based on research, training and education is of utmost important, as it is a perfect tool for conflict resolution. New researches will provide with new ideas of resolving the disputes and initiating peace process, training of the citizens would help them in forming new policies and work for regional prosperity and integration and educating the masses with correct information of the past would help them to work for conflict resolution in the future because unless they are not aware of the accurate history, they won't be able to produce the perfect solution. Activism is the sixth track defined in the multi-track circle which refers to different activists and their activities working for conflict resolution. NGOs are the best example of this track as it provides a platform for the masses of the member states to raise their voices on social and humanitarian issues. Religion, too, can be of great significance in order to promote peace and in resolving the issues. All the religions of the world encourage peace and condemn violence. Hence it can be used in bonding the masses regardless of their color, class, creed or religion. Track eight comprises of those individuals or organizations which provide financial assistance for peace building. Some of the key organizations working in this regard are:

- 1- The Ford Foundation
- 2- The Carnegie Corporation
- 3- The United States Institute of Peace
- 4- The Ploughshare Fund
- 5- W. Alton Jones Foundation

The ninth track is related to the pro-peace media including print, film, video, radio, poetry and arts. Media plays a vital role in shaping the attitudes and minds of the masses. This tool can be used to promote peace as well as to escalate violence. There are many actors of track nine such as the Centre for Media and Cultural Studies (CMCS), South Asia Free Media Association (SAFMA), and the Media South Asia Project. The negative attitude of the media is very obvious among the two most sensitive countries India and Pakistan. From cricket to politics, everything is being portrayed so immaturely that it imposes negative impacts on the people creating the environment of hostility and hatred. This immature attitude is very much prominent during cricket matches and the way media promotes this as a war between the two countries. This media can be very beneficial if, used in a positive manner, can bring the people across the border, close to each other.

### ANALYSES:

After examining the conflicts in South Asia it is very much obvious that the major issues lie between India and Pakistan, rivals since decade. Stephen Cohen is not wrong when he says that 'when we study south Asia, we are really looking at India and Pakistan, for these are the protagonists of the sub-continent. When these two countries are at peace with each other South Asia is by and at large peace. If the two countries have troubled relations, South Asia is uneasy. When the two fight, South Asia trembles. Other powers of South Asia, 5 in number, have no external security problems and no threat from any neighbour (except possibly from India). India and Pakistan determine in their war and peace, the present and the future of the region'<sup>31</sup>.

What are the major factors working behind the de-stability of South Asia? Any one aspect cannot be blamed for the de-stability in the region, as there is a network of factors involved, which can be categorized as follows:

- 1- International factor
- 2- Regional factor
- 3- Intra-state factor
- 4- Social factor

During the research I have come across the fact that conflicts are inevitable even in the most civilized and developed regions and countries but what differs them from South Asia and its member states is **POLITICAL MATURITY**<sup>32</sup>, which is essential for conflict resolution. This analysis would relate the main lacking point i.e. political maturity; in the above mentioned factors and discuss that if South Asian politics had political maturity from their independence, South Asia would not have been in such turmoil.

### **INTERNATIONAL FACTOR:**

After World War I, The League of Nation was formed to unite all the states and work on their integration, to promote peace and economic stability in the war effected countries. The failure of this organization resulted in the second catastrophic World War and a new international institution, United Nations (UN), emerged with the same aims and objectives as of League of Nations. If we analyse the progress of UN, it is not very much different from League of Nations and has failed to resolve many issues amongst which Palestine and Kashmir issue is of prime importance. The main reason behind UN's limited effectiveness is that it is controlled by Western bloc and the G8 which uses this

institution for their national interest. It is a matter of great concern that in the presence of an international institution that works for "international peace" most of the world is engaged in war and suffers from the threat of terrorism. The main beneficiaries of these wars are the capitalist economies and their war industries.

In South Asia the main dispute is of Kashmir, which, if resolved, will lessen the tensions between India and Pakistan, thus benefiting the whole region. This dispute was raised in UN Security Council on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1948. Sardar Patel and some other Indian leaders were against the decision of taking this issue to UN but Nehru, under the influence of Mountbatten registered a complaint against Pakistan. Many resolutions have been passed, mediations have been arranged, commissions were set up but they all went in vain. The 1972 Simla agreement between India and Pakistan mentioned that henceforth issues between the two states will be resolved bilaterally. This made the UN completely ineffective in this regard. The attitude of this institution became much obvious when in 1995 Kashmir dispute was being eliminated from the UN agenda. The dispute still exists even after 67 years, the solution for which lies in two words; 'impartial plebiscite'. The point to be noted is that if UN Security Council can arrange plebiscite in East Timor within 6 months and in South Sudan within a year, then why not in Kashmir which has been a source of conflict, disturbing the entire region. Had the political leaders been mature and far sighted, this issue could have been resolved bilaterally soon after it escalated.

