

**A CRITICAL STUDY OF NON-MILITARY CONFIDENCE
BUILDING MEASURES BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN
DURING NDA-I (1999-2004) AND UPA-I (2004-2009) REGIMES**

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By

LAYASLALU M

Under the Guidance & Supervision of

Dr. D. PURUSHOTHAMAN, M.A, M.Phil, Ph.D.

Associate Professor

Centre for South Asian Studies



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Dr. D. Purushothaman

Associate Professor

Centre for South Asian Studies

School of Social Sciences and International Studies

Pondicherry 605014

India

Tel: 0413-2654755

Email: purushothaman.sas@gmail.com

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**A Critical Study Of Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India & Pakistan during NDA-I (1999-2004) and UPA-I (2004-2009) Regimes**” is a bonafide record of research work done by **Mr. LAYASLALU M**, Research Scholar, Centre for South Asian Studies, Pondicherry University, Puducherry under my supervision and guidance. It is certified that the above work has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or any other similar titles to the candidate.

Place:Puducherry

Date:

Dr.D.PURUSHOTHAMAN

(Research Supervisor)

DECLARATION

I, **Layaslalu M**, hereby declare that the thesis entitled “**A Critical Study of Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India & Pakistan during NDA-I (1999-2004) and UPA-I (2004-2009) Regimes**” submitted to **Pondicherry University**, Puducherry, for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in South Asian Studies is a record of original research work carried out by me under the guidance and supervision of **Dr. D. Purushothaman**, Associate Professor, Centre for South Asian Studies, Pondicherry University, Puducherry. This work has not been submitted in part or in full for any Degree or Diploma of any university.

Place:Puducherry

(LAYASLALU M)

Date:

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIADMK	-	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kashagam
BJP	-	Bharathiya Janatha Party
CBM	-	Confidence Building Measures
CDP	-	Composite Dialogue Process
DGMOs	-	Director General of Military Officers
DMK	-	Dravida Munnetra Kazhakam
JSG	-	Joint Study Group
LoC	-	Line of Control
NCMP	-	National Common Minimum Program
NDA	-	National Democratic Alliance
NMCBM	-	Non-Military Confidence Building Measures
NPT	-	Non Proliferation Treaty
NTBs	-	Non-Tariff Barriers
PM	-	Prime Minister
SAARC	-	South Asia Association of Regional Cooperation
SAFMA	-	South Asian Free Media Association
ToR	-	Terms of Reference
UK	-	United Kingdom
UN	-	United Nation
UNIPOM	-	United Nation India and Pakistan Observer Mission
UNMOGIP	-	United Nation Observer Group for India and Pakistan
UNSC	-	United Nation Security Council
UPA	-	United Progressive Alliance
USA	-	United States of America
USSR	-	United Socialist Soviet Russia

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PREFACE

Confidence Building Measures have always been a pertinent device in peace building mechanisms in the international scenario, especially after the drastic destruction of international relations following the Second World War. The horrible realities and experiences that resulted from the two world wars influenced the thoughts of the international community. Thus, avoidance of war, prevention of escalations of war, and minimizing suspicion and hostility among the conflicting nations, became the priorities of international politics. The experiences and ideas of the international community also had significant imprints in the minds of the rival nations and quarrelling nation states of South Asia.

In the above said context, this study titled “A Critical Analysis of Non- Military Confidence Building Measures Between India& Pakistan during National Democratic Alliance-I (NDA-I, 1999-2004) and United Progressive Alliance-I (UPA- I, 2004-2009) Regimes” makes a comprehensive attempt to analyse the Non-Military Confidence Building Measures adopted by India during the First NDA-I (1999-2004) and UPA-I government (2004-2009). A study purely from the Indian perspective, it critically examines the Non-Military Confidence Building Measures adopted between India and Pakistan for mutual cooperation and goodwill during the first NDA ministry lead by A.B Vajpayee and the first UPA ministry lead by Dr.Manmohan Singh.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

At midnight on August 14 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of independent India, gave a famous speech which hailed the country's decades-long, non-violent campaign against British rule: “At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance”¹. However, the hope and optimism of that night quickly turned to the harsh reality of how to handle one of the largest mass migrations in modern history and the ensuing communal violence. More than 70 years later, the fear, mistrust and suspicion continue to linger among the people of the two nations. This chapter gives a brief overview about the events that led to the partition, the major conflicts that occurred between India and Pakistan and the issues that led to these conflicts.

The history of partition of pre-independent India and the resultant formation of the nation states of India and Pakistan in 1947 was one of the most painful stories of partition in the history of the modern world, as it was deeply rooted in the “divide and rule” policy of the British Raj that cost lakhs of lives on both sides. “The policy of ‘divide and rule’ is seen as a mechanism that was used throughout history to maintain the imperial rule. It identifies pre-existing ethno-religious divisions in society, and then manipulates them in order to prevent a unified challenge by the subject people against a rule by outsiders”². The British widely pursued this policy throughout their colonies around the world. Similarly, in India also they implemented the same tactics and policies against the Hindu-Muslim unity. “Exploiting Hindu, Muslim difference at all levels of public life was an important characteristic of British rule and the bureaucracy tried its best to practice this policy as the intelligible and the most practical to perpetuate their domination in India.”³

“The British empire’s divisive policies were aimed at creating a rift between Hindu and Muslims in order to dilute any potential cohesive opposing force. The British pitted these

¹ Jawaharlal, Nehru. (1950). *Independence and after: a collection of speeches, 1946-1949*. Day.

² Akhtar Hussain Sandhu. (2009). “Reality of Divide and Rule in British India”, *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Islamabad 30(1), p.61.

³ Mushtaq Ahmad Mir. (2014). "India Pakistan the History of Unsolved Conflicts", *IOSR Journal Of Humanities and Social Science*, 19 (4), p.102

two groups against one another and eventually the Muslim league was forced to demand the creation of separate state to be called Pakistan.”⁴ This religious segregation sowed the seeds of communal distinction among the harmonious Indians. This gradually grew towards the partition of a unified India into two, independent India and Pakistan, in 1947.

The communal riots, mass migrations, killings and such incidents that followed the partition has made political relationships conflicted and discarded inducing mutual distrust and suspicion. The bloody partition and the later political development, and suspicious relationships between India and Pakistan give enough scope to political scientists who have specialized on South Asia and the political relationships of India and Pakistan.

The seventy years of India and Pakistan relationships have been riddled with many ups and downs, conflicts and cooperation. The territorial conflicts, boundary disputes and water-sharing disputes and other diverse issues such as trans-border terrorism, drug trafficking, etc. are the primary reasons for the ongoing strained political relationships between India and Pakistan. Among them, the territorial claim over the Kashmir is the focal issue which often destroys the friendly relationships and the peace efforts of India and Pakistan. Kashmir was the reason for the two major wars fought between India and Pakistan in 1947-48, and 1965. The disputes and conflicts often flare up between India and Pakistan due to either of the above mentioned reasons.

This traditional nature of the conflict between the two neighbouring countries has transformed into a serious nuclear security threat after the nuclear experiments of India and Pakistan in 1998. Soon after the nuclearisation of the South Asian Regions, the relationship between India and Pakistan took the form of a dangerous nuclear threat. It is a very obvious fact that the mistrust and suspicion filled nature of their relationship can break the peace and trigger a war between the two countries. Therefore the security, stability and the stable relationship of India and Pakistan become the foremost concern and an important factor for both countries.

On the other hand there are also a great deal of agreements, dealings, bilateral talks and peace initiatives to solve the issues between both countries. Of these two dimensions of the relationship between the two nations, the latter has been relatively less explored by academicians and the general public. In the relationship between India and Pakistan, bilateral

⁴ Ibid. p.101

agreements, treaties, and cooperation play very important roles in order to increase the mutual trust and friendly relationship, since mistrust and suspicion were the reasons for their hostile relationships in the first place. Therefore it is the one area that has significant importance to explore the role and effect of the peace efforts of India and Pakistan.

The new security dimensions under the perceived nuclear threat forced India to shape a new foreign policy towards Pakistan. The National Democratic Alliance-I (NDA-I) and the United Progressive Alliance-I (UPA-I), were the two successive governments which took charge in India in the post nuclear phase. However disputes and conflicts spoiled the relationships, though both NDA-I and UPA-I government have taken constant peace initiatives with Pakistan frequently. Among the diplomatic initiatives, non-military Confidence Building Measures had played significant role as a mechanism between these two countries to restore peace, trust, co-operation and mutual understanding. Hence this research is an attempt to analyse the relationships between India and Pakistan during NDA-I and UPA-I government during 1999 to 2009 under the Prime Ministerships of Sri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Dr.Manmohan Singh. Moreover the study specifically focuses on the role and importance of the non- military Confidence Building Measures in the peace building process between India and Pakistan. Furthermore, the study will look at the impact of non-military Confidence Building Measures on India and Pakistan relation from 1999 to2009.

Before analysing the above mentioned factors it is necessary to understand the background of the India-Pakistan relationship. It would help to understand how the conflict arose and what measures have been taken to tackle them, and the role and impact of non-military Confidence Building Measures in the peace settlement between India and Pakistan.

1.1 Genesis of Two Nation Theory concept

It is very necessary to understand the fundamental differences of the idea of these two nations. By the very definition, these two states have many differences; apparently the idea of India and Pakistan and how they differ from each other ideologically, economically and politically are seemingly essential to understand anything that happens between these two countries. The idea of India and Pakistan has huge and indeed significant differences.

The formation of the idea of India and Pakistan in fact began with the identity politics that emerged in the Indian National Congress in the early twentieth century. “First the

British policy of divide and rule, secondly the emergence of Muslim middle class in to the politics, thirdly the growth of communal sentiments between Hindus and Muslims and at last the mistake committed by the Indian National Congress”.⁵ Both have collectively played a major part in the formation of these two nations. According to the eminent Indian scholar T.V. Paul, the suspicion of the Muslims about the dominance of the Hindus in the Congress system that envisioned a united country built around the ideology of secularism and liberal democracy, which is the basic ideology of India, led to thoughts of a separate nation for Muslims. Moreover the British “divide and rule” policy had helped to unify the Muslim community over time which gave birth to thought about the idea of Pakistan. Hence the Muslim population that faced “Alienation from both British and the Congress Party led to the proposal for a separate Muslim homeland based by the League, which was first put forward by the poet Muhammad Iqbal in 1930s.”⁶

Behind the formation of the separate state called Pakistan, there was a reason that emerged inside the Congress Party. The Muslim communal faction politically organized and formed the idea for Pakistan and proclaimed the country as a Muslim state, whereas the leaders of Congress shaped the idea for an India that stood for the ethos of modernity and they built up India as a progressive democratic nation state “The Muslim League envisaged that the Muslim majority areas in the north-west and east India, constituted into a separate state, would grow in to a strong, strategically vital Islamic state.”⁷ These differences have been reflected in their policies and programs, and also influence their mutual political relationships, for that matter.

The ideological difference between the two states has had a profound impact on their political outlooks and political relations. This political difference often contributed the reason for conflict over various issues between India and Pakistan. The political difference over Kashmir is the key reason for the hostility between India and Pakistan since the formation. Kashmir is the buffer state between India and Pakistan, and had remained independent during the integrations of provinces and princely states either with India or Pakistan, but it later merged with the Indian union on 26 October, 1947. “The then Governor-

⁵ Amitab Mattoo & K.K. Jacob. (2007). *India and Pakistan : Pathways Ahead* , New Delhi: KW Publishers. pp.1-307.

T.V.Paul. (2006). *The India-Pakistan Conflict an Enduring Rivalry*, London, New York: Cambridge University Press.p.7

⁷ Jyothi M pathania. (2008). “CBMs as a Means of Conflict Resolution Between India & Pakistan from the 1990s to the Present”, Ph.D. dissertation, Deradun, *Hemwati Nandan Bahuguna Garhwal University*.Srinagar.p.2.

General, Lord Mountbatten, believed the developing situation would be less explosive if the state were to accede to India, on the understanding that this would only be temporary prior to a referendum, plebiscite, election.”⁸

This provision later became the primary reason for the contentions between India and Pakistan. “Pakistan claimed Kashmir as part of its territory on the ground that it was a Muslim majority state, but this was unacceptable to secular India, which did not recognize the two-nation theory. On the part of India, the question of Kashmir was not just retaining a small part of its territory; but it impinged on the very fundamental character of the Indian state and culture.”⁹ “Pakistan felt both resentful of its share of boundaries and the Indian occupation of Kashmir, Junagadh, and Hyderabad. This created a lasting fear, intensifying the divorce of the lands and people of India and sowing the seeds of mutual distrust which has shaped their relationship ever since.”¹⁰

Pakistan has been claiming since partition that it is their responsibility to protect the Muslims of the Kashmir from the Hindu ruled India. Moreover they claimed that Pakistan’s geographical continuity with Kashmir could help to improve the trade, commerce and economy of Kashmir. Therefore Pakistan claimed that Kashmir must be constituted with Pakistan. It is the backbone of India’s secularism which India upheld during the division of the subcontinent as two independent nation states.

The political difference related to their political existence subsequently after the partition is that, India has followed the democratic and secular principle which has not given preference to any religion as its official religion, while Pakistan is predominantly an Islamic republic country. Therefore, “Muslims within the Indian sub-continent were dispersed predominately in the North and East, these populations forming the bulk of West-Pakistan and East-Pakistan.”¹¹ Therefore the political difference flavoured with the religious ideology was the major reason for the lasting hostility among the people of the two countries which has often led to conflicts between them. This political demand for Kashmir was so intriguing that India would never allow Pakistan to accept such political rights. That is why the political

⁸ Victoria Schofield. (2002). “Kashmir the origin of dispute”. UK : *BBC News*

⁹ Surender Singh. (2015). India-Pakistan peace process: problems and Prospects of confidence building measures (cbms). Ph.D. Dissertation, *Kurukshetra University*, p.144

¹⁰ P. Oldenburg. (2010). *India, Pakistan, and democracy: Solving the puzzle of divergent paths*.USA. Canada: Routledge.pp.1-272

¹¹ J. Brown. (1985). *The Indian subcontinent: land, people, and power in Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy*. Oxford. UP, pp.3-43

difference over the Kashmir is a sign of enmity between India and Pakistan.

Coming to the socioeconomic impacts of this idea on the development aspects of both countries, it is very obvious to notice that the secular India was more visionary in planning and establishing development and progress, and in eradicating poverty through social development schemes, as well as advancement of new research in all sectors in the country, whereas Pakistan was much inclined towards religious matters. Therefore, India has become far more advanced than Pakistan in the socio-economic indices.

The eminent Scholar J.N. Dixit has written thus about the Muslims demand for a separate homeland:

“It is 55 years (when writing of the book) Since the Partition of India. The objective for which partition was brought about has not been met. That one objective was that one those Muslims who wanted separate homeland, the antagonism, apprehension, and suspicion, that underpinned the demand for Pakistan would disappear. The two countries would live in harmony and Peace this was the aspiration of both Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Jawaharlal Nehru the first heads of governments in the two countries. Exactly the reverse has happened.”¹²

However, conflict and Confidence Building have occurred with periodic alternation since the independence without being able to reach final solutions.

1.2. Conflicts between India and Pakistan

“Historically, both emerged as independent states in August 1947 experiencing partition followed by communal riots and mass exodus of communities on both sides of the border. This legacy made their relations a story of conflict and discord, mutual distrust and suspicion.”¹³ Even though there are various opinions existing among the scholars regarding the origin of the conflict of India and Pakistan, “one of the pioneering efforts to explain the origins of the India-Pakistan conflict was written by Sisir Gupta, argues that the origin of the conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir can be traced back to the days before the division of the sub- continent and in fact, the major element of the conflicts are the images that India and Pakistan had created of themselves on the eve of partition.”¹⁴ Secondly Gupta points out that the undefined nature of the borders between the two countries and the final status of Kashmir became the epicenter for the first war between India and Pakistan in 1947-

¹² J.N.Dixit. (2002). *India and Pakistan in war and Peace*. New York: Routledge.p.1

¹³ Surender Singh. (2015). P. 2.

¹⁴ Jyothi M Pathania. (2012). p. 2

48, and still continues as a flashpoint.

The conflicts of power and authority within the Indian National Congress between the sects of Muslim leaders and other secular leaders including Nehru was the first and foremost reason that resulted the formation of the two modern states in south Asia which shares borders, strategically important territories, history, culture, heritage and immense resources. After the formation of the independent sovereign republics as India and Pakistan, the story of the relationship between the two nations were not always peaceful; conflicts and war looms always, and has also been triggered many times.

In the formation years, the conflicts between Indian and Pakistan largely happened on the issues of sharing territories, resources, property, and minority issues on both sides. Some of these issues settled over time but some of them still serve as triggers for the conflicts between the states. The territorial claim for Kashmir is still whistling between India and Pakistan. According to T.V.Paul, Pakistan's partition remains an incomplete process without the plebiscite could be done, if so Kashmir would have joined with Pakistan. But for India, it is a finished chapter since the instrument of accession was signed by the Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh. These political disputes are the irritating factor which hampers the friendly political relationships between India and Pakistan.

Scholars on South Asian politics, especially those who deal with the history of conflicts between India and Pakistan have categorically differentiated the conflict that happened between these countries so far, into two broad categories: minor problems which can be put in cold storage, and major problems which create high tensions and military engagements on both sides. Both these minor and major problems have had equal and permanent existence between India and Pakistan right from its formation years.

The minor problems do not have much significance in this chapter since it focuses on understanding the major conflicts. Among the major problem it is obvious and crystal clear that the Kashmir issue occupies the largest portion of the history of conflicts between India and Pakistan. The emergence of the dispute over Kashmir had begun as one of the major issues between India and Pakistan. The inability and indecision of Maharaja Hari Singh in deciding as to which dominion the state of Kashmir should accede to, or whether it should accede at all, paved the way to the rise of this ever-relevant Kashmir problem. From the accessions of Kashmir with the Indian union, India and Pakistan relationships have been

geared into endless hostility. Thus Kashmir became the central reason for the long lasting dispute between India and Pakistan.

As scholars on conflicts between Indian and Pakistan have generally argued, the Kashmir Issue has had extraordinary significance in forming minor and major crises and dispute between the two countries. Among the all major wars between India and Pakistan, the Kashmir issue has played a very important role as well.

1.2.1. India - Pakistan War (1947-1948)

The first war between India and Pakistan took place over the issue of Kashmir's position soon after the independence in 1947. With the end of the British rule, the princely states were free to join either India or Pakistan. A state of intense tensions arose since the Maharaja Hari Sing refused to accede either to India or Pakistan. "Immediately after partition, he came under pressure from both India and Pakistan to accede. He nevertheless keeps prevaricated on the question of accession. Meanwhile, during the first week of October, 1947 a tribal rebellion broke out in Poonch, in the South-western reaches of Kashmir."¹⁵ The tribesman penetration continued for more than two weeks. "On 22 October 1947 fully armed Tribesman from the northwest of Pakistan and other Pakistani nationals entered Kashmir from two directions in motor vehicles in a full scale invasion to march towards the capital of state, occupy, and decide the fate of Kashmir once again in its history with the sword."¹⁶

Maharaja Hari Singh failed to prevent the tribe's onslaught backed by the Pakistan military and weapons. Hari Singh rushed to seek military assistance from the then Indian Prime Minster Jawaharlal Nehru. However, Nehru agreed to help with the pre-condition that the Maharaja would sign the instrument of accession. Soon after signing the accession, the Indian Army turned to Kashmir to fight back and cleared the Pakistan invaders. Kashmir's accession to the Indian union and the defeat of the Pakistan army increased the political rivalries of India and Pakistan. Moreover, it became the reason for the ongoing political controversies and conflict between India and Pakistan.

The location of Kashmir is strategically important. It is positioned at the center of the South Asian and Central Asian countries, and shares the border links with China, Tibet, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union .Apart from its strategic importance, it is critical for both

¹⁵ Duryodhan Nahak. (2011). *Confidence building measures in post- cold war India- Pakistan relations*, Ph.D. dissertation, *Jawaharlal Nehru University*, p.55.

¹⁶ Mir, M.A. (2014). p.105.

for India and Pakistan. From the Indian side, it is very crucial to protect, the security and stability of Kashmir since it is the integral part of the Indian union. Pakistan has religious and geographical closeness with Kashmir. Pakistan's only road and railway that links Lahore with Peshawar runs parallel to Kashmir. Through the Jhelum and Chenab rivers over which Pakistan enjoys right under the Indus basin water treaty, water enters from Pakistan into Kashmir. Therefore until a final solution is reached, Kashmir will be a key reason that hinders the India-Pakistan relationship.

1.2.2.1.India - Pakistan War (1965)

The second Indo-Pakistan war occurred between India and Pakistan, when Pakistan made plans to recover Kashmir in 1965. The war was unleashed with Pakistan's military action named 'Operation Gibraltar' which was planned to infiltrate Pakistan forces into Jammu and Kashmir to precipitate an insurgency against India. It ended with the United Nations (UN) mandated ceasefire and the subsequent issuance of the Tashkent declaration.

Pakistan launched the second war against India over the issue of Kashmir in April 1965. This war started from Pakistan's wrong assumption about India's military might. Pakistan thought that India might have lost its military preparedness due to the defeat before the Chinese army in the war of 1962; moreover India had lost its first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964. Therefore they made a military plan 'Operation Gibraltar' to regain supremacy over India which they had lost in the 1947- 48 war.

"The early confrontations started in the Rann of Kutch on April 09, 1965, when Pakistan attacked an Indian post under codename Op Desert Hawk. At the same time, between January and May 1965, there were numerous ceasefire violations in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), when Pakistanis attacked and occupied posts on the ridgelines in Kargil on the Indian side of the Line of Control (LoC), prompting India to beat them back and occupy the heights north of the ceasefire line to protect India's lines of communication."¹⁷ The situation worsened rapidly when Indian troops crossed the international border on September 6th 1965, and Pakistan opened an attack on Jammu. In reply, India launched a sequence of attacks from the state of Punjab towards Lahore, Pakistan and gained a decisive upper hand over the Pakistani army.

"The war ended on September 22, with India having captured 1,920 sq km of

¹⁷ V.Ganapathy. (2014). "Military Lessons of the 1965 Indo-Pakistan War". *Scholar Warrior* , p. 163.

Pakistani area and still capable of waging war, whereas Pakistan appeared to be at the end of its logistic sustenance. The Tashkent Declaration was signed on January 10, 1966, as a peace agreement between India and Pakistan which pushed both countries back to pre-conflict August 1965 positions. Both countries returned the captured areas at the end of the war.”¹⁸

1.2.3. India -Pakistan War (1971)

“The India –Pakistan war of 1971 came to be known as a landmark in the history of warfare. In a matter of 12 days, operating over one of world’s most difficult reverie, the Indian Army brought a formidable Pakistani army to its knees, took 93,000 Pakistani prisoners and gave 75 million tormented people of Bangladesh their independence.”¹⁹ This time, the war was more insidious and more devastating on both India and Pakistan. Unlike the other two early wars between two states, this time it was not the Kashmir issue that caused the war, rather it was what is now known as the Bangladesh Liberation war. India largely supported the Bangladesh liberation move from Pakistan.

The clash had started by the post-general election scenario in the East Pakistan in which the Awami League led by Mujibur Rehman secured an absolute majority, with 167 out of 169 seats. Even though Mujibur Rehman was in the position to form a new government, he was disallowed by West Pakistan. Therefore a large discontent and agitations spread across the Eastern Pakistan, which later turned into violence.

“The Awami League launched a campaign of civil disobedience, its supporters attacked many non-Bengali civilians, and the army flew in thousands of reinforcement.”²⁰ On March 25, West Pakistan launched a defensive attack against the Awami League, and other perceived opponents who could be a challenge to the dominance of West Pakistan. Later, the Awami League was banned and Mujibur Rehman sent in to jail. Moreover, the freedom of the press and the civil liberties were being blocked. The attack against the Awami League spread into the countryside and thousands of supporters of the Awami League were targeted and massacred.