**REGIONAL FACTOR:**

The main spirit of regional organization was to economically engage the war-torn European countries which would gradually improve their political relations as well. The main factor behind the success of this regional organization was that the leaders and politicians were convinced that war was of no good to them and that it's this regional integration that would now help them out of the disaster. It was the political maturity and will of the European leaders that even France and Germany came close to each other and worked together for regional prosperity, owing to the fact that a prosperous region will result in flourishing country.

SAARC, the regional organization in South Asia was formed in 1985 on the model of EU. It was by then that India and Pakistan have fought three wars and several other disputes were present between India and her neighbouring countries. India joined SAARC on the condition that no bilateral issues and disputes would be discussed on this platform. India showed extreme rigidity by walking out of the SAARC summit conference when the issues starting with "K" were to be discussed. This attitude of India has made it very difficult for the resolution of bilateral conflicts on regional level. Therefore this organization is limited to socio-economic activities. Some may argue that economic integration would gradually normalize the political relations but again it would require the political maturity on government level that would help in this regard. The main reason why South Asian countries hesitate to involve economically with each other is 'mistrust'. The best example of which is IPI Gas Pipeline in which India is reluctant just because this pipeline



passes through Pakistan and if there is any tension between both the countries in future; Pakistan can hold the supply to pressurize India. Also this mistrust did not allow the current government of Nawaz Sharif to grant Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to India as the consensus could not be formed<sup>33</sup>. This mistrust is deep-rooted in the political history of the region and can only be countered with mature politicians who vow to move ahead regardless of whatsoever their history had been. This maturity may also enable the member countries to reconstruct SAARC charter and include the discussion on bilateral disputes in order to promote peace and stability in the region.

#### INTRA-STATE FACTOR:<sup>34</sup>

It is said that internal situation of the countries affects the region. Unfortunately almost all the South Asian countries are facing severe intra-state conflicts and disputes affecting the regional peace negatively. Internal disputes of the member countries are serious political instability, sectarian conflicts, separatist movements especially in Balochistan and militant terrorist activities in Pakistan, Maoist insurgency in Nepal, clashes between the political parties of Bangladesh causing chaos in the country, Tamil-Sinhalese dispute in Sri Lanka, uprisings and separatist movements in northern states of India. The intra-state conflicts and disputes affect the region in two ways. Firstly, they have spill-over effects which create tension among the neighbouring countries and secondly, the governments are so engaged in their internal disputes that they hardly get time to focus on regional level. Although it is impossible for any government or leader to eliminate the issues completely but if

the politicians are mature they can reduce the tensions in their country.

## **SOCIAL FACTOR:**

Poverty, corruption, health issues, lack of education, drugs, unemployment are some of the significant issues faced by the South Asian countries. These issues need to be addressed immediately because if the masses are not satisfied they will be a source of intra-state tensions, resulting in insurgencies and separatist movements. Again, a mature government would realize the importance of satisfying the society and would seriously work in this regard which would sooner or later result in the flourishing of the society.

We have discussed that great efforts are being carried out for conflict resolution in the region but they have very little effect and the main issues that emerged decades back and still exists. Be it track I, II or multi-track diplomacy, none has been so effective in resolving the key disputes of the region. The diplomats have failed to produce a comprehensive solution of their disputes, track II has no doubt been very innovative in producing new ideas in terms of conflict resolution, but they are not very much successful in penetrating these ideas in the policy-making sector. Multi-track has been very active in bringing the masses together. In spite all the efforts carried out on the level of track II and multi-level, it's the track I which will affect the regional politics and bring stability in the region, but until the leaders and politicians are rigid and stubborn no good can be achieved on regional level. Therefore we can conclude that **POLITICAL MATURITY** is the missing factor that is to be attained in

order to bring peace and stability in the region and making the conflict resolution efforts effective.

Now the question here is that how can we attain political maturity? Being a student and with my little knowledge of the subject, I would present an approach which could possibly resolve the issues of our region.