Initially, India did not become involved in the Bangladesh Liberation war. India became involved only following the civil war and atrocities which threatened the Indian

¹⁸Ibid.. (2014). p.164

¹⁹ S.R, Badran. (2016, December 19). “Remembering-1971-India-Pakistan-War-and-Liberation- Bangladesh”. *The News Minute* .

²⁰ Mark Dummett. (2011, December 16). “Bangladesh war: The article that changed history”. *BBC News* .

security. “The continued army repression and fighting caused a tidal wave of refugees from East Pakistan. During the nine-month Liberation War about 10 million Bengali refugees fled into India, which caused serious concern for India.”²¹ Indian Border States were inundated with millions of refugees who fled to India during the civil war of Bangladesh. Therefore India wanted a political solution for the refugee issue. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi warned Pakistan to take immediate measure to stop the influx of the refugees to India in order to save and protect the social and economic security of India. “India started to have its total involvement with the Bangladesh Liberation War in June–July 1971 when the recruitment of the Mukti Bahini (freedom fighters) was intensified and India started giving them training and providing them with arms and ammunitions to fight against the strong regular army of Pakistan.”²² Meanwhile the Indian government had prepared for a military invasion to Bangladesh because India wanted to dismember the permanent enemy Pakistan.

On December 3, 1971 at 5:47 P.M., Indian airfields at Punjab, Rajasthan, and Jammu and Kashmir were attacked by the Pakistan army. The very next morning, “On December 4, the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi told the Lok Sabha, “This morning, the Government of Pakistan has declared war on us.” She added, “Today we are fighting to safeguard our territorial integrity and national honor. Above all, we are fighting for ideals we cherish and the cause of peace.”²³ India had taken an aggressive operation against East and West Pakistan. The joint operation of the Indian defense forces defeated Pakistan in the warfare. The war has stopped after the surrender of the Eastern commander of Pakistan.

1.2.4. Kargil Conflict (1999)

The Kargil conflict was the fourth and the last war fought between India and Pakistan in the high altitude of the Kargil region of Kashmir on May-June 1999. There are various opinions about the nature of this war that exists among the think-tank; while one section argues it was not a full-scale war, and others contend that it was a small scale war, near-war, and armed confrontation. Anyhow, the Kargil conflict broke the ongoing peace process and the friendly atmosphere of India and Pakistan which had been restored by the Lahore initiative.

²¹ Zaglul Haider. (2009). "A Revisit to the Indian Role in the Bangladesh Liberation War". *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 44 (5), p.540

²² Ibid. p.542.

²³ Duryodhan Nahak. (2011). p.63.

The conflict started after the Indian Intelligence Agency identified Pakistani military intrusion between May 3 to 12 in 1999 in the high altitudes of the Kargil peak of Kashmir. Pakistan had occupied the Kargil peak in the early months of 1999. The infiltration of the Pakistan army into the Indian borders was the major reason that provoked the new war between both countries which too was insidious in nature. The Indian Army was unaware of the intrusion until the Indian Intelligence Agency tapped the phone call conversations of the Pakistan Army.

After the confirmation of the Pakistani presence in the Kargil sector, Indian Army planned a military operation from May 15 - 25, 1999. The troops were deployed at the warfront of Kashmir and moved to their attack locations. "Indian Army's offensive named Operation Vijay was launched on May 26, 1999. Indian troops moved towards Pakistani occupied positions with air cover provided by aircraft and helicopters."²⁴ India launched joint Infantry-Artillery endeavours. 'Operation Vijay' expelled the intruders from the Kargil district and recaptured the high altitude mountain peaks. On 26 July the Kargil conflict officially ended after the Indian Army announced the complete eviction of the Pakistani intruders.

The Kargil conflict was very significant for India with both positive and negative impacts. The conflict was a big blow for the peace efforts of India and Pakistan, especially in the wake of newly emerged nuclear crisis of South Asia. On February 1999, India and Pakistan had signed the Lahore summit with much fanfare which kindled a fresh era of friendship between India and Pakistan. The expectation after the Lahore summit was interrupted by the Kargil incident which happened within a few months after the Lahore summit. The incident made sure that the role of non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan is highly required than any other mechanism. After a short time India again started the bilateral engagement with Pakistan with a strong determination that nothing would block the peace effort of India. Therefore Kargil conflict was the last war fought between them.

²⁴ Kargil Conflict 1999". (n.d.). Retrieved February Tuesday, 2016, from *Indian Strategic Knowledge online.com*: <http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com/web/Kargil%20Conflict%20Articles.pdf>

1.2.5. Siachen Glacier Issue

“The Siachen Glacier and adjacent regions a part of the larger territorial dispute between India and Pakistan that has its origins in the 1949 Karachi Agreement has been occupied by the Pakistani and Indian militaries since 1984.”²⁵ Siachen is the one of the most inhospitable and coldest battle fields on the earth. This unmarked region has been an area of confrontation between India and Pakistan since 1984. The 78 Km long Siachen glacier lies between the Salto ridges line to the West and the main Karakorum ranges to the East. Even though Siachen is formally a part of the Indian Union, conflict over the territory of Siachen is still continuing between India and Pakistan. Both India and Pakistan have demanded the Siachen region for their own reasons. India’s claim is that Siachen was part of the Indian Territory since Kashmir was added to the Indian union, and further, Siachen was under India’s regular patrolling since 1950. On the other hand, Pakistan’s is lacking strong evidence to prove the claim which is based only on its contention to have conducted twenty mountaineering expedition in the region during 1974 to 1980.

The historical root of the conflict over Siachen lies in the unmarked ceasefire line on the map known as NJ9842. The Karachi Agreement (1949) and the Shimla Agreement (1972) had left Siachen region as un-marked because of its inhospitable nature and geographical difficulties. This unmarked area later became a very critical war field between India and Pakistan. According to Robert G Wirsing, who did a long term study on Siachen, India’s “Operation Meghdoot” (1984) and Pakistan-sponsored foreign mountaineering into the Siachen area was the founding reasons for confrontation between India and Pakistan. “Meghdoot” is the code name of India’s military and air operation to capture the Siachen region in 1984. Thereafter Siachen became an area of confrontation between India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan deployed their respective military to defend their territorial claims and stronghold in the Siachen region. In October 1983, the Pakistan Army established its first permanent base at Siachen. “To pre-empt this move, the Indians airlifted Kumaon battalion by helicopters. On April 13 1984, at least two months before the beginning of the regular mountaineering season in the area, an Indian platoon was placed at each of the two

²⁵ Gurmeet Kanwal, A. H. (2007). *Demilitarization of the Siachen Conflict Zone: Concepts for Implementation and Monitoring*. United States Department of Energy. California: Sandia National Laboratory.p.7.

key passes along the Salto ridge, the Sia La and Bilafond La.”²⁶

The military operations have been continued by both India and Pakistan in the Siachen region. Pakistan has launched ‘Operation Ababeel’ with one platoon at the key passes atop Salto ridge, Sia La, Biafond La, in response to India’s Operation Meghdoot. In response to the subsequent activities of India in the region, Pakistan demonstrated its first protest on March 29 in 1982 and later Pakistan claimed that, the Siachen glacier was inside the Pakistan territory.

When Siachen’s geographical and strategic importance is taken into consideration, the answer will be given to the question of why Siachen maintain to be a conflict prone zone between India and Pakistan. The eastern side of the glacier connects China through Tibet which gives an access for China to Pakistan as well as into the region. “If the extension of the Karakoram highway reaches up to Aksai Chin, it will give Pakistan an easy access to the Nubra valley. Such positioning of Pakistan is going to be a great threat not only for India’s security, but it also provides a big challenge to maintain its position in Siachen and Ladakh region.”²⁷ Similarly it is very important for India as well. The control over the Salto range would give an upper hand to India; moreover it could save Ladak, Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistani and Chinese threats. “History is witness to the attempts Pakistan has made to infiltrate, be it through the border areas with Jammu and Kashmir or the unsuccessful attempt to seize the national highway, NH1 which is the life line of the Indian army to Leh and ultimately to Siachen.”²⁸ Therefore protecting the sovereignty over Kashmir would become a high priority for India. Hence, Siachen has become a very strategically important concern for India.

Over time India has extended her strategic advancement towards the northern region to stop Pakistan’s aggression, as well as to adopt a proactive move towards China. According to the famous Pakistani journalist Ghanie Eirabe, “India has sought to block three Pakistan-China passes one is north east of the glacier, the Karakoram pass, and other two of the Karakoram pass and other two to the, north west the Indira col and Turkestan La. That leaves only Khunjureb pass to Pakistan.”²⁹ Therefore the political and military conflict over Siachen

²⁶ Duryodhan Nahak. (2011). p. 100.

²⁷ Surender Singh. (2015). P.163.

²⁸ Zainaba Akter. (2016, February 13). “*The Strategic Importance of the Siachen Glacier for India*”. Retrieved May 2016, from *Indian Defence review*.

²⁹ A.G.Noorani. (1994). “Easing the Indo-Pakistani Dialogue on Kashmir: Confidence-Building Measures for the Siachen Glacier, Sir Creek and the Wular Barrage Disputes”. *Henry L. Stimson Center* , p. 12

continues as a primary territorial issue between India and Pakistan. The Siachen issue continues unresolved with Pakistan's refusal to authenticate the present Cease Fire Line and India's firm stand on the issue, that 'any agreement on the Siachen issue could only follow recognition of the present Cease Fire Line between India and Pakistan'.

1.2.6. Sir Creek Issue

Sir Creek is a disputed 96-km strip of water between India and Pakistan in the low lying marshy region of the Rann of Kutch where the Arabian sea join the land mass. The Creek partially divides the Kutch region of Gujarat and the Sindh Province of Pakistan. According to the resolution formulated by the Sindh Government, the eastern Boundary of Sindh of Pakistan ends near to India's western coast of Gujarat. However, no such bilateral agreement which defines the maritime boundary between India and Pakistan exists. But India opposes this and believes that, 'according to the International doctrine and a map were presented in 1925 the boundary should be in the centre of the Creek'. Therefore this unclear demarcation of the maritime boundary becomes a cause for the conflict between India and Pakistan.

"In 1965, after armed clashes, Pakistan asserted that half of the Rann along the 24th parallel was Pakistani territory. India countered that the boundary ran roughly along the northern edge of the Rann. The matter was referred to international tribunal for arbitration. The Tribunal known as the Indo-Pakistani Western Boundary Case Tribunal announced its Award on 19 February 1968, upheld 90% of India's claim to the entire Rann, conceding small sectors to Pakistan."³⁰

Apart from the conflict, it holds strategic significance for both countries. The importance of the Sir Creek rests with the fact that its mouth opens in to the Arabian Sea, thereby giving it a strategic and military importance. Apart from the strategic importance of Siachen, Sir Creek is considered as the largest fishing ground in Asia. The major sea line of transportation connecting the central Asian countries with the rest of the world passes near to Sir Creek. Furthermore, the two countries possess rich hydrocarbons and shale gas deposits under the sea. All this have contributed to the contention of India and Pakistan over Sir Creek.

³⁰ Ashutosh Misra. (2001). "The Sir Creek Boundary Dispute: A Victim of India-Pakistan Linkage Politics". *Boundary and Security Bulletin*, 8(4), P.91.

Apart from these major conflict and border issues many other issues exist between India and Pakistan. The issue of water sharing was another of the important conflicts between India and Pakistan. The Indus water sharing issue was prominent among them. “Immediately after partition, India suddenly suspended all the river water flowing to Pakistan, which threatened Pakistan’s agricultural and agrarian infrastructure because it was heavily reliant on the river water for irrigation.”³¹ It became one of the regular tensions between India and Pakistan regarding the water sharing. The problem was settled by the mediation of the World Bank after a decade of strained political relations between India and Pakistan. As a result the mediation, a treaty was signed between the then Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Pakistani Field Marshal Ayub Khan, in 1960.

1.2.7. Tulbul / Wullar Issue

The Tulbul / Wullar issue is another conflict between India and Pakistan related to the construction of a dam in the Jhelum River in Jammu and Kashmir. “India proposed to build the barrage in 1984 on the River Jhelum, at the mouth of Wullar Lake, India’s largest fresh water lake, near Sopore town in Kashmir Valley.”³² The proposal received a strong opposition from the Pakistani side as claiming it was against the 1960 Indus water treaty between India and Pakistan. This contradiction between India and Pakistan is one of the reasons for the ongoing conflict between India and Pakistan.

All these are the major conflicts that have taken place between India and Pakistan since their formation in 1947. There are other less important issues existing between India and Pakistan which are not necessary for the current research, and therefore they are not mentioned in the thesis.

1.3. Historical Development of Confidence Building Measures

Although, the conflicts have always existed between India and Pakistan on myriad issues over time, peace between these two countries too has functioned extra ordinarily through the deliberate action from politicians, military and diplomats from both sides. These peace building instruments are called Confidence Building Measures.

Confidence Building Measures are an important component of the peace building mechanism in international relations. “Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are a widely

³¹ Waseem Ahmad Qureshi. (2017). “Water as a Human Right A Case of the Pakistan India Water conflict”. *Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs*, 5 (2), p.371.

³² Wullar Barrage Tulbul Navigation Project”. (2004, July 29,). *Times of India*.

recognized concept in the modern day world and includes a wide range of measures encompassing military, political and economic fields. It is generally believed that the concept of CBMs originated in Europe during the 1970s in the backdrop of East-West confrontation.”³³ The systematic development of the Confidence Building Measures started from the 20th century. During the post-cold war period, Confidence Building Measures began to receive greater acceptance internationally and increased its role as a useful trust building mechanism between the conflicting nations. “The US and the Soviet Union negotiated in the seventies, a measure to avoid incidents at sea - to avoid what had been a series of collisions between the ships of the two superpowers. The other area which has been developed to achieve better understanding relates to military activities i.e. pre-notification of exercises, which was developed in the Helsinki agreements and further expanded in Vienna agreements in 1992.”³⁴

The first official initiation started in the 33rd sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. “At the session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 33/91 B of 16 December 1978 under the item entitled ‘General and Complete Disarmament’, in which it recommended consideration of confidence-building measures and invited all States to inform the Secretary General of their views and experiences on confidence-building measures.”³⁵ The thirty fourth sessions of the Building Measures to strengthen the securities of the nation’s states, and further recommended a comprehensive study about Confidence Building Measures. As per the member states’ assessment about the ongoing international conflict, they formed a collective notion that ‘the role and importance of the Confidence Building Measure is increasing in the present day therefore the General assembly had concluded the final objective of Confidence Building Measures, which was to strengthen international peace and stability’.

1.3.1. Definitions of Confidence Building Measure and Non-military CBM

There is no commonly accepted definition for Confidence Building Measure in general and non-military in particular. According to Johan Jorgen "Confidence building measures (CBM) may be defined as arrangements designed to enhance assurance of mind and

³³ Naeem Ahmad Salik. (2010). “Confidence Building Measures Between India and Pakistan”. *NDU Journal* , pp.47-84.

³⁴ Naeem Ahmad Salik. (1995). “The Role of Confidence-Building Measures: Indo-Pakistan Conflicts”. *Pakistan Horizon*, 48(1), p.73.

³⁵ UN Secretary General (1996). “Comprehensive Study on Confidence-building Measure”. *UN Security Council, Department of Political Science and Security Council Affairs*.p.120.

belief in the trust-worthiness of states, confidence is the product of much broader patterns of relations than those which relate to military security. In fact, the latter have to be woven into a complex texture of economic, cultural, technical and social relationships.”³⁶ “Non-military Confidence Building Measures are actions and process undertaken in all phases of conflict cycle and across the dimensions of security in political, economic, environmental, social or cultural field with the aim of increasing transparency and level of trust and confidence between two or more conflicting parties to preventing inter-state or intra-state from emerging, or (re) escalating and to pave the way pave the lasting conflict settlement.”³⁷ Confidence Building Measures, therefore, are the peace-making efforts which are largely designed, managed and always performed by the army of both sides in which politicians and ordinary people of both countries do not have much role. However, the second measure, the Non Military Confidence Building Measure largely happens on the side of diplomats, politicians and moreover, the ordinary people also have great role in it.

Confidence Building Measures generally facilitate the opening of the channels of communication, improving friendly atmosphere between the hostile countries, promoting transparency, creating stability and enhancing security. Therefore Confidence Building Measures are used as important peace building mechanisms in the international arena especially in the post-cold war period. “There is, however, sufficient evidence to suggest that the process had already been practiced in many parts of the world although not necessarily characterized as such. For instance, in South Asia, there have been many such agreements between India and Pakistan.”³⁸ But at the same time, it is also important to note that there are criticisms and limitations for Confidence Building Measures as well.

“The Confidence Building Measures cannot stand alone and can only work in text. The presumption of priority for Confidence Building Measures is that underlying problems are not resolvable, and therefore, by freezing the status quo, Confidence Building Measures can somehow reduce tension and avert the danger of war. Meant to be a step towards conflict resolution they can often be used as substitute. They have frequently been pursued in South Asia under external prodding or pressure and at the expense of problem solving.”³⁹

³⁶ Naeem Ahmad Salik. A. (2010),p.48.

³⁷ OSCE. (2012). “*Guide on Non-military Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs)*”. Vienna: Organization for Security and Cooperation for Europe.pp.1-76.

³⁸ Naeem Ahmad Salik. (2010),pp.47.

³⁹ Maleeha Lodhi. (1998). “Nuclear Risk Reduction and Conflict Resolution in South Asia”. *The News*, Islamabad.

1.3.2. India and Non-military Confidence Building Measures

Although India and Pakistan have a long past of conflict during the cold war period there are also number of examples of the pacific settlement of their disputes through the bilateral negotiation. The Karachi Agreement of 1949 was the first agreement signed between Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Pakistan Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1950, regarding the establishment of a Cease-Fire Line. The Karachi agreement established an 800 mile Cease-Fire Line(CFL) that obligated troops to keep a distance of five hundred yards from the line. Also, the agreement sought to freeze the force levels around Cease Fire Line. Moreover, the treaty agreed to deal with the ill-treatment of minorities on either side which had disturbed the relations of India and Pakistan during the aftermath of the Partition and even afterwards. The pact treaty ensured constitutional guarantees for minorities and assured the transfer of people of both sides and evacuation of properties etc.

The Indus Water Treaty is a highly successful treaty signed on September 19, 1960 by the Nehru and Ayub Khan under the mediation of the World Bank in 1960. The World Bank took a leading role in resolving the long-standing water sharing conflict between two countries since the partition. According to the treaty, “the eastern rivers the Beas, the Sutlej and the Ravi were assigned to India while allowing the unrestricted use of the waters of these rivers. Pakistan got the control over the unrestricted use of the waters of the western rivers including the Chenab, the Jhelum and, the Indus.”⁴⁰ Though both parties have some minor disagreements yet the Indus Water Treaty is continuing to work in an efficient way.

On 10th January 1966 Lal Bahadur Shastri and Ayub Khan signed a treaty at Tashkent on the mediation of USSR after the 1965 War. “The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighborly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means.”⁴¹ The agreement had stopped the war which began in 1965 between India and Pakistan. The Soviet Premier Aleksey Kosygin had invited both the parties to Tashkent to conclude the ongoing war and to restore the normalcy between the disputing neighbors.

⁴⁰Mian Tahir Ashraf. (2007). “Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) as an Instrument of Peace Building between India and Pakistan: A Historical Analysis”. *Journal of Research (Humanities)* vol. 27, p.114.

⁴¹Tashkent declaration signed by Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan. *The Ministry of External Affairs, the Government of India*.

India and Pakistan signed an Agreement for ceasefire in the Rann of Kutch on June 30 1965. It was the next major peace-related agreement between India and Pakistan. “Both the Government of India and Pakistan have agreed to a cease Fire and to restoration of the status quo as at 1 January, 1965, in the area of the Gujarat/ West Pakistan border, in the confidence that this will also contribute to a reduction of the present tension along the entire Indo/ Pakistan border.”⁴² “The Rann of Kutch on the Gujrat - Sindh border became a site of intense hostilities between India and Pakistan before ultimately leading up to the 1965 war. The dispute sprang up from the disagreement over a demarcation line in Rann of Kutch which was finally referred to a binding international arbitration in order to normalise the relations. Consequently, the Rann of Kutch Tribunal Award was settled. On February 19, 1968, the Indo-Pakistan Western Boundary case tribunal award, “bolstered India’s claim over 90 percent of the Rann while conceding remaining 10 percent area to Pakistan.”⁴³

Two years later, both countries decided to establish a direct communication link between the higher authorities of the Pakistani and Indian Military. “This de-escalated the war-like situation that came to mark the relations of the two countries after the 1971 War, and paved the way for a durable peace between these two neighboring countries.”⁴⁴ Both India and Pakistan agreed to compromise their disputes mutually, especially the issues that arose after the War of 1971. Under this treaty India and Pakistan decided to avoid the conflict and confrontation which had blocked the road to durable and peaceful bilateral relationships between them. The Agreement was designed on mutually agreed guidelines and principles which would be respect each other’s territorial integrity, sovereignty and could avoid conflicts and manage a friendly relations of India and Pakistan.

“The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their people.”⁴⁵ Therefore India and Pakistan took responsibility to resolve their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon

⁴² Text of India and Pakistan: Agreement on Cease-Fire in Rann of Kutch. (1965). New Delhi: *Ministry of External Affairs Government of India*. p.1.

⁴³ Mian Tahir Ashraf. (2007).p.115.

⁴⁴ Why the 1972 Shimla accord was a disaster”. (2016, July 02). Retrieved September tuesday, 2016, from *Reddif*:<http://www.rediff.com/news/column/why-the-1972-shimla-accord-was-a-disaster/20160702.htm>

⁴⁵ Quaiser Rashid. (2016 October). “Kashmir and Simla Agreement”. Lahore: *Daily Times*.

between them.

A decade later, a new development took place between Indian and Pakistan which was also helpful to reduce the issues between both countries. In 1982, the Indo- Pakistani Joint Commission was set up, which inevitably facilitated the discussions at the ministerial and sub-ministerial levels. This platform provided an opportunity for dealings with a wide range of issues, including trade, tourism, technology and communication. It improved the trust between the two countries which was the important prerequisite for a good relationship with India and Pakistan. “During 1990s Indo-Pakistani Joint Commission had been replaced by a series of foreign secretary - level talks. The prior notification agreement (1991), the airspace agreement (1992), and the bilateral chemical weapons declaration (1992) are the production of these discussions.”⁴⁶

The Government of the India and Pakistan signed an important agreement on No-attack of Nuclear Facilities on 3rd December 1988. The agreement was signed by the Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto after their commitment to durable peace and friendly bilateral relationship between the two countries. The agreement was in fact a promising move since both India and Pakistan did a lot to gain nuclear status, and the world was fearfully looking at the nuclear developments and experiments between these neighboring rival countries. The agreement was approved in 1991 and employed in January 1992.

In addition, to erode the tension and fear between each other, both countries took very positive moves with the International observation of Military Exercises. Pakistan began this move in 1989, when they invited the US and other foreign militaries to observe the military exercise of the Pakistani army. This was followed by India in 1990, and India invited the US to observe their military exercise and was assured that India was having a non-hostile intent. In military matters, another important agreement was signed between Indian and Pakistan on 6th April 1991. The agreement was called as the ‘Agreement on Prior Notification of Military Exercise’, which restricted uninformed military exercises which both parties had been undertaking on the Line-of-Control and nearby border areas which had sparked off conflicts most of the time. In the same year, in August, two other military related agreements were signed between both countries called as the ‘Agreement on Violation of Airspace’, in a similar format of the earlier agreement that effectively controlled the conflicts that could happen through misunderstanding. The second agreement was called as the ‘Joint Declaration

⁴⁶ Mian Tahir Ashraf. (2007).p.117.

on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons' in which both India and Pakistan promised not to develop, produce, acquire, or use chemical weapons.

In the next year, a hotline was established between the Air Forces of India and that of Pakistan and also similar kinds of military goodwill measures were implemented between India and Pakistan in 1992. Among this, major measures ensured that the senior military as well as civilian officials of the two countries would participate in various seminars in both country, and in addition both sides decided to invite guest speakers to their respective National Defence Colleges. These moves inevitably opened a wide space for peace between two countries.

Similarly, followed by the positive measures that had happened at the military level, a lot of such things happened among the political level as well especially in 1997. During that time, Inder Kumar Gujral and Nawas Sharif were the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan respectively. They both reinstated the "hotline which was first installed during the premierships of Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi, but was suspended in later years as tension over Kashmir heated up."⁴⁷ It inevitably signaled even a political reducing of tensions between both sides.

Although there several agreements, pacts, accords and Confidence Building Measures have been signed between India and Pakistan, none of these agreements could successfully settle the problems between India and Pakistan. The lack of proper implementation and the failures of the leaders to form a long-term vision to tackle basic issues were the reasons for the failure. Most of the Confidence Building Measures are military in nature which could not target a wider area for bilateral cooperation, but was rather limited to military related issues. Therefore the role of non-military Confidence Building Measures is remarkably important between India and Pakistan in order to solve their strained bilateral relationships. In the post-nuclear phase, the political relationship between India and Pakistan has been filled with tensions and nuclear threats. Hence both India and Pakistan have relaxed their traditional stand on the many issues which they had contradictory opinions. Therefore the leaders of the both countries have given much importance to improving their strained relationship. Hence the non-military Confidence Building Measures have become an important peace building mechanism between India and Pakistan. Therefore this thesis will analyse the role of the non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan during the NDA-I and

⁴⁷I bid. p.118.

UPA-I government during 1999 to 2009.

Statement of the Problem

India- Pakistan disputes remain a perennial unsettled crisis since the partition of erstwhile India. Then on, there had been conscious efforts to resolve the resentments and to re-establish mutual confidence. Many initiations, negotiations, and Confidence Building Measures were put forward and implemented to smoothen the bilateral relations between the states. Not all measures gained success, but they could definitely lead to future plans for bettering the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. The present study problematizes the role, scope, and significance of non- military CBMs in solving the problems between India and Pakistan with special reference to the period of NDA-I government and the period of UPA-I government. The present study is an attempt to approach the following research questions seeking their answers:

- What are the nature and types of Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan from 1999 to 2009?
- Which are the different dimensions of the Non-Military Confidence Building Measures subsisted during the period of NDA- I Government (1999-2004) and UPA- I Government(2004-2009)?
- What are the major contributions of Non-Military Confidence Building Measures in peace building between India and Pakistan?
- What are the major hurdles/ obstacles to the Non- Military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan?
- What is the scope of future perspectives concerning the Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan?

Significance of the Study

Non-Military Confidence Building Measures have had a significant role in resolving the ongoing conflicts between India and Pakistan. The era selected for the present study is the post-nuclear period which had been in demand of non-military CBMs that could meet the needs of the situation. The change in the international perspective from confrontation to cooperation after the Cold War period contributed to the inimitable need of non-military

CBMs. The study aims to take a critical look at the non-military CBM to identify the lacunas and drawbacks. This study is a pertinent attempt also for the reason that only rarely would one find a study that approaches the present topic in a comprehensive outlook. In other words, this study combines A.B Vajpayee Ministry (1999-2004) and the first Manmohan Singh Ministry (2004- 2009) in terms of the non-Military CBMs adopted by India in peace-building attempts with Pakistan.

Review of Literature

The study aims to examine and review literatures from various areas of India-Pakistan relations, strategies, and political, diplomatic, military and non-military perspectives. The review is classified into three parts. The first part of the review concentrates on the nature of India-Pakistan relations. The second part focuses on the comprehensive study of the Confidence Building Measures, its evolutions, importance and development. The third part deals with the Non-Military CBMs and its evolutions generally and particularly focusing on the importance of Non-Military CBMs in India Pakistan relations.

K R Gupta, P M Kamath and **J N Dixit** have explained about the history and nature of India and Pakistan relation. It gives a comprehensive view about the history, nature, and the basic reasons behind the hostilities between India and Pakistan. **P M Kamath** (2005) provides basic information about India and Pakistan relations. Further he analyses various aspects of India and Pakistan relations such as conflict, cooperation, trans-border terrorism, trade and commerce, constraints of economic cooperation, problems and prospects etc. This basic information is more useful for an intensive and comprehensive and further study of India and Pakistan relations. **K R Gupta's** (2002) narration is a blend of the history of the root cause of India and Pakistan conflict and the various peace efforts to establish the cordial relationship between India and Pakistan. It is well understood that Muhammad Ali Janna's two nation theory and Lahore resolutions of All India Muslim league sow the seeds of hostilities between India and Pakistan. **J.N.Dixit**(2002) explains how India and Pakistan had maintained their relations during peace and crisis. The author himself had a direct experience of dealing with India and Pakistan relations since 1958 to 1994 being at various diplomatic positions. The illustration of the India and Pakistan relation and peace building initiatives in the light of the rich experience of the author in both situations will be useful to avoid lacunas in formation of policy strategies towards the peace building process between India and Pakistan.

Sumit Ganguly, Stephen.P.Kohen and **Wojczewski** analyze the reasons for the unending conflict between India and Pakistan in different dimensions. **Sumit Ganguly (2001)** analyzes the conflicting relations of India and Pakistan since independence from British in 1947. It is one of the authentic sources which clearly mentions the reasons for the unending disputes and the tensions between India and Pakistan and it shares an antithetical worldview of Islam and Hinduism. It is being used by the British government to destroy the unity of Muslims and Hindus in the pre Independent India. It is the one of the basic reasons still eroding India and Pakistan relation. **Stephen.P.Kohen (2013)** explores the reasons for the enduring conflict of India and Pakistan. He explains that the instability and stability of the region depends up on the strategic elites' understanding about the common interest of the South Asian countries. Further the state to state mechanism is another significant aspect for the integration or the co operations of the South Asian countries but he notices the absence of state to state mechanism in South Asia especially between India and Pakistan. The lack of understanding about the common issues is the one of the reasons for the unending conflict between India and Pakistan. The author says that the normalization process will be evolved through the accommodation of strategic relations between the states and accommodation of economic, political and cultural relationship between the states. Finally he criticizes the poor prospects of the South Asian states towards the normalizations.

Thorsten Wojczewski (2014) has explained about the causes of India and Pakistan conflict. The domination of the military in Pakistan politics, conflicting national identities etc. are the reasons he finds out for the enduring conflict between India and Pakistan. **Sinderpal Singh (2013)** also has explained that the attempt to protect the self identity due to domestic politics in India also is one another reason for the unending conflict between India and Pakistan. **J.N.Dixit, (2001)** also has similar opinion that the domestic factors also is one among the determining factors of conflict between India and Pakistan relations.

Another area of literature review deals with the history and importance of the bilateral cooperation between India and Pakistan. Some of the important literatures which shed lights on the bilateral cooperation, Confidence Building Measures, and non-military cooperation between India and Pakistan are contributed by Sreedhar John Kaniyayil, Duncan McLeod, M. G. Chitkara, Stanley Wolpert, Ashutosh Misra etc.

Sreedhar John Kaniyayil, (1993) gives a brief history of bilateral transactions and communications between India and Pakistan. This is considered as a significant direction

towards the analysis of the history of India and Pakistan bilateral relations more over it stands as a good reference book to fetch details of political, trade commerce, socio-cultural, transport and communication, nuclear, sharing river water related treaties, agreements, declarations etc. The above said information is very essential to understand the history of bilateral transactions and communications between India and Pakistan. **Duncan McLeod (2008)**, moves away from historical reiteration and tries to theorize the nature and culture of violence between the two states. It looks at “how the historical, geographic and cultural ties have contributed to the transitory character of anarchy between India and Pakistan” and examines just how ‘permanent’ a threat India and Pakistan are to each other and how this threat can be theorized and understood more clearly.

M G. Chitkara (2001) analyses the partition and followed relations of India and Pakistan and their challenges in the new millennium. The major argument put forward by Chitkara is that the partition of united India on the basis of a two nation theory is a fraudulent act of the Muslim leaders as Bangladesh is separated from the Western Pakistan, is the proof that Islam is not sufficient enough to address the issues of Muslims of the continent. This argument is helpful for India and Pakistan to a joint act towards the common issues of the subcontinent through bilateral cooperation further it will reduce the ongoing hostilities between India and Pakistan. **Stanley Wolpert (2010)** has analyzed the challenges of nuclearisation of the South Asian region that compelled India and Pakistan to take urgent measures to resolve their problems before the nuclear weapons fall in to the hands of terrorist groups which would lead to unwise use of nuclear weapons against India. He advocates that more bilateral cooperation between India and Pakistan is required urgently to resolve their differences to avoid any further conflict in future. According to **Ashutosh Misra (2010)**, every conflict has solutions and ways to come out through negotiations. So there is still hope for India and Pakistan to resolve their enduring rivalry in the future. **M L Sondhi, (2001)** puts forward practical suggestions to move in the direction of conflict resolution between India and Pakistan and it was a critical input for the summit meeting in Agra on 15-16 July, 2001 between Indian Prime Minister A B Vajpayee and Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf.

Parvaiz Iqbal Cheema, Maria Saifuddin Effendi and Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry have dealt with the importance of bilateral cooperation and the reason behind the ups and downs of the relations between India and Pakistan. **Parvaiz Iqbal Cheema (2012)** explains more about

India-Pakistan relations and the factors which encourage and discourage their relations. Yet another article of Cheema (2007) analyses the India- Pakistan peace process and the factors which sustain and slow down the relations. Cheema points out that though there were a number of good times for having friendly relations, the unexpected incidents and the following decisions of the leaders have halted the peace process. He stresses the importance of Non-Military Confidence Building Measures and people to people contact in the Indo-Pak peace process. **Maria Saifuddin Effendi** and **Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry** (2016) explain the importance of the efforts between these two countries since 1947 such as joint statement, peace initiative, pact, agreement etc. for the normalization of their strained relations. They point out that increasing bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan is more relevant in the contemporary political scenario of South Asian region. **Nabiha Gul** (2007) gives an overall view about India's past peace initiatives towards a healthy relation with Pakistan. He clearly identifies the reasons for the problems between India and Pakistan as the trust deficit and enmity syndrome. Similarly it has identified the ambitions of the people of both countries to establish a friendly relationship between India and Pakistan. In this way the article gives an idea about the basic issues which threaten the India and Pakistan peace process and factors favoring the cooperation between the countries. Therefore the article has helped to justify the objectives and hypothesis of the study.

Moonis Ahmar and **Umbreen Javaid** are the two well-known scholars in the field of Confidence Building Measures. Their work gives ample information generally about the CBMs and particularly CBMs in South Asian region. **Moonis Ahmar** (2001) states that the long-term hostilities between the conflicting nations cannot possibly be solved within days but it needs a long process of bilateral negotiations. Therefore the CBM could play a significant role in the peace process between India and Pakistan. The lack of proper understanding and long term visions between India and Pakistan remain as a hindrance to the friendly relations between them. Therefore India and Pakistan need a proper and clear understanding of each other and need professional skills to implement CBMs. This book is more helpful to understand the basic as well as detailed idea about CBMs. **Umbreen Javaid** (2010) also states that even though there are a lot of CBMs between the nations in South Asia, they are insufficient because of the lack of political willingness and real spirit for resolving the issues. According to Javaid, it is a must to devise a conscious effort to make a mutually beneficial trade driven by economic forces.

While the review is carried out, it is noticed that a new opinion had been evolved among the scholars. Their major argument was that a new approach should be applied between India and Pakistan relations according to the new world order obviously in the post cold war period. Satpal, Amjad Abbas Maggsi, and Sajad Padder were the well-known among them.

Satpal (2014) says about the importance of new engagement and cooperation between India and Pakistan to avoid the poor condition of South Asian region and the perceived dangers of nuclearisation. He argues that India and Pakistan must be given the most priority to the improvement of the underdevelopment of the region through bilateral cooperation. This cooperation could be benefited to improve India and Pakistan relations gradually. Hence there needed a new perspective to reach a solution for this situation. The article analyses the peace process which brought changes in the India and Pakistan relations since 1997 and is helpful to this research to identify the issues and new approaches which are more suitable for India and Pakistan situation. **Amjad Abbas Maggsi** (2013) describes the important changes made by the Lahore initiatives in 1999. The Lahore peace initiation was the result of a bilateral discussion of Nawaz Sharif and Vajpayee in the sideline of the UN Security Council meeting at New York. Both the leaders realized the dangers from the nuclear threat therefore they decided to change their traditional stand over the Kashmir issue and agreed on to promoting more people to people contact between India and Pakistan. This became an important event in the history of India and Pakistan relations. This article gives an outlook to the new shifting of the India and Pakistan relations.

Sajad Padder (2012) describes the new trend between India and Pakistan started with the two Prime Ministers, Nawaz Sharif and I.K Gujral, compromise talk at Male. Both of them agreed to a step-by-step process of peace initiative which included all the bilateral issues including Kashmir issue. He explains briefly about the ups and downs of the composite dialogue since its introduction. The paper mainly focuses on three points such as the positive change in the mind-set of both sides, achievements of Composite Dialogue, and the prospects of resolving the pending bilateral issues in future talks. **Mubeen adnan** (2013) demanded to think about the prosperous future of the people of India and Pakistan. The peace would be possible only through years of discussions and negotiations which can stop all the dangers between India and Pakistan. He gives more stress on continuous bilateral cooperation to bring the normalcy in South Asian region.

The third part of the review of literature focuses on the Non- military CBMs between India and Pakistan. There are plenty of works carried out by various scholars. They all have strongly agreed that India and Pakistan relations have been improving significantly. The various dimensions of non-military CBMs have helped to make a comprehensive outlook on the non-military CBMs employed between India and Pakistan. **Sumita Kumar, Naibha Gul and Sanam Noor** talk about the importance and role of bus diplomacy between India and Pakistan. **Sumita kumar** (2008) portrays the influence of the bus diplomacy initiated by A.B Vajpayee on India-Pak relations. The Lahore bus diplomacy was a historic event in the history of India and Pakistan relation as it opened new directions towards a friendly co-existence of India and Pakistan. Following the nuclear threat, Prime Ministers of both India and Pakistan realized that war was not an option to discard the hostility between India and Pakistan. This understanding has given a new thinking to restart the peace process. Hence both nations have introduced more non-military CBMs between them. Bus Diplomacy is one among them. **Naibha Gul and Sanam Noor** (2005) deal with India-Pakistan peace processes after 2000. Sanam Noor explains about the bus service between Srinagar and Muazafarabad. The article gives an overall view of the India-Pak peace processes with special reference to the political significance of the bus service between Kashmir and Pak-Occupied Kashmir.

Shakeel Ahmad Shahid and Kauser Praveen (2015) talk about the role of cricket diplomacy in reducing the tensions by promoting people to people contact beyond borders. Cricket diplomacy is a better medium to unite the south Asian people and can be used as a peace building device between India and Pakistan even in the worst situation. **Tridivesh Singh Maini** (2013) analyses the significance of Cultural diplomacy in building confidence between these two countries. The cultural proximities of the bordering states of India and Pakistan are an important factor which could increase the people to people relation between India and Pakistan. **E. Sridharan** (2005) tries to explain the possibilities of an economic cooperation between India and Pakistan to contribute to the peace efforts of India and Pakistan. He points out that a minimal level of economic relations of India and Pakistan could not contribute anything to the peace process, even though it has the potentiality to improve the relations. Ultimately he discusses about the scope of interrelationship between economic, security and political relations of India and Pakistan.

Smruti S. Pattanaik (2004) deals with the role of SAARC in resolving the bilateral issues of India and Pakistan. SAARC gave a space for informal bilateral discussions between

India and Pakistan when their relation was broken down. Therefore SAARC is one of the factors which support the peace process of India and Pakistan and serves as a neutral venue to discuss the bilateral issues of India and Pakistan. **Pushpita Das, Rafia Bhulai and Naureen Chowdhury Fink** analyze the opportunity before India and Pakistan to a joint effort to eliminate terrorism and illegal drug trafficking. **Naureen Chowdhury Fink** (2003) talks about the significance of the joint effort of India and Pakistan to combat terrorism from the region as it is the second factor that mostly affected the credibility of the nations. Since UN Security Council requested to the member states to enhance the regional cooperation against terrorism provides new scope for India and Pakistan to increase their bilateral understanding. **Pushpita Das** (2012) Analyses the impact on the internal stabilities of India due to the holly nexus between illegal drug and narcotic trafficking between the borders of India and Pakistan. Role of these non state actors give a new chance to India and Pakistan to develop a common understanding regarding these issues which would improve their relations in the way.

Samir Ahmad Bhat and Jeffrey Mapender have suggested track one and track two diplomacy between India and Pakistan to resolve their bilateral issues. Samir Ahmad (2016) suggested to replace the state centric approaches of India and Pakistan by private Individual or institutions. According to Jeffrey Mapender track one and two diplomacy are the two diplomacies most applicable between India and Pakistan because they could resolve the complexities in the relations of India and Pakistan.

The last part of the literature review focuses on India's foreign policy towards Pakistan under various governments which come under the parameters of the research. **Sanjeev Kr. H.M** (2007) mentions about foreign policy of India under the rule of Bharatiya Janata Party. He says that India had a basic foreign policy towards any foreign country. Whenever the governments change in India they must follow these principles irrespective of their ideological differences. Even though the nature and ideologies of the Indian political parties had a role in their foreign policies they are basically designed based on the domestic factors of the country. For example, the relation between India and Pakistan is influenced by the domestic politics of Kashmir. But the author points out that BJP has given top priority to Pakistan in their foreign policy making and Pakistan comes under the good neighbour considerations of India. **Chris Ogden** (2012) explains briefly about the nature of NDA government. It helped to understand the nature of the NDA government. Since the second

chapter focuses on the NDA-I government the article was very relevant to set the objectives of the research.

Zahoor Ahmad Malik and Dr. G.K. Sharma (2014) give an overall idea about the peace initiatives taken by the UPA government towards a friendly relation with Pakistan. It provides a brief outlook on the composite dialogues and other proposals made during the UPA government in order to maintain a peaceful atmosphere between India and Pakistan. He also explains the history of India's peace initiatives towards Pakistan since the partition itself. Therefore it was helpful to get an insightful view on different methods and policies executed by UPA government for the collateral existence of the two nations. **Raj Kumar Singh (2010)** explains about India's relations with its neighboring states under the NDA and UPA governments. These two governments have changed India's big brother attitude towards the South Asian countries. India carried friendly and more accommodative policies with its neighbors especially with Pakistan. Nehru's Non Alignment policy has undergone changes due to the drastic changes in the international politics however India did not change its basic foreign policy objectives. Both Manmohan Singh and Vajpayee have followed the Basic foreign policy of India even though the approaches and style of diplomacy were different.

Wilson John and Kustav Dhar Chakrabarthy (2009) jointly made an attempt to explain India and Pakistan relations after the Mumbai terrorist attacks. They talk about the peace initiatives unilaterally carried out by the then Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee and about the continuation of the composite dialogue even after the Mumbai terrorist attacks in 2008. India did not bring the peace initiatives to an end completely, instead kept the composite dialogue alive, which brought important changes in India and Pakistan relations. These new changes are very significant in this research because the study concentrates basically on the peace initiative of the NDA-I and UPA-I governments.

There are lots of studies in this area regarding the bilateral relationships between India and Pakistan, and the role of non-military CBMs in solving India-Pakistan bilateral issues. There have also been studies regarding the governmental policy decisions of the A.B Vajpayee ministry and Manmohan Singh ministry, all separate and independent of each other. However, it is interesting to note that there has not been a significant study focusing on the period after which India and Pakistan had entered the nuclear club. This study focuses on the decade from 1999 to 2009, and inclusively examines the first NDA ministry and the first

UPA ministry in India in terms of the Non-Military Confidence Building Measures adopted by both the Central Ministries in improving the bilateral relations with Pakistan.

Research Gap

Many studies have been done on the topic of Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. All these works have tried to look at the Confidence Building Measures in a comprehensive way. But not many works have focused on Non-Military Confidence Building Measures specifically, between India and Pakistan, especially from 1999. This is to indicate the existing research gap or liminal spaces of scholarship in the area of India-Pakistan bilateral relationship with a comprehensive and all-inclusive connected viewpoint that deals with all the topics covered under the present study in a mutually connected manner. This study, therefore, is an analytical attempt to make level the above-said research gap in this particular area.

Indeed, there is still an unfilled area where only a vague idea on the Non- Military Confidence Building Measures exists, especially while seeking how it contributes to strengthen the relations between India and Pakistan. Therefore, the present study makes an attempt to fill this gap and tries to find a solution for the above mentioned issues.

Objectives of the Study

The present study intends to examine the role of Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan since 1999 to 2009. In particular, this study seeks to answer the following objectives:

- To find out the nature and types of Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan from 1999 to 2009, through a critical perspective.
- To explore the different dimensions of the Non-Military Confidence Building Measures subsisted during the period of NDA I Government (1999-2004) and UPA I Government (2004-2009).
- To analyze the major contribution of Non-Military Confidence Building Measures in peace building between India and Pakistan.
- To examine the major hurdles/obstacles to the Non-Military Confidence Building

Measures between India and Pakistan.

- To study the scope of new perspectives and ideas concerning the Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan for future.

Hypothesis

- Rather than any other diplomatic initiative Non-Military Confidence Building Measures play a significant role in the peace-making process between India and Pakistan.
- The lack of political will and visionary ambitions are the basic hurdles which erode all the promising solutions that could be made possible through Confidence Building Measures.
- The long history of conflict and the dangers of the nuclear weapons increase the demand for more Non-Military CBMs between India and Pakistan.
- The NDA-1 and UPA-1 government has given more importance to Non-Military CBMs and it helped to improve the bilateral relations.
- The track-two diplomacy along with the economic diplomacy and people to people contact may create more positive impact in India and Pakistan relation in the long run

Research Methodology

To attain the above-mentioned objectives, the present study will follow descriptive and analytical methods. Data collection involves both primary and secondary sources. Primary data consists of official documents and publications, reports and official records. Secondary data comprising of books, journals, newspapers and articles have been critically engaged with in order to analyses different aspects of this thesis. The study is qualitative in nature; hence analysis done in this thesis does not involve analytical tools of quantitative research methodology. The discourse and content analysis methods are used to systematically evaluate and to describe the data. The discourse methods are used to interpret the different dimensions of phenomena. In this work the discourse method is used to analyses the deferent aspect of the Non-Military CBMs between India and Pakistan.

The content analysis has been used to explore the fact and information from the various primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include the various document

signed between India and Pakistan during their bilateral meetings at various level of ministries. It is rather critical and narrative analysis that involves close reading of divergent viewpoints and perspectives to reach to a conclusion in light of given facts and details about the subject under study.

Limitations of the Study

The present study exclusively deals with the Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan during the decade from 1999 to 2009 from an Indian perspective. Hence, the study is mostly unidirectional in the sense that it does not largely consider the Confidence Building Measures initiated, if any, by Pakistan. The study solely concerns the regimes of the NDA I and UPA I ministries of India, so as to say that it considers only a limited time span of a decade as the subject.

Chapterisation

The thesis chapter scheme starts off with the Preface that charts a general overview of the entire thesis.