### APPROACH 1:

Keeping in mind the social issues of the weaker South Asian states, this approach suggests that the unrest in the masses would urge the society to elect the leaders with far sightedness and wisdom. This uprising will change the whole structure of the politics of the states and would gradually produce better politicians and leaders as compared to the old ones. These new leaders, having in mind the recent crisis, would work more efficiently and seriously which would progressively turn them into mature politicians. These mature politicians would not only be beneficial for their own countries but definitely for the region as well. They would know the cost of conflict and benefits of peace. Therefore they would try to resolve their disputes and issues bilaterally which would strengthen their bilateral relations and in long run would strengthen the entire region. A strong region would lessen the chances of international intervention in the regional politics which is a key factor behind the turmoil in the region. This approach is very much practical as it is evident from the history that when the societies are suppressed to an extent, they retaliate with full force the best example of this can be seen in French Revolution. The new leaders would be more accepting and co-operating. The strong regional ties and interdependency among the member states would reduce the

dependency of the states on international institutions which would definitely reduce their interference in the region and South Asia would emerge as a strong region with good relations with its members.

## APPROACH 2:

Historical trends have proved that change in world order effects the global politics. The Muslim Empire, the Euro-Centric world, British supremacy, bi-polar world and then uni-polar world has had great impacts on the politics. Considering the fact that the new global order would be multi-polar, this approach suggests that the superpowers of multi-polar world would be less interfering in the regional politics, providing the regional leaders to settle down their disputes bilaterally. This non-interference would leave the regional politicians with no other option then to solve the issues which naturally requires maturity. This environment will train them to gain political maturity resulting in strong South Asian region. This better environment would provide the opportunities for the states to engage in economical activities, boosting the economic development and growth of the country as well as the region. These phenomena would ultimately result in flourishing of countries and satisfying of masses.

## CONCLUSION:

The above presented approaches are the two possible ways to attain the desired political maturity which is required for not only making conflict resolution effective but also to prevent further tensions and chaos in the region. However, both the approaches will require plenty of time because the current conditions are not suitable for any of the approach. It is

noteworthy that any effort carried out unilaterally would be useless. Also the hegemonic attitude of any country would be a hurdle in the process of conflict resolution. For an uprising on regional or national level, unity is the basic point which would unite the masses, but in South Asia not a single country is untied on national level how would they unite on such a huge level? And as far as the change in global order is concerned, it is also a time taking phenomena.

Another important point is that are the peace talks sufficient enough to resolve the disputes? For instance if we talk about India and Pakistan, how can we just rely on the peace talks for the water crisis? Is it enough to request India to stop building dams on the rivers allocated to Pakistan? Certainly not. Our political leaders will have to understand that only peace talks would be of no good to our country unless we rise ourselves and become economically stable, politically strong and diplomatically firm. We too need to build dams and barrages to overcome our water crisis. We should utilize our resources rather than begging for aids and grants. Talks are only effective when both the parties are on equal basis; else it is more of a compromise from the weaker party. Therefore our leadership should utilize peace talks as a time gaining strategy and should work for the betterment and progress of our country which would bring Pakistan on a stable position to conduct dialogue on equality basis.

The positive point is that there is always a ray of hope when we consider the lesson taught by the history 'what goes up must come down'. The strongest kingdoms and monarchies have faced demise; the most powerful armies of the times have faced defeat, the largest empires of the world dwindled into small states, the wars that seemed to be never ending, ended up with

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peace treaties, the nations raised from their dark ages and conquered the whole world, the slaves stood against their masters and fought for their rights so on and so forth. History is full of such experiences which are enough for us to have faith that a time will come when South Asia will rise as a strong and prosperous region with its member states having cordial relations with each other. All that has to be done is keep on struggling and make use of all the possible ways and means to resolve the conflicts and then a time will surely come when South Asia won't be used as an example of 'conflict-prone region' rather it would be used as the best example of 'the region that has gain tremendous achievements in conflict resolution and has successfully resolved its issues and is emerging as a strong regional power'.