The first chapter, “Introduction”, will discuss the concept of Non-Military Confidence Building Measures, its meaning, definitions and types. Besides, it discusses the importance of Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan since the formation of the two independent states. Alongside introducing the concepts and the way it had worked for peace building between these two states, this chapter will also introduce the Statement of the Problem, Significance of the Study, Research Gap, Objectives, Hypothesis, Research Methodology, Limitation of the Study, and Chapterisation of the thesis.

The second chapter entitled “Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan under NDA-I government (1999 to 2004)” discusses the scope and depth of various dimensions including political, cultural, economic, commerce and transport, in Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan during the time of 1999 to 2004 under the Vajpayee government. Moreover, the chapter will also discuss the role of various diplomacies in building peace between these two countries in the same period. To briefly discuss the chapter, the year 1998 was crucial for India and Pakistan as both emerged as nuclear powers after their successful nuclear experiments. Moreover, the entry of these countries into the nuclear club increased the existing tensions at the respective national

borders, and inevitably took the issues to more problematic dimensions from decades-long border issues to new threats. The peace and security of the Indian subcontinent is highly dependent on how India and Pakistan would deal with their strained relationship. Since the nuclear developments in India and Pakistan, the South Asian region had become a scenario of potential nuclear threat. The nuclearisation added further worries to the hostility between India and Pakistan. These developments carved the South Asian region to be the most volatile subcontinent, and turned the relation between India and Pakistan more critical. Hence, it is important to take a look at the impact of the nuclear tests on the process of dialogue between the two states. “In a climate of newly created tensions and suspicions, in the wake of nuclear tests by India and Pakistan, both countries felt the need to talk to each other at sufficiently high levels to find a meeting ground and to instill mutual confidence”. This was the political context in which the first NDA government was sworn in India under the leadership of Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee. Though he was responsible for the nuclear experiment in the previous year, from 1999 onwards the A. B Vajpayee government implemented a series of peace initiatives or non-military Confidence Building Measure such as the Delhi-Lahore Bus Diplomacy, Lahore Declaration, Agra Summit, Ceasefire Agreements, New Peace Proposals and so on, which is extensively discussed therein the thesis.

The third Chapter entitled “Non-Military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan under UPA-I government (2004-2009)” will discuss the various Non-Military Confidence Building Measures which took place under the Manmohan Singh government during the time of 2004 to 2009. Moreover the chapter will also discuss the major policy differences between the A.B Vajpayee government and the Manmohan Singh regime. To briefly discuss the content of the chapter, the 14th Lok Sabha elections of India had brought a power shift from the Vajpayee-led NDA government to the Dr. Manmohan Singh-led UPA (United Progressive Alliance) I government. During the Prime Ministership of Dr. Manmohan Singh, Indian foreign policy has shown adaptability towards the speedy changes of the global environment. The Congress-led UPA government has worked towards improving the relations with all major powers and its neighbours. The Manmohan Singh government did not carry any major changes in its policy towards Pakistan from the previous governments, especially the Vajpayee government. The diplomatic understanding and the exchanges at various levels improved between India and Pakistan under the Prime Ministership of Dr. Manmohan Singh. The meeting of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh at New York in September 2004 brought about

a significant breakthrough in India-Pakistan relations. The New York meeting agreed to explore the Confidence Building Measures to resume the strained relationship.

Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf visited India on the invitation of Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to watch a cricket match between India and Pakistan in April 2005. The diplomatic development was resumed in 2005 by the visit of Musharraf. Musharraf's visit to the South Asia's most famous Shrine of the Sufi Saint Khawaja Moinudheen Chisti in Ajmer can be marked as the beginning of the smooth bilateral relations between the governments led by Musharraf and Manmohan Singh. The Non-Military Confidence Building Measures undertaken during the tenure of Dr. Manmohan Singh in office, which is extensively dealt with in the thesis, include Srinagar to Muzafarabad Bus service, Cricket Diplomacy, Joint Statement (2005), Munabao-Khokrapur Rail Link and soon.

Chapter four of the thesis entitled "Critical Analysis of Non-military CBMs between India and Pakistan" will examine the various factors which effectively contributed in sustaining the dialogue. Similarly, this will also enquire the factors which favoured positive changes and dialogue between these two countries since 1999.

The final chapter, Chapter five of the thesis, the "Conclusion" sums up the research with findings and suggestions.

CHAPTER 2

**NON-MILITARY CONFIDENCE BUILDING
MEASURES BETWEEN INDIA AND
PAKISTAN UNDER NDA-I GOVERNMENT
(1999 to 2004)**

CHAPTER 2

NON-MILITARY CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN UNDER NDA-I GOVERNMENT (1999 to 2004)

“A country can choose its friends but not its neighbors”

-Atal Bihari Vajpayee

2.1. Introduction

This chapter takes a brief look at the various peace building measures between India and Pakistan initiated by A.B. Vajpayee as the Prime Minister of India under the National Democratic Alliance-1 Government. The various initiatives include peace summits, various formal and informal Confidence Building Measures, road, rail and civil aviation links, ceasefires, innovative diplomatic strategies such as cricket diplomacy, Track II and Multi-track diplomacy, and cultural exchanges. These measures highlight India's desire for a peaceful coexistence of India and Pakistan and Vajpayee understands of the ambitions of the people of both nations to have a friendly association.

The last decade of the twentieth century was a remarkable juncture in the political history of independent India, witnessing the ascendance and exit of a number of union cabinet ministries. That the era began with the swearing-in of a minority government that struggled hard to complete its term in office under the premiership of P V Narasimha Rao was also significant in the emergence and the gradual rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party as a prominent political alternative in the electoral politics of India against the Indian National Congress. The Bharatiya Janata Party, the political cradle of A. B Vajpayee, initially made its presence in the opposition benches of the two houses of the Indian parliament. As a former Union minister for External Affairs and a seasoned Member of Parliament, A. B Vajpayee wielded a pivotal role in the gradual surge of the Bharatiya Janata Party from the opposition benches to the treasury benches of the houses of Indian Parliament.

The rise of A. B. Vajpayee to the seat of the Indian Prime Ministership occurred

thrice in Indian political history. The first A.B Vajpayee Ministry held the office for a very short period that did not last even a fortnight. Sworn-in on May 16, 1996, Vajpayee's first experimental ascent to the Indian premiership occurred as a result of the 1996 general election held after the descent of the P V Narasimha Rao Government from power. Unable to muster a governing majority, A B Vajpayee had to step down after mere 13 days in the office of the Indian Prime Minister in his first ascent without affecting any notable policy changes or governmental strategies.

The exit of the first A. B Vajpayee Union ministry was followed by a couple of unstable and short-lived Union ministries headed by H.D. Deve Gowda (01/06/1996 to 21/05/1997) and I.K.Gujral (21/04/1997 to 19/03/1998) respectively. After the fall of the above said Central governments due to political reasons, the General Elections to the Lok Sabha were held in which the BJP emerged as the single largest party. This marked a significant political juncture for A. B Vajpayee and his party BJP, as it was the moment that signified the initial stages of the origin of yet other significant non-Congress coalition effort which would be later known as the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). Thus, in the 1998 General Elections to the 12th Lok Sabha, A.B Vajpayee rose to the office of the Indian Prime Minister gathering a majority of 286 seats out of 545 with the help of more than a dozen regional political parties under the umbrella of the NDA, leading to the formation of NDA-I.

While all these electoral exercises kept the Indian political context engaged, the South Asian politics had been undergoing varying complex security issues over different periods of time. The traditional rivalries among the South Asian states had witnessed military confrontations and the military arms race that led to nuclear rivalry. The post-cold war climate of the international politics was influenced by the bitter experience of the Second World War. The security threat which had swallowed the world during the cold war came to an end after the fall of the USSR in the beginning of the 1990s. Further, the change of power axis from bi-polarity to uni- polarity ended the paranoia that had prevailed during the cold war period. Therefore the security dimensions of international politics caught by major changes, cooperation and the new notion of collective security become popular instead of confrontation and hostility. On the other hand, the politics of South Asia was not influenced by the post- cold war politics, as it was transforming into a most problematic part in the world. The traditional hostility of India and Pakistan turned into a particular political juncture of the South Asian politics after the nuclearisation of the region. The traditional rivalry between India and Pakistan shifted into a new nuclear prone region of the world.

In May 1998, when Vajpayee assumed the office of the Prime Minister in India, the political climate of South Asia remained conflict-ridden as the hostilities and tensions between India and Pakistan had been increasing since early 1990 following the Muslim separatist campaign of violence in Kashmir. The political stalemate between India and Pakistan continued due to the lack a proper solution leading the region into a fear and tension prone area. At this political juncture, the entry of A.B.Vajpayee as the Prime Minister of India for the second term in 1998 is deemed as much important between India and Pakistan. He was the first non- Congress Prime Minister of India, who remarkably completed the tenure even under a coalition government National Democratic Alliance led by the Bharathiya Janatha Party. His charisma and his pragmatic approach brought a paradigm shift in India's foreign policy. The Pokhran-II test, which he conducted even under severe international pressure, and the hand of friendship towards Pakistan through the Delhi- Lahore bus service, showed his strategic vision about the national security, foreign policy and genuine desire for peace.

Soon after A.B Vajpayee was sworn as the Indian Prime Minister, India conducted her second nuclear experiment in the Pokhran nuclear test region of the Indian Army on 11 May 1998, 24 years after the first nuclear explosion in 1974. Prime Minister A. B Vajpayee convened a press conference on May 18, 1998, to declare India as a highly equipped nuclear power nation. Considering an international political scenario, the political condition of India at the borders, and the primary concerns over national security, A. B Vajpayee was determined to carry out nuclear experiments marking the growth of India as a significant nuclear power in South Asia.

However, within an interval of a few days, Pakistan retorted to the Indian nuclear test by conducting a similar nuclear test at Chaghai hills, thereby worsening the dimensions of security crises in South Asia, specifically in India-Pakistan border region. This altered the general peace and calm in the South Asian political scenario leading to a paranoid atmosphere looming large over the neighboring nations of India and Pakistan. Sensing imminent threat to the strategic balance in the SouthAsian region, the major world powers swiftly intervened in the India-Pakistan nuclear power competition that troubled the South Asian atmosphere and expressed their differing views and standpoints on the crisis. While Russia, United Kingdom, Germany and France maintained strategic silence in support of Indian nuclear tests, America, Japan, Australia, Canada, and the like, disapproved of the

Indian endeavor to enter the nuclear club by imposing various sanctions and embargoes over India as a response to the problem, thereby creating differing opinions and diplomatic standoffs among the leading world nations. Following the Pokhran experiment, its repercussions brought the India-Pakistan conflict once again to the forefront of the focus of the international community. Thus the nuclear experiments conducted by India and Pakistan created a significant paradigm shift in the traditional balance of power equations of the South Asian politics.

During the critical international context that emerged, the UN Security Council, the US, and other world powers urged India and Pakistan to lessen the tensions and crisis that had evolved in the South Asian region. The United Nations Security Council passed a resolution on 6th June 1998, in the wake of the nuclear test of India and Pakistan, in which it condemned the nuclear experiments. America insisted that India and Pakistan avoid further bilateral tensions by a mutually accepted framework. Though so, India totally neglected a third-party mediation since the issue was purely a bilateral problem. However, India and Pakistan attempted to restart yet another round of confidence-building measures to regain the deteriorated trust, mutual understanding, and confidence. Consequently, a bilateral foreign secretary-level meeting was held between India and Pakistan on 15th October 1998 at Islamabad after the discussions held at “the summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) on July 29th as well as at the summit meeting of the U.N. General Assembly on September 23.”⁴⁸ The summit agreed to address the peace and security issues of the South Asian region and Kashmir issue. Thereafter a number of subsequent Non-military Confidence Building Measure was undertaken by India to tackle the bilateral issues of India and Pakistan.

2.2. Delhi-Lahore Bus Diplomacy

One of the vital Non-military Confidence Building Measures introduced by the first NDA government is Delhi-Lahore bus service started on 20 February 1999; a historic direct-bus service between the Indian capital city of New Delhi and the Pakistani city of Lahore. The historic bus-diplomacy was the first diplomatic effort of the then Prime Minister of India A.B.Vajpayee towards the neighboring country Pakistan. During the inaugural run of the bus

⁴⁸ Statement by the Press Secretary/Director-General for Press and Public Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the Resumption of Foreign Secretary-level Talks between India and Pakistan. (1998 October, 16) Retrieved April, 18, 2016, from *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*.

service, he made a historic and diplomatic visit to Lahore where he was greeted by Nawaz Sharif. The purpose of the bus service was to build the trust between the people of the two hostile countries by enhancing the people-to-people contact between India and Pakistan. At his speech at the banquet of Lahore A.B. Vajpayee said:

“The bus service between Lahore and Delhi is not a means only to ease travels country to another. The running of the bus between the two countries symbolizes the desire of the people to improve relations and come together. Indeed, if this was only a bus made of metal, it would not have caused such excitement and expectations, not only in our two nations but all over the world.”⁴⁹

It was first agreed upon during the meeting held at New York in September 1998 between India and Pakistan on the sideline of the UN General Assembly conference. The Delhi-Lahore bus service was started as a hopeful beginning of a new history between India and Pakistan. Vajpayee’s visit to Pakistan recorded a historic and diplomatic initiative of an Indian Prime Minister to the beginning of a new era of India and Pakistan relation. “He was the first Indian Prime Minister to visit Pakistan since Rajeev Gandhi’s visit in 1989. While the first ever Prime Minister of India to visit Lahore since Nehru’s visit in 1951.”⁵⁰ The diplomatic journey was a successful attempt in bringing a friendly atmosphere between the India Pakistan relations.

The Delhi-Lahore bus service had contributed to release the increasing tensions which had been mounting between India and Pakistan after the nuclear experiments of both countries in 1998. Due to the nuclear experiment in the region had fallen under a serious nuclear threat. Hence, elimination of the mutual mistrust between India and Pakistan was the crying need of the time, as the chances of miscalculation would have led to a nuclear confrontation. It could have destroyed not only the entire region, but the whole of India and Pakistan. At this crucial juncture, the diplomatic Delhi-Lahore bus diplomacy was a significant improvement in India and Pakistan relation. It helped to release the tension that had mounted over the skies of the South Asian region especially between the people of India and Pakistan. Therefore the attempt was widely praised by the entire world.

⁴⁹ “Lahore Summit”. (1999, February 20). Retrieved may 21, 2015, from *Stimson.org*: <https://www.stimson.org/laohore-summit>

⁵⁰Maggsi, A. A. (2013). “Lahore Declaration February 1999 A Major Initiative for Peace in South Asia”. *Pakistan Vision*, p.190.

To improve the bilateral contact of India and Pakistan beyond the borders, the bus ran four times a week from both New Delhi and Lahore parallel. The bus service facilitated in rejoining the separated families of both countries and promoted the economic and cultural connection between the borders. The regular contact of both people from India and Pakistan would help to cut the existing mistrust between India and Pakistan. By avoiding the tensions and mistrust between the border the friendly relation could be once again regained between them.

The bus service has been one of the best non-military confidence-building measures introduced by A.B.Vajpayee in the peace process towards Pakistan. It was the result of his strong determination to have a friendly relationship with Pakistan. Vajpayee's visit to Pakistan during the initial run of the bus service ensured the cultural affinity of India towards Pakistan. By accompanying eminent people from various fields' such as Shatrughan Sinha, Mallika Sarabhai, Arun Shourie, Javed Akhtar, Satish Gujral, Kuldeep Nayar, and Kapil Dev, who had good fan-bases in Pakistan, he again strengthened the cultural bond. This diplomatic and cultural contact was enough to win the heart of the people who live in Pakistan. He ensured the trust between India and Pakistan whereby the bilateral peace-terms could be achieved by such a cultural contact.

The Delhi-Lahore bus facilitated the traders, diplomats, and occasionally celebrities to and from both the countries. The bus service has operated even in the worst situations of Kargil outbreak. The first halting of the service happened as a part of the diplomatic step followed after the Parliament attack by the Pakistani-supported terrorist. However, the service was resumed on 11th July, 2003, as a part of the peace initiative taken by Vajpayee.

According to international understanding, Vajpayee set the vision that 'war is not an option for India and Pakistan to stay in peace but the mutual understanding about the contemporary India –Pakistan relation is necessary to remain in peace'. The Delhi-Lahore bus diplomacy remains a sign of such an understanding and vision of Vajpayee. The Delhi-Lahore bus diplomacy won the heart of the people of both India and Pakistan, as it was a cherished ambition of the people of India and Pakistan to stay in a peaceful atmosphere. The history records this bus-diplomacy as a pillar of a new era of India-Pakistan relation.

2.2.1. Lahore Declaration

The Lahore Declaration was one of the most important bilateral agreements signed between India and Pakistan. On 21 February, in 1999, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and his Pakistani counterpart Nawaz Sharif have signed the agreement at Lahore. It was another major political agreement between India and Pakistan since the Shimla agreement in 1972. The declaration became a very significant attempt from Vajpayee in the wake of nuclear tests of India Pakistan. The Lahore declaration was another most important Non-military Confidence Building Measure signed between India and Pakistan in recent times. In the declaration, both sides committed themselves to strengthening their efforts to resolve all issues, including Jammu and Kashmir. They also pledged to deepen their composite dialogue process for an early and positive outcome of their agreed bilateral agenda.

The historical importance of the Lahore declaration came through the visits by Vajpayee to Lahore; he was the first Prime Minister to visit Lahore after Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Lahore in 1951. The Lahore summit gave a new momentum to the bilateral relationship of India and Pakistan. The historic summit put a new platform for a discussion on all the unsettled issues and problems existing between the two hostile countries including Kashmir issue. The summit proved that both leaders had committed to a fruitful discussion without holding the traditional stand on the Kashmir issues which had previously destroyed all the peace efforts between India and Pakistan. It was a very hopeful and significant development in the bilateral relationship.

On February 21, 1999, at the Governor's house in Lahore, Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif held a discussion on the whole range of bilateral relations, regional cooperation within SAARC, and issues of international concern. They expressed their willingness to go the extra mile beyond their customary political standpoints to find a stable solution for the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan. At the very outset of the summit, both the leaders discussed as an immediate goal a mechanism for avoiding the accidental and unauthorized use of nuclear weapons.

The Lahore summit included the Joint statement and the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) called as the 'Lahore declaration'. The Non-military Confidence Building Measure received important attention in the Joint Statement. Both Vajpayee and

Nawaz Sharif agreed on some of the important Non-military Confidence Building Measure such as liberalizing of visas and travel regime, cooperation in information and technology and issues regarding the civilian detainees and missing Prisoner of Wars (POWs), which could promote the bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan by which peace and prosperity could be attained. The important understanding of the joint statement between the two leaders was the development of shared views as: “That an environment of peace and security is in the supreme national interest of both side and that the resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential for this purpose.”⁵¹

The Joint statement had agreed on more scope for the Non-military Confidence Building Measure in the forthcoming India-Pakistan relationship. When they expressed their satisfaction on the Delhi-Lahore bus service, they also negotiated the release of fishermen and civilian detainees and the resumption of contacts in the field of sports. It was a deal that required a great understanding of the problems of fisherman people of both the side of India and Pakistan. By the deal, the fishermen could resolve their problems immediately. Further the decision on the renewal of sports events got a momentum for India and Pakistan relations because of the wide popularity of cricket in South Asia. Cricket was and is the only sport event which is able to unite people from India and Pakistan. The outcome of the Joint statement opened up further scope for the Non-military Confidence Building Measure between India and Pakistan relations is an unavoidable truth.

A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between the Indian Foreign Secretary, Mr. K. Raghunath, and the Pakistani Foreign Secretary, Mr. Shamshad Ahmad, in Lahore on February 21, 1999. India and Pakistan signed the memorandum of Understanding to reaffirm their commitment to the principles and purposes of the U.N. Charter and the spirit of the Shimla Agreement. “Guided by the agreement between their Prime Ministers of 23rd September 1998 that environment of peace and security is in the supreme national interest of both sides and that resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential for this purpose.”⁵² According to the Memorandum of Understanding, India and Pakistan had adopted various measures to promote a stable environment of peace and security between them.

⁵¹Singh, S. (2013). *India in South Asia: Domestic Identity Politics and Foreign Policy from Nehru to BJP*. USA, Canada: Rout ledge. p.101.

⁵² Lahore Summit”. (1999, February 20). Retrieved May 21, 2015, from *Stimson.org*: <https://www.stimson.org/lahore-summit>

The Lahore declaration gave a new direction to ease the strained relationship between India and Pakistan. The understanding of the two leaders about the situation that prevailed in the region after the nuclearization forced them to take an optimistic and specific goal in the Lahore summit. The shared view expressed by Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif in the Lahore summit provided hope for a peaceful atmosphere in the South Asian region. The commitment showed by the Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif was a significant improvement in the contemporary politics of India and Pakistan relationship. Jaswant Singh remarked in the Parliament a few days after the Lahore declaration that it was:

“The most significant engagement between India and Pakistan in over a quarter of century. This visit also provided the Prime Minister with an opportunity to emphasize that India and Pakistan must work together to build a comprehensive structure of cooperation, resolve all outstanding issue through peaceful and direct bilateral discussions and negotiations.”⁵³

The historic Lahore summit provided a new hope in the India-Pakistan relation, since it stressed on the peace and prosperity of the people. The summit gave more importance to the cultural, political and social relations rather than to military relations. The constant people-to-people contact could be supply a ground for the friendly relations between India and Pakistan. “While addressing a joint press conference, the two Premiers expressed their satisfaction on commencement of bus service between Delhi and Lahore.”⁵⁴ Inauguration of the bus service was an important opening of a new phase of the India-Pakistan relation. Enhancement of the transportation beyond the borders contributed to a more cultural contact between the people of India and Pakistan. It was a great contribution towards the peace effort between the India and Pakistan, by which they ensured the Peace and prosperity of the South Asian region. The Lahore summit strongly underlined the Non-military Confidence Building Measure is the best means to lower suspicions and to promote trust in the minds of the people of the two hostile countries.

2.2.2. Cultural Confidence Building Measures

Cultural Confidence Building Measures is one among the best Non-military Confidence Building Measures between these two countries. A.B.Vajpayee was very much determined and optimistic about the India-Pakistan relation. He never gave up the determination to build a friendly relation with Pakistan. He used every opportunity to extend

⁵³Singh, S. (2013). p.103.

⁵⁴ Maggssi.A.A. (2013). p.193

his hand of friendship towards Pakistan, even while facing criticism from his own government. During his journey to Lahore, he visited the historical place of Pakistan the Minar-i-Pakistan, the tombs of the Allama Iqbal and Ranjeet Singh even while facing opposition from his own government and country. “Minar-e-Pakistan (Pakistan Day Memorial) is a minar which was built to commemorate the day when the Pakistan resolution was passed on March 23, 1940. The main tower of this memorial was completed on March 22, 1968. The location was originally known as Minto Park. It was here that the historic session of the All-India Muslim League was held on March 23rd, 1940.”⁵⁵

Vajpayee’s visit to Minar-i-Pakistan was very significant in his journey to Pakistan. It was highly symbolic, and he could get a high acceptance in Pakistan and could win the hearts of the millions of Pakistanis. By the visit, the Indian Prime- Minister Vajpayee ensured India’s strong wish to have a friendly Pakistan. He walked with a strong message to Pakistan that India is a friend of Pakistan, and one which supports peace and prosperity of Pakistan. He ignored all the criticism from his country when he visited the historical places of Pakistan to make sure a healthy relation with Pakistan. He used the opportunity to ensure the cultural affinity of India towards Pakistan by visiting the Minar-i-Pakistan. The symbolic visit marked one of the highest cultural contacts between India and Pakistan. Vajpayee’s visit to Minar-i-Pakistan, sent a message to all Pakistanis that India had fully accepted Pakistan as a sovereign country.

During the speech of Vajpayee at the banquet organized by Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, he praised Pakistan thus: “My delegation and I are overwhelmed by the warmth of your welcome, and the gracious hospitality extended to us. Mr. Prime Minister, you have upheld the nobility of this fort and the tradition of the historic city of Lahore.”⁵⁶ Vajpayee attempted to use every opportunity to strengthen the mutual trust and confidence. India explored the greatest chance of back-channel diplomacy to maintain a cordial relation with Pakistan, especially on the Kashmir issue. The foreign ministers of India and Pakistan were supposed to go through the back-channel diplomacy to normalize the peace process. “On the Pakistani side, Niaz A. Naik, the former foreign secretary and R.K. Mishra from Indian side started the second-track diplomacy.”⁵⁷ Vajpayee sending a cordial invitation to

⁵⁵ Noor, R. (2014, november 23). “Minar-I- Pakistan”. Retrieved may 2, 2016, from *Lahore*: https://sites.ualberta.ca/~rnoor/minar_pakistan.html

⁵⁶ “Lahore Summit”. (1999, February 20). Retrieved may 21, 2015, from *Stimson.org*: <https://www.stimson.org/lahore-summit>

⁵⁷Maggsi.A.A. (2013). p.195.

the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his wife Begum Sahib to visit India was the symbol of India's desired intention to keep Pakistan as a friendly nation.

Even though the Lahore declaration and the understanding were interrupted by the Kargil incident, the Lahore initiative had a good prospect to solve the emerging problems between India and Pakistan. The Lahore summit was the result of the strong political commitment of the two hostile countries to solve the problems bilaterally according to the international principles and norms.

2.3. Agra Summit

Another important summit between India and Pakistan is Agra summit. Agra summit has played a crucial role or contributed much to the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan which is not negligible. The Agra summit was a three-day historic meeting between Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf, held at the Indian city of Agra from July 14 -17, 2001. "The Agra Summit had aroused unprecedented enthusiasm among the people of the subcontinent as no other Summit had ever done in the past."⁵⁸ The historic Agra summit started with a hope that it would provide a platform to resolve all the disputes between the two countries including Kashmir issue. "Many believe (d) that India could accept a settlement that turned the current Line of Control between the India and Pakistani-held parts of Kashmir into an international border."⁵⁹

The India-Pakistan relation was stagnant more than two years. The Indian government had halted all official contact with the Pakistan government after the Kargil incident. India held to the stand of never forging relations with Pakistan until Islamabad stopped their subversive action towards India. But the peacemaker in Vajpayee wished to break the silence between India and Pakistan. During his visit to Kumarakom at Kerala in 2001 on New Year day, Vajpayee said; "India is willing and ready to seek a lasting solution to the Kashmir Problem. We are prepared to recommence talks with Pakistan at any level, including the highest level provided Islamabad gives sufficient proof of its preparedness to create a conducive atmosphere. On Kashmir, we shall not traverse solely on the beaten track of the

⁵⁸ Bahadur, K. (2001). "Agra Summit and India Pakistan Relations". *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, 57 (2), p.29

⁵⁹Mehta, M. (2001, August 1). "South Asia Monitor: The Agra Summit - August 1, 2001". Retrieved April 19, 2016, from *Centre for Strategic & International Studies*: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/south-asia-monitor-agra-summit-august-1-2001>. p.1.

past.”⁶⁰

However, on 23rd May in 2001, the Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee surprisingly changed his stand and sent an invitation to Musharraf to attend a summit at Agra. The expectation increased in India when Musharraf received the invitation and responded positively. “He claimed that he would make history during the Summit. He held out an assurance that he would break new ground. He also claimed that he would have an open mind and show flexibility.”⁶¹

The Agra summit between India and Pakistan was very significant in the wake of the Kargil war. The Kargil war was fought between India and Pakistan, when the Indian army tried to recapture the Kargil heights which had been occupied by Pakistani Army since March 1999. The war started after the Indian Intelligence Agency confirmed Pakistan’s intrusion into the Indian Territory of Kargil sector in Kashmir. “By 30 June 1999, Indian forces were prepared for a major high-altitude offensive against Pakistani posts along the border in the disputed Kashmir region.”⁶² On 14 July 1999, the Indian Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee declared that Operation Vijay was a success and officially it came to an end on 26 July 1999. The Kargil war spoiled the attempts to set up confidence building and security mechanism between India and Pakistan after the nuclear test. The war destroyed all the rays of hope created by A.B.Vajpayee during his Lahore diplomacy. Once again India and Pakistan relations had become strained, mistrustful and hostile. “The Kargil war ended with Pakistan failing to secure her aim and under the US pressure besides the pressure of G8 countries that assembled at Cologne, Germany, Pakistan decided to accept the ceasefire, declared by India on July 11, 1999. India had set July 16, 1999, as a deadline before Pakistan for total withdrawal, and Pakistan complied with it.”⁶³ Pakistan was compelled to respect the Line of Control and obey the spirit of the Shimla Agreement.

Therefore, the Agra summit was a hopeful beginning in the peace effort by addressing all the unresolved issues. “During his visit, the President of Pakistan had extensive discussions with our entire leadership. These included three rounds of one- on-one meetings with the Prime Minister and an hour-long farewell call prior to his departure yesterday night.

⁶⁰ A. G. Noorani. (2005). “The Truth about Agra”. *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 16(2). p.114

⁶¹Kalim Bahadur (2001). p. 34

⁶² “1999 Kargil Conflict”. (2011, July 11). Retrieved June 6, 2015, from *Global Security.org*: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/kargil-99.htm>

⁶³Mushtaq Ahmad Mir, N. A. (2015). “India -Pakistan; the Process of Conflict Resolution”. *International Journal of Innovative Research & Development*, 4 (3), p. 333.

There were also detailed discussions during delegation- level talks. All these meetings marked by cordiality and candor. They provided an invaluable opportunity to both sides to understand each other's' viewpoints, concerns, and compulsions.⁶⁴

In the plenary held on 15 July 2001 as part of the Summit, Vajpayee expressed his views and commitments to strengthen the bilateral relationships between India and Pakistan. He reminded that the time had come to resume the bilateral engagement on the entire range of India Pakistan relationship. In the plenary, he mentioned the issues of the Prisoners of War, who had been under Pakistani custody for the last two decades. He expressed his hope that Pakistan would take purposeful action to release them under humanitarian grounds. This kind of understanding between the two countries was highly required between India and Pakistan to improve the lost trust and confidence.

The issues of the fishermen on both sides had always been a problematic area between India and Pakistan. The common fishermen unknowingly breach the line of water from both sides. There is not a proper solution to tackle these issues of fisherman until both governments created a mechanism to handle the problem. During the Lahore summit, Vajpayee showed a commitment to settle the issue bilaterally. Vajpayee remarked about the instruction given to the Indian Coast Guard not to arrest Pakistani fishermen who crossed in the Indian water territory. He further demanded the same reciprocation from the part of Pakistan which would lead to a friendly bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan promoting the non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

In the opening statement of the plenary of the summit he presented more than five more matters under the eighth statement (Appendix-1). This matter had a very important role in the trust-building process between India and Pakistan. The other matters addressed in the summit were regarding the Non-military Confidence Building Measure. During the official meeting with Musharraf, Vajpayee mentioned that poverty, hunger and depression were the core concerns of the people. To cut down such common phenomenon of the region there must be certain level of cooperation between India and Pakistan. The role of Non-military Confidence Building Measure was exclusive to make sure such a bilateral cooperation between these two countries. Hence the summit was effective in giving political space to discuss various issues between India and Pakistan.

Vajpayee declared poverty as the common enemy of India and Pakistan, and therefore

⁶⁴Statement issued by the External Affairs and Defense Minister Jaswant Singh at His Press Conference in Agra July 17 2001. *Ministry of External Affairs* (2001, July 17).

the welfare of the people of India and Pakistan was the main ambition of India. India and Pakistan could work together to discuss the issues related to poverty through constant bilateral engagement based on Non-military Confidence Building Measures. So poverty was a key area to require serious attention from both India and Pakistan. Through bilateral trade and commercial cooperation, they would be able to eradicate poverty. It was highly hopeful when the summit had discussed the importance of economic ties between these two countries. The unexplored trade between India and Pakistan had the potential capacity to build a stable relation between India and Pakistan. In this regard, the summit helped to find out a common-ground where they could join hands together. Further, the summit agreed to improve the cultural contacts of India and Pakistan, without hurting the religious sentiment of the people and the pilgrims of both nations.

The overall analyses of the summit on the basis of commitment and the matters discussed showed that it was highly successful. It had discussed a wide range of areas which was important to form trust between India and Pakistan in a hostile climate. Therefore the summit opened up scope for more bilateral cooperation between India and Pakistan, especially in the matter of poverty and welfare of the people. However, the summit was marked as a failure in technical and procedural aspects as it failed to draft a joint statement and a conclusion for the summit. Even so, the summit proved that India and Pakistan could resolve their bilateral problems through continuous cooperation and dialogues as it opened a wider scope for bilateral cooperation. With these features, the Agra summit remains as a model for the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan in the future.

2.4. Military standoff and Confidence Building Measures

The relation between India and Pakistan continued as tensed as after the ineffective conclusion of the Agra summit. The political atmosphere of India and Pakistan had worsened further, followed by “the suicide bomb attack on Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly building on October 1, 2001, in which forty innocent civilians and the three terrorists who have caused blast were killed.”⁶⁵ The incident led India to adopt a tough stand against Pakistan. Atal Bihari Vajpayee hesitated to talk with General Pervez Musharraf until the Pakistan government stopped supporting cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir. The relation between two countries again became tense after the terrorist attack on the Indian

⁶⁵Mushtaq Ahmad Mir, Nisar Ahmad Sheikh (2015) p.334.

Parliament building on December 13, 2001. India suspected and complained to Pakistan about Pakistani supported terrorist elements in these two attacks. India stopped all bilateral relations with Pakistan until Pakistan would stop the trans-border terrorism against India.

The official contact was suspended. Indian ambassadors at Islamabad were called back to India. The means of transportation collapsed. The situation moved towards a near-warlike situation. India and Pakistan deployed maximum troops along the Line-of-Control. The Indian Army was prepared for an immediate war in a few hours of notice. The counter-mobilization of the Pakistan army on the border and India's refusal to withdraw its army resulted in a near-war atmosphere in the border.

The region fell in to a possibility of nuclear war as "The Leaders and army personnel of both India and Pakistan were threatening nuclear war. General Kidwai of Pakistan's strategic planning division stated that nuclear weapons will be used if the country's existence would be at stake."⁶⁶ It was a challenge to the international community as well as India and Pakistan to manage the dispute in diverting from the conventional conflict to the possibility of either country's resorting to the nuclear option. "A war was averted both in December 2001 and May 2002 through the intervention of the US and the UK whose foreign ministers and other functionaries visited the subcontinent to cool down tempers and secure Pakistan's assurance on stopping cross border terrorism."⁶⁷ The above incidents tried to halt the development of Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

2.5.Reversal Policy and Non-military Confidence Building Measures

On January 12, 2002, Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf took a strong measure against terrorist activities in his country following strong pressure from the Bush administration. The militant groups such as Lashkar-i-Tayyaba and Jaishe-Mohammad were banned in the country and 2000 militants were arrested. India welcomed this positive commitment from Musharraf and the crisis started to defuse. But the slight hope for the peace was disturbed by the terrorist attack that killed 34 Indian people including women and children in the Jammu province.

The Indian counter-attack towards the terrorist camps along the Pakistan administered

⁶⁶ Adnan, M. (2013). "Pakistan's Domestic constraints viz-a-viz India in Lahore Declaration 1999, Agra Summit 2001 and Peace Talks 2004". *Journal of Political Studies*, 20 (2), p.194

⁶⁷Confidence Building Measure between India and Pakistan a critical evaluation, Chapter III, dissertation,shodh Ganga, P.74.http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/72118/7/07_c_hapter%203.pdf.

Kashmir made the situation more vulnerable. India moved about 50,000 troops close to the line of control. “In addition when Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee was visiting troops in the frontline District Kupwara, Kashmir on May 22, he called for decisive battle. General Pervez Musharraf responded by moving half a million of his troops to the border and on May 27 he warned India by saying ‘if war is thrust upon us, we will respond with full might.’”⁶⁸ This skirmish led the two countries close to a nuclear war.

The tensions and crisis were soothed by an intervention of the big powers of the international politics. The diplomatic efforts of British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, the US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld pressurized Pakistan President Musharraf to take measures to stop the trans-border infiltration into the Indian Territory. Following this diplomatic intervention, the normalization process took place between India and Pakistan. India withdrew half of its troops from the border with an assurance that Pakistan would stop the cross-border terrorism.

When the tensions released in the border, Vajpayee took up a reversal policy with Pakistan. He took a unilateral attempt to resume the bilateral relations with Pakistan. During Vajpayee’s visits to Jammu and Kashmir on April 18-19 in 2003, he extended his hand of friendship to Pakistan. He expressed his willingness to re-open the stopped bilateral relation with Pakistan. On this he made a statement on April 2003 at the Indian Parliament: “In my speech, I spoke of extending our hand of friendship to Pakistan. At the same time, I also said that this hand of friendship should be extended by both sides. Both countries should resolve that we need to live together in peace.”⁶⁹

Before he returned to Delhi, Vajpayee expressed his hope that India and Pakistan would resume a new beginning very soon. Pakistan responded to Vajpayee’s unilateral attempt. Pakistan Prime Minister Zafarulla Khan Jamali made contact with the Indian Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee over the telephone on 28th April 2003. The telephonic conversation covered the area, the importance of economic cooperation, cultural exchanges, people-to-people contact and civilian aviation link. Through this non-military peace mechanism they hoped to carry forward their bilateral relation. Vajpayee expressed his sincere commitment about the importance of a controlled atmosphere before settling the bilateral relation, which would provide a platform to address the issues between India and Pakistan.

⁶⁸ Mushtaq Ahmad Mir, Nisar Ahmd Sheikh (2015). p. 335.

⁶⁹Statement by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in Lok Sabha on his two day visit to Jammu & Kashmir. *Ministry of External Affairs*. (2003, April 22).

On the basis of Pakistan's positive response, Vajpayee took a further significant step to resume the relationship with Pakistan. On this regard, in May 2003, he announced in the Indian Parliament about India's peace effort. A High Commissioner to Pakistan would be appointed and the civil aviation link would be resumed on the basis of Pakistan readiness to accept India's aspiration to resume the talk. Further, sports event like Cricket and Hockey would be allowed, and diplomatic dialogue at a higher level would be resumed. Thus Indian leaders' positive attitudes towards Pakistan show the hallmark for facilitating the Non-military Confidence Building Measures and prove their mature stand in international politics.

Vajpayee was very keen to explore all opportunities to make a friendly and healthy relationship with Pakistan. He considered the mindset and ambitions of the people of both nations while initiating any peace effort towards Pakistan. Vajpayee's peace initiative adopted a humanitarian and people-centric approach rather than being merely a political activity. India has carried out subsequent steps to improve their relationship further. India resumed the Delhi-Lahore bus service, and initiated the restoration of relations, at the level of High Commissioners, exchange of parliamentarians, judges, writers, peace activists, etc. The frequent multilevel contact had a crucial role in improving the hostile relationship between India and Pakistan. Therefore Vajpayee sought for more Non-military Confidence Building Measures in his peace effort towards Pakistan.

“As part of the increased reciprocal activity, the UN Secretary General expressed the hope that normalization of diplomatic relation and restoration of the railroad and air link as well as other Confidence Building Measures being introduced by the two sides, would lead to the resumption of sustained dialogue.”⁷⁰ On 22nd October 2003, India proposed a revival of the relationship with Pakistan. Hence India proposed 12 Confidence Building Measures to Pakistan as a part of Vajpayee's peace initiative towards Pakistan. Most of the Confidence Building Measures offered by India were non-military in nature, as Non-military Confidence Building Measures would facilitate wide area for engagements apart from the military level. Since the stalemate had declined it was important to keep a balanced and peaceful relation of trust between India and Pakistan. Hence the Confidence Building Measures offered by India were wrapped by the ambitions of the people of both India and Pakistan.

⁷⁰ Basic Facts about the United Nations”. *United Nations Department of Public Information*. New York, 2003.p.196.

2.6.India's Offer for Transportation Link

Further India extended the transportation linkages with Pakistan. It facilitated to normalize mutual relations and paved way for introducing better Non-military Confidence Building Measures. Some of the transportation linkages are given below.

2.6.1. Civil and Aviation Link

Civil and Aviation link has a major role in promoting the mutual confidence between India and Pakistan. Thus it is very significant in the discussions on Non- military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. As part of Vajpayee's confidence building process in 2003 India offered to re-open the civil and Aviation link between India and Pakistan. The Director-General of Civil Aviation, India contacted his Pakistani counterpart to hold a second round of technical level discussion to the resume the civil aviation link and the over-flight right between India and Pakistan. The first round of meeting held in Islamabad failed to reach an agreement. But the meeting ended with the assurance to hold a second round of meeting. The Indian External Affairs Minister expressed opinion that the resumption of civil aviation was the ambition of the people of India and Pakistan.

2.6.2. Road and Rail link

The rail and road link between India and Pakistan is very important to enhance confidence and trust between India and Pakistan. Both transportation links have a crucial role the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. As part of the India's peace initiative process, India offered a separate technical level meeting for the resumption of the rail link between India and Pakistan only after the successful completion of the civil aviation link. Further, India offered a rail link between Khokrapar (Rajasthan) and Munabao (Sindh). India proposed to raise the capacity of the Delhi-Lahore bus service by operating more buses in the convoy on the already running days. The number of passengers kept increasing more especially during the season of pilgrimage more people wished to travel to India and Pakistan. The Delhi-Lahore bus service was resumed after the peace effort by the Vajpayee; it had been suspended in the aftermath of the terrorist incident in India. Further, India also proposed a new bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad, and between Khokrapur and Munabao. Apart from the rail and road link, India also put forward a new ferry service between the two coastal cities of Mumbai and Karachi.

The proposed transportation link by India was the finest means to widening the

people-to-people contact and cooperation between India and Pakistan. India offered these measures aimed at increasing the interactions of the people beyond the borders, by which India and Pakistan could find it possible to remove the mistrust and thereby achieve a friendly relationship.

2.7.Cultural Link

Another unavoidable part of non-military Confidence Building Measures is cultural Confidence Building Measures. Cultural linkages between the two countries promote better understanding between them and offer a peaceful relation between both countries. As a part of increasing the cultural contact between India and Pakistan, India offered a visa camp at the High Commissions in different cities for the benefit of the people. By simplifying the visa process more people could visit either country. It could enhance the trust among the people. India allowed the senior citizen above the age of 65 to cross the Wagah border on foot as per the positive response from Pakistan side. It helped them to visit their childhood friends, families' and neighbors in India as more than half century had passed after the partition of pre- independent India. Therefore the visa relaxation helped to improve the cultural contact between India and Pakistan and moreover it contributed in building the confidence among the two nations.

India earlier offered a link between the coast guard of the two countries to sort out the issues of the fishermen of both India and Pakistan. India had proposed to Pakistan non- arrest of the fishermen people of both sides. The arresting of the fishermen had been an increasing tendency between India and Pakistan. The traditional and the poor fishermen were unaware of the maritime boundary. Therefore India worked out the modalities between the Coast Guard and the Maritime Security .This was a move through which India and Pakistan could avoid direct conflict and issues; moreover, it would contribute to the peace initiatives between India and Pakistan.

In respect to the Medical treatment Government of India offered free medical treatment for the second batch of 20 children. The number had increased from 16 to 20 due to the applications received at India's mission in Islamabad. The total number increased up to 60. The selected patient would receive free medical treatment at Indian hospitals with free accommodation and free air ticket for the patient and one guardian. Therefore the new peace initiation was not only for improving the political relations; more than that, it was an attempt to increase the people-to-people relations, which was what India and Pakistan urgently

required in increasing the confidence among the people of both countries.

These were the major Non-military Confidence Building Measures offered by India for the effort for the peace process after the stalemate between India and Pakistan in 2002-2003. All Confidence Building Measures provided a wider scope for the people-to-people contact. Vajpayee proposed the Confidence Building Measure purely under humanitarian grounds and keeping in mind the ambitions of the people of India and Pakistan. The unilateral and single-handed peace effort by A.B. Vajpayee is highly relevant in the situation that prevailed in 2002 to 2003.

2.8. Ceasefire Agreement 2003 and Non-military CBMs

Cease fire means a temporary halt of firing between two countries. India and Pakistan have signed many ceasefire agreements in their history of sixty years of relationship. The first cease fire agreement was signed between India and Pakistan on 27 July in 1949 at Karachi. The lack of permanent laws regarding ceasefire has been the reason for the violation of ceasefire agreements between India and Pakistan. On 23rd November 2003 a formal ceasefire agreement was made between the Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf. “The ceasefire agreement on November 2003 was a landmark in the bilateral relations of India and Pakistan. It came after a long cycle of violence along the 725-kilometer- long line of control (LoC) which divides Jammu and Kashmir into two parts.”⁷¹

The agreed ceasefire came to existence as a reciprocal gesture of Pakistan towards India’s proposed Confidence Building Measure when the borders remained highly tensed by the military build-up between India and Pakistan. In November 2003, Pakistani Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali announced ceasefire along the Line-of-Control in Kashmir. In the same month, the Indian Prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee ordered the Indian troops to stop all offensive actions in Kashmir during the holy month of Ramadan. Finally, “on 23rd November 2003 India agreed to a Pakistani offer of a cease-fire along their borders in the disputed region of Kashmir. The cease-fire goes into effect November 26.”⁷²

⁷¹“Insights into Editorial: Restore the Ceasefire”. (2016, November 25). Retrieved december 10, 2016, from *Insights*: <http://www.insightsonindia.com/2016/11/25/insights-into-editorial-restore-the-ceasefire/>.

⁷² “Timeline: Conflict over Kashmir”. (2003, November 25). Retrieved august 4, 2015, from *CNN International.com*: <http://edition.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/asiapcf/south/02/06/kashmir.timeline/>

2.8.1. Ramadan Ceasefire

Ramadan is a holy month of Muslims all over the world. The Ramadan cease fire between India and Pakistan has lot of cultural importance to strengthen the India and Pakistan relation. “The Prime Minister of India, Atal Bihari Vajpayee announced on November 19, 2000, that the security forces operating in Jammu and Kashmir were being ordered to cease offensive operations during the holy month of Ramadan, beginning November 26, popularly known as the Ramadan cease-fire.”⁷³The ceasefire brought hope and optimism between India and Pakistan. The ceasefire brought down Pakistan supported militancy and terrorism in the Indian Territory. Terrorism and militancy became isolated than ever before. It was a sign of how much the people of both countries liked to remain in peace. “It was his hope that the government’s gesture its instructions to security forces not to initiate combat operations, against militants in Jammu and Kashmir during the holy month of Ramadan would fully appreciate and all violence in the state and infiltration across the line of control and the international border would cease.”⁷⁴ The ceasefire was extended for the second time on December 20 in 2001.

India extended the ceasefire for another one month in 20th December 2001 for the second time (Responses to India's Offer of Ceasefire). Vajpayee was happy about the development after the first ceasefire. Hence he extended it further for one month. Vajpayee was optimistic in the growing support to the peace process even in a derailed situation. There was strong popular support in both India and Pakistan for a de-escalation of tensions between the borders. Vajpayee analyzed the positive response from the masses of the two countries. Henceforth, he took every chance to invite Pakistan for peace talks. During the first ceasefire withdrawal announcement, Vajpayee sent an invitation to the Pakistan president Pervez Musharraf to visit India for talks.

The ceasefire in 2003 facilitated the opening of the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad and Poonch-Rawalkot routes. The continuous travel-restriction had minimized the people to people contact between India and Pakistan. Vajpayee’s understanding on the people's ambition was the backbone of India and Pakistan relation. Resumption of the transportation link paved the way for linking the people of the two Kashmir’s for the first time in six decades and it encouraged cross-Line of Control contacts, exchanges, travel, and trade.