- <sup>1</sup> (Ahmar, 2003) "Why Rethink the Paradigms of Conflict Resolution?" In *Paradigms of Conflict Resolution in South Asia*, by Moonis Ahmar, 15-30. Dhaka: The University Press Limited, pg 34.
- <sup>2</sup> (Bercovitch & Jackson, 2009) Bercovitch, Jacob, and Richard Jackson. *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century Principles, Methods and Approaches*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, Pg 9.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>4</sup> Ahmar (2003)
- <sup>5</sup> Bercovitch, Jacob, and Richard Jackson. *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century Principles, Methods and Approaches*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, Pg 9.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pg 9
- <sup>7</sup> Gopinath and Dasgupta (2003) Gopinath, Meenakshi, and Sumona Dasgupta. "Gender and Conflict Resolution in South Asia." In *Paradigms of Conflict Resolution in South Asia*, by Moonis Ahmar, 106-117. Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 2003, pg 108.
- <sup>8</sup> Ghosh, Partha S. ,( 1989) *Cooperation and Conflict in South Asia*. Manohar.
- <sup>9</sup> Hashmi, Arshi Saleem. "Academia.edu." <http://www.academia.edu>.  
[http://www.academia.edu/2508567/INTERNAL\\_CONFLICTS\\_AND\\_REGIONAL\\_SECURITY\\_IN\\_SOUTH\\_ASIA](http://www.academia.edu/2508567/INTERNAL_CONFLICTS_AND_REGIONAL_SECURITY_IN_SOUTH_ASIA) (accessed 9 13, 2013).
- <sup>10</sup> Sattar, Abdul (2010). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2009*. Karachi: Oxford.
- <sup>11</sup> Peace Agreements Digital Collection: [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org)
- <sup>12</sup> Pakistan Today, July 23, 2011.
- <sup>13</sup> The News, 21 January, 2014
- <sup>14</sup> Shrestha, Budhi N. *The Natural Environment and the Shifting Borders of Nepal*, Eurasia Border Review, Volume-4, No-2, Fall 2013 , Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, Sapporo, Japan (<http://bordernepal.wordpress.com/2013/11/>)
- <sup>15</sup> (Das, 2008)
- <sup>16</sup> (Jamwal, Jan-March 2004) pg 10
- <sup>17</sup> (Pervez, 2013) pg 46
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid* pg 48
- <sup>19</sup> *ibid*
- <sup>20</sup> SAARC: Challenges Ahead, pg 104
- <sup>21</sup> (Rizvi, 1991) pg 214
- <sup>22</sup> Mapendere, Jeffrey. *Track One and a Half Diplomacy and the Complementarity of Tracks*. Culture of Peace Online Journal pp 66-81
- <sup>23</sup> Bercovitch, Jacob, and Richard Jackson. *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-First Century Principles, Methods and Approaches*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2009. s pg 9.

<sup>24</sup> Shah, S Aqil. *Non-Official Dialogue between India and Pakistan: Prospects and Problems*. August 1997. Pg 1

<sup>25</sup> Goldberg, Racheal. *Track Two Diplomacy in India and Pakistan Initiatives, Impact, Challenges, and Ways Forward*. pg 10

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Sewak, Manjrika. *Multi-Track Diplomacy between India and Pakistan: A Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Security*. Srilanka: Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, 2005. pg 85

<sup>28</sup> Cohen, Stephen Philips. *The Security of South Asia*, University of Illinois Press, 1987

i. Regarding the last option i.e emerging as an independent state, Secretary of State India, Lord Listowel clearly announced in British House of Lords, 'We do not, of course, propose to recognize any states as separate international entities' (Ijaz 1998). Whereas for the remaining two options of joining India or Pakistan, Mountbatten suggested, 'normally geographical situation and communal interests and so forth will be the factors to be considered' (Ijaz 1998).

ii. He has served as Pakistan's Foreign Minister from July to October 1993 and from 1999 to 2002. He was Foreign Secretary from 1986 to 1988 and twice Pakistan's Ambassador to India. He also served as Ambassador to the USSR and Permanent Representative to the IAEA in Vienna.

iii. 67 Kashmiri students were expelled from Swami Vivekanand Subharti University in Meerut and 6 students, including 4 Kashmiris were expelled from the hostel of Sharda University in Greater Noida of Uttar Pradesh, on the charges of cheering for the Pakistani team during the Asia Cup match between India and Pakistan on 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 2014.

iv. By political maturity here I mean that the leaders should serve the country selflessly and sincerely keeping in mind the national interest rather than the personal interest. They should possess wisdom and must be far sighted.

v. According to my personal opinion, declaring India the MFN status would be of no good unless it's conducted bilaterally. There should be a balance in all the agreements including trade because if Pakistan grants India this status unilaterally it would only benefit India.

vi. It is noteworthy that the governments blame other countries for the intra state conflicts and unrest in their countries. For instance Balochistan issue is always associated with the Indian RAW whereas the Indian government blames Pakistan ISI for the Mumbai attacks and Bombay riots. Similar is the case with Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.



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