⁷³ “Responses to India's Offer of Ceasefire”. (n.d.). Retrieved from *Institute for Conflict Study*: [http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/documents/papers/Response Ceasefire.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/documents/papers/Response%20Ceasefire.htm)

⁷⁴ Katyal, K. K. (2006). *Journey to Amity: India and Musharraf's Pakistan*. New Delhi: HarAnand. p.78

The cease-fire came as a reality after India's series of political contact with Pakistan and dissident groups working in Jammu and Kashmir. Even though the ceasefire was the result of a political engagement between India and Pakistan, the ceasefire created a significant and positive cultural impact on people of both the sides. The Indian government's soft policy of military actions during the holy month of Ramadan had a great effect on the Muslim people in both countries. The people of both countries welcomed the decisions with great hope that the ceasefire would solve the border issues even if it would take some time. Hence, the ceasefire was a successful contribution both politically and culturally towards normalization of the India-Pakistan relations and paves way for non-military Confidence Building Measures between these two countries.

2.9.New Peace Proposal

After the landmark ceasefire in 2003, India and Pakistan relation became more friendly and operative. Indian Prime minister A.B.Vajpayee and Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf met at the sideline of the 12th SAARC summit at Islamabad in Pakistan on 6th January 2004. Vajpayee and Musharraf issued a joint statement in the separate meeting in Islamabad. Both leaders expressed their deep satisfaction at the ongoing normalization process between the two countries. The meeting commenced a composite dialogue to carry the momentum of the ongoing normalization process in February 2004. "The two leaders are confident that resumption of the composite dialogue will lead to peaceful settlement of all bilateral issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, to the satisfaction of both sides. The two leaders agreed that constructive dialogue would promote progress towards the common objective of peace, security and economic development for our people and for future generations."⁷⁵

According to the meeting held between Indian Foreign Secretary Shashank and Pakistan Foreign Secretary Riaz Ahamad Khokar from 16-17 February 2004, India and Pakistan reached an agreement on 18th February 2004. They agreed to a settlement of all bilateral issues through composite dialogue. The meeting was successful as a framework for common goals instead of holding any predetermined agendas for both India and Pakistan. They worked together for the common welfare of the people of both nations. Therefore the

⁷⁵India-Pakistan Joint Press Statement, Islamabad. *Ministry of External Affairs*. (2004, January 6). Retrieved May 10, 2015, from Government of India: http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/2973/IndiaPakistan_Joint_Press_Statement_Islamabad

limits of peace, security and economic development came into the forefront of their agenda of the meeting. Further, they mutually agreed to schedule a high-level meeting of foreign secretaries in May/ June in 2004 to discuss on peace and security including Confidence Building Measures, and the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. Further, they planned to talk about the various conflicting issues of India and Pakistan such as Siachen, Sir Creek, Wullar Barrage/ Tulbul Navigation Project, terrorism and drug trafficking, economic and commercial cooperation, and promotion of friendly exchanges that were to start from July 2004.

Following the ceasefire of 2003 the India and Pakistan continued their effort to normalize the strained relations. Two states explored various diplomatic channels under the peace process. The composite dialogue was the very recent development in this regard. The effort to easing tension have facilitated to the resumption of communication link, Trans-border cultural and economic exchange, and enhancing the people-to-people contact thus strengthening the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

The progress of the Indo-Pakistan relations after the Islamabad peace effort enhanced the opportunity to work together for India and Pakistan. The composite dialogue between India and Pakistan provided a significant role to the Non-military Confidence Building Measures which improved the strained relationship of India and Pakistan. The summit had opened certain areas where India and Pakistan could work for a common purpose such as the economic interaction and elimination of drug trafficking which required more attention from the two countries. The Islamabad peace initiative was a significant attempt as it provided a swift switch and continuation to the India Pakistan peace process.

2.10. Informal Confidence Building Measures

“Informal Confidence Building Measure can be defined as an activity wherein there is an unofficial, informal interaction among members of adversarial groups or nations with the goals of developing strategies, influencing public opinion, and organizing human and material resources, improving communication and mutual understandings in ways that might help resolve the conflict.”⁷⁶ The non-official and non-state relationship or Confidence Building Measure between the two countries is generally called the informal Confidence Building Measure. The principal aim of the informal Confidence Building Measure was to avoid

⁷⁶ Chapter 3, Shodhganga dissertation.p.171,

accidental conflicts and expand the areas of cooperation. The informal Confidence Building Measure was very much helpful to boost the confidence among the leaders in the peace building process. The informal Confidence Building Measure has been classified into various types in order to promote co-operation and stability between the two neighboring countries such as Track-II diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy.

2.10.1 Track Two Diplomacy

“Montville defines Track Two Diplomacy as an, “unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations that aim to develop strategies, to influence public opinion, organize human and material resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict.”⁷⁷ Beyond the state-centric diplomatic contact, Track-II diplomacies play an unchallenging role supporting the normalization process between two conflicting countries. Track-II diplomacies influence the state running policy-making mechanism. Track Two diplomacy is an all-time alternative to dealing the conflicting countries in unofficial settings. The Track Two activists have very influential positions in the state running decision-making center. They range from retired diplomats, retired civil and military officials, public figures, and policy analysts. They are well experienced on the direct link with the social system and the realities of the political system. The track diplomacy utilized the relationship between India and Pakistan in a positive sense when the state system not working properly in order to tackle the conflict. The Track II diplomacy has played a significant role in the India-Pakistan relation since their peace effort began.

2.10.2. Historical Development of Track-II Diplomacy between India and Pakistan

The India-Pakistan Friendship Society that started in 1987 was one of the earliest Track II organizations. It organized visits of Pakistani cultural groups to India, annual lectures, and held discussions with the diplomatic staff at the Pakistan High Commission etc. The Society worked as a platform between India and Pakistan. There were some other institutions also which took part in the informal relations with India and Pakistan such as the India-Pakistan Soldiers Initiative for Peace, Chamber of Commerce, Summer School etc. “The first prominent Track Two initiative between India and Pakistan was the Neemrana dialogue that took place under the auspices of the United States Information Services (USIS)

⁷⁷ Mapendere, J. “Track One and a Half Diplomacy and the Complementarity of Tracks”. *Culture of Peace Online Journal*, 2 (1), ISSN 1715-538X www.copoj.ca, p. 68

in 1990 and was later joined by American foundations and German Non Governmental organizations (NGOs). Its first meeting was held in Neemrana Fort in Rajasthan, India in October 1991.”⁷⁸The group was represented by people from various fields such as former diplomats, former military personnel, media persons, NGO workers, and academicians in India and Pakistan.

Parallel to the official relations the un-official relation also had a critical role in the normalization process between the two hostile nations. Pakistan-India People’s Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFD), worked as a coordinating institution of the visits across the border, holding annual meetings, and organizing local chapters in major Indian and Pakistani cities. ‘Dialogue now’ was an online based platform to discuss and exchange ideas about India and Pakistan issues. It was started in January 2002. About 275 registered members participated regularly in the discussion to share their ideas. It formed a healthy relationship among the members and could make understanding the issues sounding India and Pakistan easier. In this modernized world, the use of the internet is increasing day by day. Hence it was a safe and easy platform to discuss the problems between India and Pakistan. It could avoid the stereotypical enmity and could develop friendship after having an understanding of the real picture. The platform supported a large scale people-to-people to dialogue through the internet.

All the Track Two diplomats worked with the aim of reducing the mutual distrust between the people of India and Pakistan and work with a better understanding that would contribute to the peace efforts. The Track Two channels between India and Pakistan facilitated the official diplomacy as well. An effective communication was possible even during the crisis at the official level.

“There is a very strong realization among civil society groups operating on either side of the border that the costs involved in maintaining animosity against each other are higher than any gains from the current hostile situation. At a time when the relations between India and Pakistan have lurched from crisis to crisis, Track-Two dialogue has been able to sustain the element of unbroken engagement.”⁷⁹ During the Kargil crisis when the all official contact

⁷⁸ Ahmad, S. (2014, June 25). “Track-Two Diplomacy between India and Pakistan: A Study in Diplomatic Overture”. *The Post colonialist*: <http://postcolonialist.com/civil-discourse/track-two-diplomacy-india-pakistan-study-diplomatic-overture/>

⁷⁹ Ahmad, S. (2016, February 23). “Track-Two Dialogue in the India-Pakistan Context”. *Institute of South Asian Studies*: [//www.isas.nus.edu.sg/](http://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/). p 5

remained stagnant, a lot of Track Two activities were held between these two countries.

2.11. Multi Track Diplomacy

Multi Track diplomacy is a combination of Track One and Track Two diplomacies characterized by a combining the values which were most effective in peace building. The modern international peace building process shifted from a State- controlled Track One mechanism to a joint Multi-Track diplomacy. The international peace building depended not only on the State mechanism but also the Multi-Track activities. The Multi-Track and Track-II diplomacy could increase the confidence among the people easier than the official channels through various engagements. Now the activism of the civil society has been increased in the policy matters of the nation, so they could influence the decision-making system. Hence the role of Multi-Track diplomacy holds many prospects in the India and Pakistan relation at present and in the future as well.

2.12. Cricket Diplomacy

Cricket is one of the most popular sporting events in the world. All the major South Asian countries play Cricket with high passion and spirit. Cricket between India and Pakistan has turned into a war without shooting and a symbol of pride and nationalism. Cricket has become a diplomatic measure since the term Cricket Diplomacy was first coined in 1987 by Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, the former military ruler of Pakistan. Cricket has become one of the diplomatic tools between India and Pakistan since it unites the diverse polities, distinct nations, and people. The former Prime Minister of India, “Dr. Manmohan Singh noted, nothing brings the people of the sub-continent together more than our love for cricket and Bollywood.”⁸⁰

The history of India-Pakistan Cricket Diplomacy started from the 1987 Test Cricket Match at Jaipur, where Pakistan President General Zia watched the match, even as the relations between the two countries were highly tensed. In this venue, General Zia had a meeting with the members of the Indian government. The meeting eliminated the misunderstanding between them and helped to improve their strained relationship. In the 1990s, the India-Pakistan, relationship was worsened by incidents such as the demolition of Babri Masjid, Kashmir insurgency, and Mumbai riots, even though the Cricket Boards of

⁸⁰ “India Tries Cricket Diplomacy”. (2005, March 11). *The New York Times*. New York.

India and Pakistan had maintained a cordial relationship. In 1997 a friendship series between India and Pakistan was conducted in Canada, and Cricket was cited by some as a tool of diplomacy. Since 1987, the first home match resumed again in 1999 when the Pakistani Cricket team toured India and the Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee visited Pakistan to sign the Lahore Declaration.

After a four year stalemate, the bilateral cricket was resumed by Prime Minister Vajpayee in 2004. The Indian Cricket team toured Pakistan with a Presidential security offered by Pakistan. Twenty thousand Indian fans that crossed the border were amazed at the reception they received in Pakistan, and they returned home as ambassadors for Pakistan. India's Pakistan tour was recorded as a historic series. The Indian team had won for the first time a Cricket series in Pakistan. The most notable and appreciable thing in the series was that there was no violence and trouble reported except that the Pakistan crowd stood and cheered when India won the Karachi match, overcoming all fear and speculations spered by the news media.

Therefore Cricket between India and Pakistan was the best informal Confidence Building Measure used in any crisis because it could easily interconnect thousands of people together with high sporting spirit rather than hostility. Around 20000 cricket lovers went to Pakistan, just after the threat of nuclear war in the wake of the military standoff in 2002 between India and Pakistan. Therefore Cricket is considered as the best diplomatic tools which can unite thousands of people unofficially even in periods of crisis.

Dr.Manmohan Singh started his foreign policy initiative towards Pakistan by resuming the Cricket match between India and Pakistan in April 2005. India invited the Pakistani Cricket team and President Musharraf as a special invitee to watch the one day match in Delhi. The main attractions of this one-day cricket match were that Musharraf and Manmohan Singh sat together and watched the whole match. This kind of mutual sharing helped to cut the mistrust and increased the confidence among the people of the two countries and boosted more cooperation between India and Pakistan during the high-level unofficial talks for moving the peace process onward. The Cricket series between India and Pakistan could cool the atmosphere of hatred which was spread by the Media and governments about their relations. Hence Cricket is always a hopeful measure to increase people-to-people contact between India and Pakistan than any other measures.

2.13. Conclusion

India-Pakistan relation in the post-nuclear period was a mixture of both tensions and hopes. The nuclear experiments increased the suspicions and distrust between India and Pakistan. The Kargil war, and the terrorist attacks in Kashmir and the Indian parliament building increased the suspicions and hostility. These two incidents had derailed the hopes and faith brought back by the Lahore summit. The suspicion and rivalry between India and Pakistan grew towards war-like situation following the military standoff on the Kashmir borders. But the leadership and commitment of the Indian Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee brought back a friendly relationship between India and Pakistan. His sincere and unilateral efforts helped to retain the lost friendship between India and Pakistan after the Kargil war in 1999 and the border conflict in 2002. He had loosened the traditional stand to bring a breakthrough in the India–Pak relation. Hence, this strong decision brought a recovery in their cold relationship.

Prime Minister Vajpayee broke all the traditional ways of approach which had spoiled the India-Pakistan friendly relations. He continued the peace initiative single-handedly even after the failures of Lahore and Agra. Prime Minister Vajpayee's unilateral attempts won the hearts of millions of the people of India and Pakistan by breaching the suspicions, mistrust, hostility etc.

Vajpayee has proved that a pragmatic approach could win the situation, and not pre-determined approach and traditional policy. He carried out bilateral engagement and continuous dialogues through the non-military peace mechanism for a friendly relation with Pakistan. The Lahore bus diplomacy and Lahore declaration opened a new history for India and Pakistan relation and facilitated for Non-military Confidence Building Measure. He explored all options to create a friendly neighboring country. He gave more importance to the people-to-people contact that would eradicate the distrust of the people and ease the peace process between India and Pakistan. Vajpayee created a new history in India Pakistan relations but he never gave up the core interest of the nation. His vision and pragmatism is a good lesson for the coming generation of Indian diplomats and leaders to maintain a friendly relation with Pakistan.

Thus, it can be understood that non-military Confidence Building Measures is more efficient in maintaining a peaceful atmosphere between India and Pakistan than military Confidence Building Measures. The broad outlook of Indian leaders, especially under A.B.

Vajpayee leadership, is responsible in renewing the old ties with Pakistan and it shows a strong and mature way of decision making from the part of India both in South Asian level as well as global level. This work will help us to proceed further in understanding the peace building processes by the next UPA-I government under the leadership of Dr. Manmohan Singh.

CHAPTER 3

NON-MILITARY CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN UNDER UPA-I GOVERNMENT (2004-2009)

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NON-MILITARY CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN UNDER UPA-I GOVERNMENT (2004 to 2009)

“We cannot rewrite the past, but we can build a more secure future”

- Dr. Manmohan Singh

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter had discussed the various peace measures initiated by A.B. Vajpayee as the Prime Minister of India under the National Democratic Alliance-1 Government. The present chapter looks briefly at the various initiatives for peace in the name of Non-military Confidence Building Measures taken by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh as the leader of the United Progressive Alliance-1 Government. The major initiatives of Non-military Confidence Building Measures were introduction of new bus services and rail links, economic and commercial cooperation; the release of fishermen and civilian prisoners on humanitarian grounds; and softening of borders. These measures ensured the maintenance and growth of a stable and friendly relation with Pakistan.

After the 14th Lok Sabha elections, the UPA-I government came to power in India in 2004 under the Prime Ministership of Dr. Manmohan Singh after defeating the Vajpayee- led NDA-I Government. During the Prime Ministership of Dr. Manmohan Singh, Indian foreign policy showed great adaptability towards the speedy changes of the global environment. The Congress-led UPA government worked to improve relations with all its neighbors and all major powers. Dr. Manmohan Singh desired to adopt a friendly approach towards his neighbors, especially with Pakistan. Therefore India's foreign relations with Pakistan improved significantly under the UPA-I government. Unlike the previous government policies, UPA-I government took a different approach towards Pakistan. The UPA-I government had to maintain a cautious and step-by-step approach towards Pakistan. Dr. Manmohan Singh gave more importance to composite dialogues than focusing on any single issue for peace talks between India and Pakistan. However, the new government never neglected the policies signed by the previous government, but continued the policies and

ensured further level of talks and dialogues for peace.

When the new Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh took power at the centre, the India and Pakistan relation was moving peacefully and friendly. He worked within the platform created by the former Prime Minister A.B.Vajpayee under his NDA-I government. “The Islamabad meeting between then Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and then President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf in January 2004 resulted in an agreement to start a Composite Dialogue Process (CDP) to settle all outstanding issues between the two countries.”⁸¹ Thus, Dr.Manmohan Singh explored every chance and non-explored areas to being in a more stable relationship with Pakistan. He promoted composite dialogue and continued the sequence of discussions one by one including Kashmir, and further continued the dialogue process and intensified the peace efforts. He advocated more Non-military Confidence Building Measures rather than military Confidence Building Measures towards Pakistan during the tenure of his government. He thought that, Confidence Building Measures was the important mechanism which he depended more to bring back the normalcy between India and Pakistan. Therefore this chapter will discuss how the Non-military Confidence Building Measures are effective in settling the differences between India and Pakistan in the light of the major initiatives taken by Manmohan Singh government.

The UPA-I government started its relations with Pakistan from where Vajpayee left off. As the result of the peace talks and unilateral initiatives during the NDA-I government, a conducive atmosphere was already set for political interactions between India and Pakistan. The Lahore bus diplomacy and the Agra summit had laid a path for India’s new peace initiatives towards Pakistan. The influence of the Lahore and Agra efforts had given a new direction to the conflicting relations of India and Pakistan. Even though the Kashmir intrusion had overthrown the extent of the Lahore peace efforts, it gave confidence to the future peace efforts of India and Pakistan. The Agra summit also provided a sense of mutuality between India and Pakistan. By bringing dynamics between India and Pakistan, the Lahore and Agra summit had removed the difficulties and barriers of India-Pakistan relations. Therefore the Lahore and Agra attempts have shown a light into India’s future peace building efforts towards Pakistan.

Manmohan Singh carried out remarkable peace initiatives to increase the bilateral

⁸¹ Zahoor Ahmad Malik & K.G. Sharma. (2014 July-September). “India –Pakistan Peace Process during UPA Government”. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*, 2 (3), p.241.

relations between India and Pakistan. The composite dialogue process signaled India's commitment and enthusiasm towards the peace process with Pakistan. The composite dialogue process included various level talks between the diplomats and leaders of both countries. It ensured the continuity and stability of India's peace building efforts throughout the UPA-I Government. Even though the UPA-I government did not succeed in finding out a final solution to the outstanding problems, the government maintained a friendly relation with Pakistan. For the maintenance of the friendly relations, India put forward many Non-military Confidence Building Measures such as the resumption of bus services and introduction of new services, softening of the borders through constant people-to-people interaction, and a series of high level meeting among the high officials of India and Pakistan.

3.2. Official Level Meetings

During the Manmohan Singh-period, India and Pakistan held a series of official level meetings to maintain friendly relations. After the ceasefire agreement of 2003, the bilateral exchange between India and Pakistan had increased significantly. Manmohan Singh conducted various level diplomatic and high level official contacts to normalize the India and Pakistan relations. The official level meetings were highly important to build the confidence among the conflicting nations. The meeting on various issues provided a conducive political space for the bilateral discussions among the high officers and leaders of India and Pakistan. During the meeting both nations will take measures to tackle the problems between them.

3.2.1. Meeting on Kashmir

As part of the India-Pakistan peace building process, on 27th and 28th June in 2004, a high level official meeting was held between the Indian foreign secretary Shashank and his Pakistani counterpart Riaz Khokhar at New Delhi to discuss the Kashmir problem. The meeting was held the very next month of Manmohan Singh taking over as the Prime Minister. During the meeting, India proposed a set of Kashmir centric Non-military Confidence Building Measures to improve the cultural cooperation, trade and transport link, and people-to-people contact between India and Pakistan. Since Kashmir was the core issue between India and Pakistan, and a final solution not yet being found, it was necessary to build confidence among the two countries.

During the meeting, India and Pakistan showed commitment to deal the issues of the fishermen and civilian prisoners. The problems of the fisherman and civilian prisoners were a

humanitarian concern of India and Pakistan. The traditional fishermen were caught by the police in both countries for breaching the water boundaries. It had often become an issue between India and Pakistan. Hundreds of civilians were detained and jailed in both countries without prior trial and humanitarian treatment. Therefore, both nations agreed to open a consulate in Mumbai and Karachi for the speedy dealing of their issues under humanitarian grounds.

3. 2.2. Meeting on Cultural Exchange

The cultural exchange between India and Pakistan increased the confidence and trust which was highly necessary for the friendly relation between India and Pakistan. The cultural contact has the potential to bridge the gap between the hostile peoples of India and Pakistan. The cultural interaction was the easiest mechanism between the two countries as they had a history of togetherness before the partition. Therefore India and Pakistan always tried to increase the cultural contact as the part of their bilateral relations. In 3-4 August 2004, India and Pakistan held a meeting between the Indian secretary, Department of Culture Neena Ranjan and her Pakistan colleague Jalil Abbas Secretary, Ministry of Minorities, Tourism, Culture and Youth Affairs at New Delhi to promote the friendly exchange between the two countries.

Both India and Pakistan proposed a wide range of Non-military Confidence Building Measures to increase the friendly exchange. Both them agreed on the fields of art, culture, archaeology, education, science and technology, youth affairs and sports, media and tourism. Once if implemented, it would be beneficial for the wellbeing of the people of India and Pakistan. India is a country that is well advanced in science and technology, and therefore Pakistan would be benefited by the mutual cooperation on science and technology. India and Pakistan have similar arts and culture; many Indian movies are very popular in Pakistan- therefore the cultural understanding between these two countries would help to increase the confidence of India and Pakistan and minimise the trust deficit between them and promote a way for regional peace.

3.2.3. Meeting on Terrorism and Drug Trafficking

Terrorism and Drug Trafficking were the two major challenges to the International relations. Terrorism had started to affect India and Pakistan relations since the latter part of the nineteen-eighties. Now terrorism has become the central issue between India and

Pakistan. India had always maintained a strong stand against Pakistan's support to terrorist activities against India. Therefore terrorism is a core concern of India when it deals with Pakistan. The peace process of India and Pakistan has been overthrown in many occasions due to Pakistan's secret alliance with terrorists. The Kashmir armed conflict in 2001-2002 is the very latest example of how terrorism will affect the peace process between India and Pakistan. Similarly, illegal trafficking of drugs is another area that is disturbing India and Pakistan.

On the 10th and 11th of August 2004, Islamabad conducted a meeting, in which the Indian Home Secretary Dharendra Singh and Pakistan Secretary and Ministry of Interior Tariq Mahmud participated. The meeting discussed the issues of terrorism and drug trafficking which were very serious issues between India and Pakistan, and they mutually reaffirmed to fight terrorism. From the Indian point of view, terrorism continues to be the major threat to the India-Pakistan relation as well as regional security. Therefore India has always claimed that terrorism must be addressed first rather than any other issue between India and Pakistan. India kept terrorism as the central point before any bilateral discussions took place between the two countries. India was strict on terrorism, and until Pakistan was ready to stop the trans-border terrorism, India never gives a green signal to any initialization. Hence in the meeting, both reaffirmed their mutual commitment against terrorism.

The second issue which were discussed in the meeting was the issue of drug trafficking. "For the last three decades India has become a transit hub as well as a destination for heroin and hashish produced in the 'Golden Triangle' and the 'Golden Crescent'"⁸². Golden crescent is a drug transit route that constitutes Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan through which drugs enter into India. The drug trafficking had become a used for various insurgent and terrorist activities. Therefore, terrorism and drug trafficking had become important issues between India and Pakistan So the meeting agreed to work towards a "Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to institutionalize cooperation in information-sharing between the Narcotics Control Authorities of the two countries and designate nodal officials in their respective High Commissions to liaise on drug control issues."⁸³ Such kind of Understanding is very necessary for the friendly being of India and Pakistan. Therefore this meeting is a contribution to the peace building process between India and Pakistan.

⁸²Pushpita Das. (2012). *Drug Trafficking in India: A Case for Border Security*. New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. p.5

⁸³Ibid

3.3. Composite Dialogue Process in 2004

“Composite Dialogue Process is a structured dialogue process to discuss all pending issues simultaneously.”⁸⁴ Composite Dialogue process has a very remarkable role between India and Pakistan since it confronts on various issues. India and Pakistan have conducted a number of Composite Dialogues during the UPA-I government which gave space to many conflicting issues to be discussed. They conversed and agreed on various concerns between India and Pakistan. The Composite Dialogue Process has taken many peace initiatives to improve the bilateral ties between India and Pakistan. The transport connection, people to people contact, cultural interaction and economic cooperation etc are some of the major issues among them.

India and Pakistan held three major meetings in 2004 as part of their composite dialogue process to increase the bilateral ties between them. The first meeting was conducted between the Indian Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran and Pakistan Foreign Secretary Riaz H Khokar at New Delhi on September 4, 2004. Both shared the mutual view that Composite Dialogue Process (CDP) is essential between India and Pakistan to improve their relations. As part to improve the Composite Dialogue Process they recommended an additional meeting between the Indian Foreign Minister Natwar Singh and Pakistan Foreign minister Khurshid M Kasuri on the 5th and 6th of the same month for further discussions on Composite Dialogue Process. In the meeting both the ministers agreed that “Composite Dialogue will lead to peaceful settlement of all bilateral issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, to the satisfaction of both sides. They agreed to continue with the serious and sustained dialogue to find a peaceful negotiated final settlement.”⁸⁵

In order to increase the people-to-people contact, the foreign ministers agreed to initiate certain Non-military Confidence Building Measures (Appendix-II). For that, in November 2004 a meeting was arranged with the railway authorities on the Munnabao - Khokrapur rail link, Narcotics Control Authorities, Indian Coast Guard and the Pakistan Maritime Security Agency. The Munababo and Khokarapar train service had an immense capacity to release the tensions between India and Pakistan; particularly it would increase the

⁸⁴Ashutosh Misra. (2010). *India and Pakistan Coming to Term..* New York: Palgrave MacMillan. New York: Palgrave Mac Millan.p.36.

⁸⁵ “India-Pakistan Joint Statement”. *Ministry of External Affairs*. (2004, September 8). Retrieved march 1, 2016, from Government of India: <http://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/7456/India++Pakistan+Joint+Statement>

interaction among the people in the borders of Rajasthan and Sindh. Further a Non-military Confidence Building Measures proposed to deal with the issues related the fishermen of the two countries. To increase the cultural contact, a new category of Visa was added to promote group tourism between the two countries and further measures were initiated to facilitate of visits to religious shrines of both countries. Thus the non- military Confidence Building Measures like foreign secretary level summit and rail linkage services promoted a better understanding between these two countries.

3.3.1. New York Joint Statement

The New York summit was a major summit held between India and Pakistan during the UPA-I government. The meeting was very noteworthy with the presence of both Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf at New York in September 2004. In this significant meeting, the two leaders brought certain hope for the India- Pakistan normalization process. In the get- together, both leaders showed their pledge to maintain the bilateral cooperation and peace talks to restore the normalcy in the borders. The understanding about the significance of the bilateral cooperation influenced them to give the green signal to implement all proposed Confidence Building Measures in a practical manner. The pragmatic approach of the leaders enabled them to avail a political space for discussion of the Kashmir issue. Both Manmohan Singh and Musharraf offered more the talks on the Kashmir issue to bring about meaningful and effective solutions.

The one-hour meeting of the leaders brought out the importance of the Confidence Building Measures for the wellbeing of the people in either country. The leaders realized that the prosperity and wellbeing of the people of the region depended upon the nature of India-Pakistan relations. Therefore, they took measures to avoid conflict between the two hostile countries. Manmohan Singh and Musharraf agreed to explore all possibilities to improve the bilateral relation of India and Pakistan. Musharraf and Manmohan Singh agreed to continue the dialogue process to strengthen the India-Pakistan relations. Therefore the New York meeting that increased the further scope for Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan is an appreciable one.

3.3.2. Islamabad Joint Statement

Another important meeting was held at Pakistan between India and Pakistan to improve their relations. The Islamabad meeting of Indian Foreign Secretary Shyam Sharan

and Pakistan Foreign Minister Khurshid M Kasuri was held on December 27 and 28 in 2004. This meeting opened an opportunity to initiate some Non-military Confidence Building Measures and extend the Composite Dialogue Process. During the meeting the Indian Foreign Secretary expressed commitment to increase the reach of composite dialogue to address all problems. The meeting discussed the scope of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures on various issues such as economic ties, facilitation of visas, and commencement of the Srinagar-Muzafarabad bus service. The economic relations of India and Pakistan used to be the least important area; therefore the meeting provided a scope for more bilateral cooperation in the field of economic ties. The discussion on the Srinagar and Muzafarabad bus service and facilitation of visas enhanced the cultural relation of India and Pakistan.

Further, the meeting opened the scope for Non-military Confidence Building Measures to improve the bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan. India pointed out the problems of the civilian prisoners and fisherman sentenced in both countries and requested to look into the issues on humanitarian grounds. Pakistan responded positively to the Indian commitment to these humanitarian issues which would improve the relationship of India and Pakistan. Further, India put forward a proposal for reunion of separated families in Kashmir at five points under a joint security arrangement. The proposed meeting places were Manthar, Poonch, Uri, Suchetgarh, and Tangdhar along the Neelam Valley. It could eliminate the mistrust and misperception about India and could improve the cultural relationship of India and Pakistan.

India offered some Non-military Confidence Building Measures to improve their relation. India took measures to ease visa restrictions for senior citizen above 65 ages and children below 12 years. India conveyed the readiness for easier ways of issuing visas to school children those who got admission in Indian schools. Further India offered assistance in medical treatment of (Pakistani) children in India. This kind of cultural and humanitarian exchange among the hostile countries helped to increase their confidence which was very important for the relation between India and Pakistan. The people-to-people contact and trans-border contact helped to normalize the relationship between India and Pakistan.

On the 28th December 2004, the second day of the meeting, both foreign secretaries met to review the overall progress of the composite dialogue. Composite Dialogue Process was the most used mechanism under the UPA-I government between India and Pakistan as it

could include various issues at a meeting or talk. The Islamabad meeting provided a platform to discuss the capacities of the composite dialogue to include various issues, and guaranteed implementation of the composite dialogue on the issues of Siachen, Wullar barrage / Tulbul navigation project, Sir Creek, terrorism and drug trafficking, and economic and commercial cooperation etc. In the meeting, many Non-military Confidence Building Measures were initiated by mutual agreement. As part of the meeting, various technical level meetings were conducted on various topics: the trade matters, headed by the Commerce secretaries, Indian Coast Guard and Pakistan Maritime Agency to initiate further bilateral relationship through Non-military Confidence Building Measures. Moreover the meeting arrived at an agreement to conduct a technical level meeting on the bus service between Amritsar and Lahore between January and June 2005. Therefore the Islamabad meeting shows the Non-military Confidence Building Measures effort was the most hopeful in the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan which is a prevalent truth in the history of these two countries.

3.4. Composite Dialogue Process in 2005

With respect to the Composite Dialogue in 2005, India and Pakistan conducted five important meetings on various issues. The meetings were successful in order to bring out the thought for more bilateral cooperation between the two countries. During these meetings, India and Pakistan put forward many Non-military Confidence Building Measures on cultural, economic and transportation sectors.

3.4.1. Second Islamabad Meeting

It is the second high level meeting between India and Pakistan during the UPA-I government in respect to the peace initiatives between India and Pakistan. This second meeting was held at the capital city of Pakistan, Islamabad on 16th February 2005. This meeting was held between the Indian External Minister Mr. Natwar Singh and Pakistani Foreign Minister Khurshid Kasuri. This event was very important because it was the first time that India's External Minister was visiting Pakistan since 1989. The significant outcome of the meeting was that it was more people centric. It carried the desire and demands of the common people of India and Pakistan. To fulfil the desire and demand of the people, both leaders have mutually agreed some Non- military Confidence Building Measures to start bus services between Srinagar and Muzafarabad, and between Amritsar and Lahore, and also to the religious place of Nankana Sahib which are appreciable in their course of relationships.

Further the meeting expanded the bilateral cooperation and understanding between India and Pakistan. “Both governments have agreed to allow travel across the Line of Control between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad by bus. Travel will be by an entry permit system, once identities are verified. Application forms for travel will be available with designated authorities in Srinagar and Muzaffarabad. The bus service is expected to commence from 7 April 2005.”⁸⁶ The meeting also agreed to India’s demand to release civilian prisoners and fishermen who had been apprehended and kept under custody by Pakistan. As a further step, India expressed the readiness to start the Munabao and Khokrapar rail link as soon as possible in October 2005.

The meeting shared a mutual understanding of the important role of bilateral cooperation to overcome the differences between India and Pakistan. Hence, both leaders agreed to carry forward the dialogue process to make the region free from terrorism and violence. In this occasion, as part of the bilateral cooperation, India invited the Pakistan Foreign Minister for a visit to India, and Pakistan invited the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to visit Pakistan at the earliest convenient date. These kinds of mutual reciprocity will try to strengthen the ties between India and Pakistan under the Non-military Confidence Building Measures efforts.

3.4.2. South Asian Free Media Association Forum (SAFMA)

South Asian Free Media Association, a regional forum for “promoting regional cooperation, peace, professional collaboration, independence of media, freedom of and access to information, South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA) was established in the year 2000 by the leading media persons and media bodies of the South Asian region.”⁸⁷ Indian External Affairs Minister Natwar Singh attended a meeting at Lahore in 2005 conducted by the SAFMA forum. The forum provided a platform to reveal India’s concern towards necessity of the composite dialogue and Non-military Confidence Building Measures for the bilateral cooperation between India and Pakistan.

“In the meeting Mr. Natwar Singh said that “continuous process of confidence-building between Pakistan and India would help address 'more difficult issues' and promote

⁸⁶India-Pakistan Joint Statement Islamabad”. (2005, February 16). Retrieved July 6, 2016, from *Embassy of India, Moscow, Russia*.

⁸⁷Gopal Khanal. (2011 October 25). “South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA); Towards South Asian Unity”. *Telegraph Nepal*.

friendship.”⁸⁸ He was very optimistic about the on-going improved relations between India and Pakistan. He pointed out that they could overcome the differences through constant bilateral dialogue process. The role of Confidence Building Measures, especially Non-military Confidence Building Measures is very crucial to overcome such differences between India and Pakistan. He argued that the necessity of the people-to-people relation is significant to enhance the mutual trust and cooperation among the people of both countries.

Further he advocated utilizing the cultural commonalities, natural affinities, and family relationship between the two countries to increase the people-to-people contacts. India and Pakistan mutually agreed to commence more bus services between India and Pakistan such as Srinagar-Muazafarabad, and he declared the proposal for the Amritsar and Lahore Bus services and also proposed to connect the religious place Nakana Sahib.

Further, to improve the people-to-people contact, India unilaterally liberalized the visa process for Pakistani nationals to visit India. In the meeting he said the India’s commitment towards the people-to-people contact and the people’s desire to have peaceful cooperation. He expressed his view as:

“All this progress has been possible also because of an overwhelming desire among our people for peaceful cooperation and interaction. We need to build further on this foundation. There is a tremendous reservoir of goodwill on both sides, based our affinities and commonalities. Greater people-to-people contact opens the doors for a better appreciation of our viewpoints. Our conscious policy has been to be ‘people-to-people centric and to promote people-to-people exchanges.’”⁸⁹

The meeting gave an understanding that ‘the cooperative and productive relationship with Pakistan would help to remove all differences between India and Pakistan. India was committed to a friendly and peaceful relation with Pakistan. Hence, the continuous process of Non-military Confidence Building Measures was thought to be able to eliminate all the bilateral differences between India and Pakistan. Therefore, the forum created more scope for the Non-military Confidence Building Measures and more composite dialogue process between India and Pakistan in the future. So this kind of continuous talks and meetings were very helpful to generate the thought of having more bilateral relations between India and Pakistan.

⁸⁸ 2005, February 18). “Confidence Building Measures will help resolve difficult issues”. *Dawn*, Lahore.

⁸⁹ Ibid

3.4.3. New Delhi Meeting

The Indian capital of city New Delhi became a venue for the second meeting between Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Pakistani President Musharraf on 16-18 April 2005. The New Delhi meeting was an opportunity to ensure and to deepen the cultural bond between India and Pakistan. Musharraf visited India along with his wife Begum Sehba as the guest of the Prime Minister of India, and Shrimati Gursharan Kaur, the wife of the Indian Prime Minister arranged a banquet. The presence of Musharraf and his wife have brought an atmosphere of love and affection between the two countries Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. as made a remarkable speech at the banquet. The speech was filled with love and affection, and the remembrance of the historic connection of India and Pakistan. The speech begun thus:

“It gives my wife and me great pleasure to welcome President Musharraf and Begum to our table this evening. The people of the India are with me as we extend our hospitality to you on your visit to our country. Mr. President, last month we had the pleasure of meeting your mother, brother, and your handsome son. I believe your son was quite a hit with young people here! My wife and I went down memory lane with your mother and brother, talking of common friends and shared experiences. We were impressed by the wisdom and wit of your most affectionate mother. She was so utterly charming that my wife said to her, I envy your daughter- in- law. She is so lucky to have a mother-in-law like you.”⁹⁰

The speech recalled the pre-partition period of India and Pakistan which recalled and evoked feelings of love and affections in the people of both countries. It melted the hard misperceptions that existed between India and Pakistan. The historical and cultural importance of the meeting was significant to reduce the mutual hostilities of India and Pakistan as Musharraf was born in India, and Manmohan Singh was born in Lahore in Pakistan. Therefore this special meeting of the two leaders helped to increase the cultural contact of India and Pakistan.

The two leaders realized the responsibilities of India and Pakistan to fight against the poverty and difficult conditions of the people of India and Pakistan. This is the one area where India and Pakistan could improve their cooperation. If India and Pakistan remained in friendly relation they could make good use of their economy for the wellbeing of their

⁹⁰K.R. Gupta. (2006). *India-Pakistan Relations with Special Reference to Kashmir* (Vol. 4). New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributers. p.56

people. Therefore Manmohan Singh and Musharraf agreed to cooperate against poverty. It enhanced the scope of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. Dr. Manmohan Singh made historical remarks about the necessity of bilateral cooperation rather than wasting time on the legacies of the historical hostilities. His speech at the Banquet as “we cannot rewrite the past, but we can build a more secure future. A future that generates people’s trust and confidence in the political leadership in South Asia. We must find practical ways and means to resolve all outstanding issues between us in a reasonable, pragmatic manner, cognizant of the ground realities.”⁹¹

The speech reminded of ‘the necessity of the people-to-people contact and the need of the people’s support to make lasting solutions for the basic problems of India and Pakistan’. The mutually agreed joint statement increased the confidence of both India and Pakistan. They mutually agreed to go forward with the peace process and showed the optimism towards the final solution for the Kashmir problem. “They also agreed to pursue further measures to enhance interaction and cooperation across the Line of Control including agreed meeting points for divided families, trade, pilgrimages and cultural interaction.”⁹² To increase the Trans-border connection, they decided to increase the bus services and start additional services between Poonch and Rawalkot, and to extend truck services across the border. The joint statement reached a mutual conclusion that the economic and commercial contact between India and Pakistan would contribute to the wellbeing of the people of the two countries. Hence they agreed to work together for the greater prosperity of their people. Therefore the New Delhi meeting was successful to direct India and Pakistan to more cooperation and friendly relations.

3.4.4. New Delhi -Technical level Meeting

Various level meetings were conducted under the Composite Dialogue Process to improve the bilateral relation between India and Pakistan. Many meetings were held previously and agreed to start a bus service between Amritsar and Lahore and Nankana Sahib. In respect to these services a technical level meeting was held between India and Pakistan on September 27-28 in 2005 at New Delhi for the operation of the Amritsar-Lahore and Nankana Sahib Bus service between the two countries. The UPA-I government had a policy of softening the border to increase the people-to-people relations. India and Pakistan

⁹¹ Ibid p.57

⁹² Highlights of Indo-Pak joint statement”. (2005, April 18). Retrieved from *Rddif.com.news*.

had decided earlier to operate buses. The second technical level meeting was held between Dilip Sinha Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, India and Mohammed Abbas, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Communication, Pakistan.

The two sides reached an agreement on the proposed bus service between Lahore and Amritsar. It was agreed to begin the trial run in the second half of September, and the regular Lahore-Amritsar bus service in the first half of November. In the meeting, the leaders showed their readiness to start additional and new transport services between India and Pakistan. The occasion was used to discuss the technical modalities of Amritsar and Nankana Sahib Bus service and it was agreed to hold a meeting to conclude the arrangements. “The third round of the India-Pakistan Technical level Talks for operation of the Amritsar-Lahore and Amritsar – Nankana Sahib Bus services was held in Lahore on December 20 and 21, 2005. The Pakistan delegation was led by Mr. Mohammad Abbas, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Communications and the Indian delegation was led by Mr. Saroj Kumar Dash, Joint Secretary (Transport), Department of Road Transport & Highways.”⁹³

Thus, India and Pakistan signed the agreement for running the bus service between Amritsar and Nankana Sahib. With different efforts the regular operations commenced after one month of the trial run. The trial run was started from Amritsar on January 27, 2006 and from Nankana Sahib on January 29, 2006. The Amritsar and Lahore Bus service had commenced on January 20, 2006 from Lahore and January 24, 2006 from Amritsar. “The Indian bus has played from Amritsar to Lahore on every Tuesday and return on Wednesday. The Pakistani bus played from Lahore to Amritsar on every Friday and return on Saturday.”⁹⁴ These bus services will facilitate flow of passengers and pilgrims in both country and which helps for easing the tensions between these two countries. The bus service is one among the best Non- military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

In addition, the two rounds of talk were very significant for the India-Pakistan relation. It ensured frequent people-to people contact between the people on both sides of the borders. The transportation link would enhance the cultural connection between the two countries because it could provide facilitation for visiting places of cultural importance of both sides. The bus service was another significant development in the India-Pakistan relationship.

⁹³“Joint Statement, Third Round of India-Pakistan Technical Level Talks for operationalisation of Amritsar-Lahore and Amritsar – Nankana Sahib Bus Services”, *Ministry of External Affairs Government of India*, December 21, 2005

⁹⁴ Ibid.

3.5. Composite Dialogue Process-2006

There were five different levels of dialogue held between India and Pakistan in the earlier years. All the meetings and joint statements made between India and Pakistan were highly important in the peace building process of India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan continued the peace effort in the year 2006. During 2006 the UPA- I government increased the bilateral talks and cooperation at various levels. They are very significant in India and Pakistan relations.

3.5.1. New Delhi –Joint Statement

In respect to increasing the trans-border contact between India and Pakistan various transportation agreements have been made in the previous years. Hence, India and Pakistan decided to run train services between Munababo and Khokrapar. Munababo and Khokrapar train link interconnects India and Pakistan at the Rajasthan and Sindh provinces. On 6th January 2006 a meeting was held between India and Pakistan at the capital city of India, New Delhi, to finalize the technical matters like frequency of the train service, fare, departure time, provision of locomotives and other operational issues. The high-level officials of India and Pakistan took part. Shri Ashok Gupta, Adviser/Traffic, Ministry of Railways, Government of India, and Saleem-ur- Rahman Akhund, General Manager Pakistan Railway led the delegations for the respective countries. The meeting discussed the following issues:

“This passenger train between the two countries will be called ‘The Thar Express’, both sides discussed a draft Agreement pertaining to the modalities of the running of the train. An Indian delegation will visit Pakistan before the end of January 2006 for the signing of this Agreement. The two delegations have also agreed to commence the train operations on this route from 1st February 2006. The rake for this service will be provided alternately by Indian and Pakistan Railways on a six monthly basis. For the first six months, the Pakistan train will cross into India to Munababo. Thereafter, the Indian train will cross into Pakistan to Zero Point Railway Station near Khokhrapar. This six monthly process will be repeated alternately.”⁹⁵

The meeting had been scheduled thrice in December 2005 to discuss the modalities for the early resumption of the rail link but was delayed due to unavoidable reasons. Finally India and Pakistan agreed to revive the service on February 1 in 2005. The train service was a historic development between India and Pakistan which helped to enhance the Trans-border

⁹⁵ Avtar Singh Bhasin. (2007). *Joint Statement issued at the end of India-Pakistan talks on Munabao - Khokhrapar train service*. India's foreign relations. New Delhi: Geethika publisher's.p.782.

connection between India and Pakistan.

3.5.2. Islamabad -Talks on Economic and Commercial Cooperation

Even though there were many scopes for cooperation between India and Pakistan the scope of economic co-operation was neglected for long time. During the UPA-I government India and Pakistan started some initiations in respect of economic and commercial cooperation. Economic cooperation is a better tool to facilitate Non- military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. Therefore the Islamabad talks on economic and commercial cooperation helped to find a better direction for India and Pakistan cooperation.

The UPA-I government took many initiatives to improve the trade and commercial relationship with Pakistan. The previous record of performance of trade and commerce between India and Pakistan was poor. Dr. Manmohan Singh took efforts to bridge the gap between India and Pakistan. On this matter, the third round of talks was conducted on March 28 and 29 at Islamabad. Shri S.N. Menon, Commerce Secretary of India and Syed Asif Shah, Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, Pakistan led both sides of the delegation. In the meeting the two delegations agreed to increase the cooperation in economy and commerce. For that, the two sides shared the idea of a new Shipping and Air Service agreement between India and Pakistan in the future.

Both countries agreed to Tea trade and encouraged delegations of importers/exporters of tea to visit the respective countries. The Tea trade between the two would be increased after the new shipping agreements come to effect. The concerned Ministries of Railway departments had held a talk on the side-line of the meetings. They discussed the problems of goods transportation between India and Pakistan by train. It would facilitate a huge amount of goods transaction with cheaper cost. Further, both the countries discussed many issues were relevant for India and Pakistan to improve their bilateral ties. The meeting was hopeful for economic relations of India and Pakistan. It provided further scope for Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

Another meeting was held between India and Pakistan after one month on May 3 2006 at New Delhi. The meeting took measures to speed up the clearances of applications to increase the cross line of interactions. To improve the cross lines of trade, both side agreed to open the Srinagar and Muazafarabad truck service in the first half of July. They exchanged

the supposed list of goods for transport to each other. Further, to increase the people-to-people contact, the two sides agreed that the bus service between Poonch and Rawalkot would commence from 19 June 2006. Initially the bus service would operate on a fortnightly basis. Both agreed to initiate the operation of the five meeting points across the Line-of-Control to improve the people-to-people interactions. The meeting increased the scope of the cultural interaction between India and Pakistan.

3.5.3. Havana Joint Statement

Havana meeting was very significant in the India-Pakistan peace building process. India and Pakistan relations were derailed after the Mumbai train blasts on 11 July. Within two months the relation was re-established after the meeting of Indian Prime minister Manmohan Singh and Pakistan president Pervez Musharraf at Havana in Cuba on 16th 2006. The meeting was the result of the sincere commitment of the leaders to carry the peace process forward. The two leaders decided to continue the composite dialogue. It was an important bilateral achievement in the history of India and Pakistan relations.

The two leaders directed the respective Foreign Secretaries to meet shortly to continue the composite dialogue. “The two sides will facilitate implementation of agreements and understandings already reached on Line of Control-related Confidence Building Measures, including bus Services, crossing points and truck service. The President of Pakistan renewed his invitation to the Prime Minister of India to visit Pakistan.”⁹⁶ The Prime Minister indicated that he looked forward to a purposeful visit at Pakistan in early as possible. Therefore the Havana meeting was important in the recent history of India and Pakistan.

3.6. Composite Dialogue Process-2007-2008

During these two years India and Pakistan held two important meetings to continue and strengthen the bilateral relations. On 14th January 2007, the Indian External Affairs minister Shri Pranab Mukherjee, and Pakistani Foreign Minister Mr. Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri had a joint press meeting at Islamabad. The meeting comprised of three stages: first, the personal meeting between Pranab Mukherjee and Kasuri; second, an informal delegation

⁹⁶Avtar Singh Bhasin. (2007).p. 4060.

level discussion; and third, a short formal session. On this occasion Mukherjee handed over Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's Invitation to Pakistan Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz and Foreign Minister Kasuri to attend the 14th SAARC summit which was to be held in New Delhi. On this occasion they did not forget to share their satisfaction at the on-going composite dialogue. They had a detailed discussion on certain issues and they agreed to establish a committee on prisoners to visit the jails in the two countries to ensure humane treatment and the speedy release of prisoners who have completed the terms. They agreed to speed up the process for liberalizing the visa regime and agreed to start the fourth round composite dialogue on 13 and 14 March 2007.

On February 21, another joint press interaction was held between Pranab Mukherjee and Kasuri at New Delhi. The holding of the joint meeting was a reaffirmation of the commitment of both India and Pakistan to the dialogue process. Even though the meeting was held two days after the shocking Samjhauta express train tragedy, they did not allow this incident to spoil the on-going peace process between India and Pakistan. Both Ministers condemned the heinous activity and shared the view that India and Pakistan needed more cooperation in this area. Both nations offered liberalization of travel restrictions to the relatives and related transportation on high humanitarian grounds.

Pranab Mukherjee extended his compliment to the leaders of the eight technical level Joint working groups who finished their meeting on 20th February 2007. The working groups comprised of areas such as Agriculture, Health, Science & Technology, Information, Environment, Tourism, Education, and I.T. & Telecommunications. It provided a wider area for cooperation between India and Pakistan which would improve the trust among the people of both sides. Both leaders expressed their hope for greater cooperation between India and Pakistan. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee expressed his "confidence that the Joint Commission's deliberations will lead to greater bilateral cooperation and provide a structural basis for improving the relations between our two countries."⁹⁷ Pakistan Foreign Minister Mahmoud Kasuri stated that:

"This is another sign of increasing cooperation between Pakistan and India. We examined the possibilities of cooperation in the areas of Education, Information, IT and Telecom, Health, Agriculture, Tourism, Science and Technology, and Environment. I am happy to say that the co-chairs of these various groups were able to identify areas of cooperation. I suggested that for the next meeting of the Commission, these meetings should have taken place

⁹⁷Ibid. (2007). p.4080.

much earlier so that when my colleague and I meet we can witness greater progress. Considering the devotion of the co-chairs and other members, I feel that will be the case.”⁹⁸

In the meeting, Pakistan acknowledged to Pranab Mukherjee its commitment and progress regarding the issues of prisoners on humanitarian grounds. Kasuri handed over a list of four judges to India and Pranab Mukherjee has also handed over a list of the relatives of Indian prisoners-of-war who wished to visit Pakistan in April. The joint interaction became another significant development in India and Pakistan relation in order to develop areas for cooperation.

In the next year, the second meeting of the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan was held on 21 May 2008 at Islamabad, Pakistan. In the meeting, they mutually agreed to improve the cross line of Confidence Building Measures with a view to enhance trans-border interactions. The meeting approved to increase the frequency of Muazafarabad -Srinagar and Rawalkot-Poonch Bus services from fortnightly to a weekly basis. It denoted the increase of the passengers from both countries as the result of the bilateral efforts of India and Pakistan. According to the mutual understanding, railway officials of both sides met in June to resolve all the technical issues to enable the cargo service between the Lines-of-Control. Further, both sides agreed to improve the friendly exchange and early finalization of the Visa Agreement to facilitate more people-to-people contact between India and Pakistan.

India and Pakistan conducted a secretary level meeting at Islamabad on 25-26 November 2008 under the framework of the composite dialogue. On the occasion, both sides welcomed the release of prisoners and fishermen as a gesture of goodwill. Both India and Pakistan had mutually released 110 fishermen in the month of November 2008. In the next month, on 31st December 2008, India and Pakistan exchanged the list of names of those who had completed the terms of sentence; they would be released later. It was the successful result of the composite dialogue process between India and Pakistan. India had taken constant efforts to deal the issue at various talks held between India and Pakistan. Vajpayee started the first initiation to consider the issues of fishermen and the civil prisoners in the Lahore declaration. Later, Dr. Manmohan Singh included this issue in the bilateral talks. The work of the judicial committee was appreciated by India and Pakistan. This achievement increased the confidence and faith of both countries. Therefore the role of Non- military Confidence Building Measures and composite dialogues between India and Pakistan has

⁹⁸ Ibid. (2007). P . 4081

proved successful.

India continued its peace efforts for the last five years under the leadership of Dr. Manmohan Singh. He was successful in maintaining the continuity of the bilateral engagement at various levels to increase relations with Pakistan. The composite dialogue process helped India to improve their relations with Pakistan. During this time, transport, economic, cultural and political relations got improved than any previous government of India. Therefore, the role of Non-military Confidence Building Measures and composite dialogues were very significant in the India and Pakistan relation under the UPA-I government.

3.7. Softening Border Approach

In order to make borders irrelevant, Manmohan Singh introduced the approach of softening of the border. He introduced this approach to strengthen the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan through constant trans- border interactions. India and Pakistan agreed to start a number of transportation services between the bordering states. Hence he made attempts to explore the possibility of transport links to the maximum in order to enhance the people-to-people interaction between India and Pakistan. Manmohan Singh focused on transport links as a significant component for India's peace initiative towards Pakistan. The transportation link was critical between India and Pakistan to build the prerequisite of confidence for further peace talks. Hence, the Manmohan Singh government tried to implement more transport relations with Pakistan, they are discussed below.

3.7.1. Munababo and Khokrapar Train Link

Munababo and Khokrapar train service is a substantial development in the peace building process between India and Pakistan. After a series of official level meetings the service came to operation in 2006. This chapter already have mentioned about the various technical and official level meetings conducted regarding this train service. The first meeting regarding the train service was held on 2nd and 3rd September, 2004 at Islamabad.

Munababo and Khokrapur rail link, known as the Thar Express route, is an international train route between India and Pakistan, which connects the Indian state of Rajasthan with Karachi of Pakistan. The train service was interrupted following the 1965 Indo-Pak war. After forty years, the train route was commenced by both governments in

2005, and the train service was started in February 2006.

As part of resuming the bilateral relationship, Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf jointly inaugurated the train service between Munababo and Khokrapur in April 2005. The decision to resume the train service was taken as part of the newly proposed Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan, which had a significant impact on India and Pakistan relationship. The resumption of the bilateral train service helped to increase the confidence and trust between the people of both the countries, especially the bordering Indian states of Rajasthan and Gujarat, and the Pakistan provinces of Karachi and Sindh. The resumption of the trans-border transportation had been a long demand of the people of the both countries along the Line-of-Control. Moreover, the two years of military standoff had increased the tensions and worries in the bordering states of India and Pakistan. Therefore the wholehearted initiation to resume the train service contributed to ease the tensions and hostilities between India and Pakistan.

The commencement of the Munababo-Khokrapur train service was the result of the efforts taken by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh to make the borders irrelevant through more trans-border connection between India and Pakistan. The region had been neglected for a long time compared to the rest of the bordering states of India and Pakistan. There were no other significant efforts to restore the connection between the state of Rajasthan and the Sindh province after the 1965 war. Therefore the resumption of the Munababo-Khokrapur rail link was the one of the important peace initiatives which had a major impact on the India and Pakistan relation.

The Rajasthan and Sindh border is the most peaceful border between India and Pakistan. The Munababo- Khokrapur rail link is the only connecting route between Rajasthan and Sindh. The Rajasthan and Sindh border have had cultural contact between each other for a long time. The border between Sindh and Rajasthan always remained connected even the sealing of the borders late in the 1990s. “There is a strong connection between Sindh and Rajasthan as all the Sodha girls are married across the border into Rajasthan, mainly in Barmer and Jaisalmer districts, as they are close to the border area and share the same culture. After marriage, their movement is restricted by the border and visa requirements, and many of them never return to see their families and homes again.”⁹⁹ At this juncture, the

⁹⁹ Tridivesh Singh Maini. (2013). “Indo-Pak relations and the significance of the Rajasthan–Sindh border”. *Asian Ethnicity*, 14(4), p. 506.

resumption of the Munababo- Khokrapur train service had significant importance in facilitating the movement of the families of both countries, and also had a great impact on the India and Pakistan relations.

The economic significance of the Munababo-Khokrapur train route was another area that could be developed for friendly India-Pakistan relations. There were more opportunities existing between Sindh and Rajasthan. In the pre-independence era, Rajasthan and Sindh had been the primary trade route. Even today it has the possibility to be a major trade between India and Pakistan due to the cultural similarity of the Rajasthan and Sindh provinces. “Henna from Rajasthan and marble from Jodhpur are in great demand in Pakistan, whereas the Tharparkar cow from Sindh is highly sought after in Rajasthan.”¹⁰⁰ Therefore the train service helped to improve the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan.

Even though the Munabao–Khokrapur train service, which was initiated for increasing interactions between people from Rajasthan and Sindh, as well as other part of the countries has failed due to the stringent visa rules. Therefore, the people’s demand that a consulate be opened at Rajasthan was another area for India and Pakistan to improve their mutual confidence. Anyhow, the Munababo and Khokrapur train link had a great impact on India and Pakistan relations and it was a potential factor for peace between India and Pakistan.

3.7.2. Srinagar and Muazafarabad Bus Service

Srinagar and Muzafarabad bus service is another important peace initiative taken by India in the contemporary history of India and Pakistan. Since the bus service connects the two Kashmirs, it has multi level significance between India and Pakistan. It provides a relief for the mutual hostilities of the people of both Kashmirs by creating openings to interact each other.

The Srinagar and Muazafarabad bus service started rolling on 7 April 2005 after an interval of more than fifty years. The success of the Delhi-Lahore bus service boosted such initiations through Non-military Confidence Building Measures. The initiation for the Srinagar and Muazafarabad bus service was the result of the proposed Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. The previous bus service had connected the Indian city of Delhi and the Pakistan city of Lahore. Similarly, the Srinagar

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p.507.

and Muazafarabad bus service connected the capital of Azad Kashmir and the Indian held Kashmir. The Non-military Confidence Building Measures played a great role to interconnect the separated peoples of the two Kashmir and to increase the trans-border connections between India and Pakistan. Since Kashmir remained the main problem between India and Pakistan, the interconnection of the two Kashmirs through the Non-military Confidence Building Measures was a successful initiation between the two countries.

The announcement of the bus service came as a surprise to the people of both Kashmirs, when Kashmiri Chief Minister Mufti Muhammad introduced the proposal for first time. The bus service eased the travel and communication between divided families of both nations. The resumption of the bus service had a great impact on the tensed relations of both India and Pakistan. The people of both sides of the borders had held to the demand for a long time since the road shutdown following the dispute arose between Pakistan and India in 1947 over the accession of the princely state.

The presence of Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf during the inaugural session of the bus service was a great sign of the successful implementation of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. It gave a positive impact to the India- Pakistan relationship in the following years. Therefore the bus service is called as the mother of all Confidence Building Measures. People of both India and Pakistan welcomed this initiative without considering their decades of hostility, as the service was the representation of the aspiration of people of both nations. This improvement in the bilateral relationship of India and Pakistan points to the importance of the people-to-people communication as essential to regain the confidence among both nations. Therefore the Srinagar and Musafarabad bus service was a successful peace initiative between India and Pakistan.

3.7.3. Amritsar and Nankana Sahib Bus Service

The Amritsar and Nakana Sahib Bus service was the third attempt in the series of the bus transportation between India and Pakistan. The Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh inaugurated the new service, which become an important initiative in the history of India and Pakistan relationship, on March 24 in 2006 with high expectations. It was one of the major initiatives to satisfy the long demand of the Sikh people of both India and Pakistan to have a direct bus service between the two Punjabs. By connecting the East- and West-Punjab that was divided by the Radcliff Line 58 years ago through the bus service, an emotional bond was renewed between the two sides of the border. It gave confidence to the

people of both India and Pakistan and it was significantly reflected in their relationship.

The operation of the service was a major step towards the India-Pakistan peace building process. The bus facilitated the passengers' visit to the Golden temple, the birth place of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh faith. Through the initiation, both nations established their intention for more people-to-people contact which helped to promote the friendly bilateral relationship of India and Pakistan. The bus service also helped in increasing the trade and commerce between India and Pakistan. Both nations hoped that more passengers would use the service if the easy availability of the Visas from Amritsar and Lahore were made possible.

In the inaugural speech, Dr. Manmohan Singh clearly stated that the importance of increased bilateral cooperation between India and Pakistan was essential to ensure the peace and security of the people of the region was more important than any other issue which had come in to the centre. Therefore, linking the Kashmir issue as a core issue between India and Pakistan was not suitable for an on- going step-by-step peace process. India and Pakistan needed to work together and cooperate to ensure the prosperity and dignified life of the people of the both countries; therefore the initiation to interlink the people through the bilateral bus service was a significant step between India and Pakistan. Therefore, a significant development was the outcome of the on-going Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

3.7.4. Poonch and Rawalkot Bus Service

The Poonch and Rawalkot bus service came to function after various discussions at various peace talks held between India and Pakistan as part of the Composite Dialogue Process in the previous years. The bus service was started after a joint statement issued by the Pakistan President Musharraf and the Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the end of Musharraf's three-day visit to India in April, 2005. They both agreed to enhance the interaction and cooperation across the line of control. As part of it, they decided to increase more bus and truck services across the borders. "The bus service was started along the Srinagar-Muazafarabad road in April 2005 and the Poonch-Rawalakot route on June 20, 2006, to facilitate easier trade and travel between the divided families of J&K and PoK."¹⁰¹

"The cross-Line of Control bus service has been a major confidence building measure between India and Pakistan to defuse tensions between the two countries by allowing

¹⁰¹ (2017). "Poonch- rawalkot cross- Line of Control bus service likely to resume from Monday after four months". *The Indian Express*, New Delhi.

members of divided families living across the Line of Control re-unite with each other.”¹⁰² The transportation connection was more helpful to visit the divided families of Poonch and Rajouri districts, which had about 50,000 families split by the Line of Control. The bus service was a symbol of friendly and more cooperative neighbouring relations between India and Pakistan.

The cross line-of-control bus service between Poonch –Rawalkot, Jammu- Kashmir, and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir was resumed on 7 September 2008 after being suspended due to the Amarnath agitation. The frequency of the bus service was increased from fortnightly to weekly. Therefore the Poonch and Rawalkot bus service remained as the symbol of strong and stable Non-military confidence measures between India and Pakistan which contributed greatly to the peace process.

3.8. Trade and Commerce

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh was very keen on improving the trade relationship between India and Pakistan. The trade between India and Pakistan had immense potentiality but remained as an un-explored area. The process of globalization and liberalization would promote more cooperation between the countries. Hence Manmohan Singh, the Stalwart Economist, decided to explore the area of Trade and Commerce to improve the relationship with Pakistan. “Currently, the bulk of trade between India and Pakistan trade occurs via third-party transfers and smuggling, leading to corruption and the loss of customs revenue. The reestablishment of pre-Partition patterns of trade and commerce, especially between the two parts of Kashmir, would greatly assist the improvement of mutual relations.”¹⁰³

On 28 and 29 March 2006, India and Pakistan held a talk between Shri S.N. Menon, Commerce Secretary of India and Syed Asif Shah, Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, Pakistan, on Economic and Commercial Cooperation at Islamabad. In the meeting they agreed to facilitate the import of tea from India and that further trade would expand after the signing of the new Shipping Agreement. Further, they discussed the issue of transportation through trains. There were many trade agreements between India and Pakistan during the Manmohan Singh Government. On analysing the trade and commercial relations since the

¹⁰² (2017). “85 person travel to and fro on Poonch- Rawalkot cross- Line of Control bus service”. Kashmir: *Business standard.S*

¹⁰³P. R. Chari. Hasan Askari Rizvi.

Manmohan Singh ministry, it could be seen as a tremendous improvement. The trade increased from 664.00 \$ million in 2004 to 1810.05 \$ Million in 2009. India and Pakistan relations improved hopefully under the Manmohan Singh government.

Except trade, transport and commerce there were also other areas that showed significant improvement such as humanitarian issues and cultural contacts. India took initiation for humanitarian dealings on the issue of fishermen and prisoners. It was agreed to release the fishermen and the prisoners who had been sentenced to jail in both countries under humanitarian grounds. India offered increased medical treatment for Pakistani patients in India. In order to increase the cultural contact, India relaxed the visa restrictions and allowed more people to enter India, especially during the pilgrimage season. These were the some of the major Non-military Confidence Building Measures which India took under the Manmohan Singh towards Pakistan.

3.9. Major Hurdles for Non-military Confidence Building Measures

Last one decade of India and Pakistan relations have improved significantly as the result of the various trust building initiatives of India and Pakistan. The Non- military Confidence Building Measures have effectively brought a state of normalcy between India and Pakistan. However the ground for friendly relations between India and Pakistan is not completely free from the hurdles and challenges from traditional and non-traditional sources. Hence these challenges between India and Pakistan become an obstacle for the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. Some of the major obstacles for the development of the Non- military Confidence Building Measures are given below.

3.9.1. Hostile Relations of India and Pakistan

The hostile relation between India and Pakistan is one of the traditional sources of conflict between India and Pakistan. Their disputes started from the pre independent period and it continues as a curse till the date. This hostility had led them to fight three major wars and small scale skirmishes between them. The uncertainties due to the unfriendliness have become one of the factors affecting the improvement of Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

Religion is one of the basic reasons behind the hostile mind set of the people of the two countries. India is predominated by the Hindu religion and Pakistan is a Muslim majority

country in the South Asian region. The propagation of hatred and misperceptions about the two religions among the people and the leaders of both countries had strong impacts on India and Pakistan relations. Therefore the hostile relations between the two countries had influenced the decision making and policies of the leaders also which prevented a creative and interactive space from emerging. Therefore the endless enmity and the well-rooted prejudices have become a hurdle to the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

3.9.2. Terrorism

Terrorism is another non-traditional reason for the conflict between India and Pakistan. Terrorism is a major factor derailing the peace initiatives between India and Pakistan since the end of the 1980s. Therefore terrorism is one of the hurdles for the development of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

“The term ‘terrorism’ means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.”¹⁰⁴ After the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001, terrorism has become a global issue and has become a major player in all rounds in international debate. The international community has started to unite for a collective defense against terrorism under the banner of ‘war on terror’, and it has become a new international agenda. India whole heartedly became part of this global mission against terrorism.

South Asia is not free from the fears of terrorism; in fact, it is considered as the most fertile land for terrorism-related activities. “According to the 2016 Global Terrorism Index, South Asia is the second-most affected region with three countries in the region ranking among those with the highest impact of terrorism: Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India.”¹⁰⁵ Afghanistan and Pakistan are considered as safe zones for terrorism in South Asia according to the reports available. In South Asia, India and Pakistan are the two countries engaged in conflict in the name of terrorism. Since the latter half of the 1980s, India is experiencing

¹⁰⁴Scott Atran. (2003). “Genesis of Suicide Terrorism”. *Science*, 299 (5612), p.1534-1539.

¹⁰⁵Rafia Bhulai &Naureen Chowdhury Fink. (2016, December). “Strengthening Regional Cooperation to Prevent and Counter Violent Extremism in South Asia”. Retrieved December 2016, from *Global Center on Cooperative Security*.

the outcome of Pakistan- supported terrorist activities in Jammu and Kashmir and other parts of India. It further deteriorated the friendly relationship between India and Pakistan.

India maintains a 'zero tolerance' policy against terrorism, whether inside or outside Indian Territory. India is cooperating with US war on terror campaign; India has never allowed any part of her territory to be used for terrorist activities. Similarly, India warned Pakistan to cut all support for terrorism and to stop allowing Pakistan territory to be used for any terrorist activities. Therefore, India continuously demanded Pakistan to stop the trans-border terrorism which operates with the aim of destabilizing India. Even though Pakistan joined with U.S.-led counterterrorism alliance in 2001, Pakistan did not stop supporting terrorism against India. Hence, terrorism became a hurdle for the friendly coexistence between India and Pakistan.

In 2004, international pressure compelled Pakistan to take strong action on terrorism against India. "Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf assured Prime Minister Vajpayee that he would not allow any part of the territory under Pakistan's control used to support terrorism against India."¹⁰⁶ Still the Pakistan supported terrorist activities disturbed India by the Mumbai train blast and Mumbai terrorist attacks in 2008. This contributed to the reasons for stopping the bilateral ties between these two countries. Pakistan backing militancy in Jammu and Kashmir is continuing as another hindrance for the peace initiations between India and Pakistan. Therefore terrorism is one of the major obstacles for the growth of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

3.9.3. Nature of the Governments

The nature and ideology of the governments in both the countries is an influencing factor for the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. India is a larger democracy in the world and every five year the government is changed in India and in some occasions the change happens before the tenure also due to the lack of confidence/ majority in the parliament. Congress' single party dominance continued in the first quarter of Indian political history. Since 1999 onwards India had successive coalition governments at the centre. NDA and UPA constituted governments in India from 1999. Coalition government is a very complex political system as it is a combination of various regional and national political parties forming government on the basis of pre-poll and post-

¹⁰⁶Zahoor Ahmad Malik &G.K. Sharma. (2014). India-Pakistan peace process during UPA government. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*, 2(3),240-244

poll alliance.

Decision making and foreign policy formulation process in a coalition government is very complex and difficult task since India follows a federal system of government. The regional politics of the country has a significant influence on the foreign policies of India. For example the regional politics of Tamil Nadu has great influence on India's foreign policy regarding Sri Lanka Similarly the Kashmir regional politics affects Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan. Therefore such difficulties pose an obstacle to the Non-military Confidence Building Measures towards Pakistan. So in a coalition system the regional parties have more powerful influence on the central government of India. Therefore it affects the decision making power of the leaders. Hence the coalition nature of Indian government is a barrier to the successful implementation of Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan as confidence building is a long process and it needs more consistency and continuity.

More over the political instability of Pakistan is another factor affecting the Non-military Confidence Building Measures initiatives between India and Pakistan. India does not believe in the un- democratic military rule of Pakistan. Pakistan military had often overpowered the democratic government of Pakistan and it brought political instability in Pakistan. The political instability is a declining factor for the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. Some sects of fundamental organisations of Pakistan are not ready to accept Pakistan's compromise over Kashmir because they think it undermines their claim over Kashmir that it belongs to Pakistan. Hence the political nature of India and Pakistan is another hindrance to the Non-military initiatives between India and Pakistan.

3.9.4 Lack of Policy

There are no formally agreed policies existing regarding either Confidence Building Measures or Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. It becomes one of the reasons for the failure of the effectiveness of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. Generally each government is taking its own Non-military initiatives according to the demand of the situation. There are no proper instructions and agreements between the two countries. Presently both countries initiate the Non-military Confidence Building Measures on the basis of any signed agreement such as Simla agreement of 1972, Lahore agreement of 1999, etc. So lacking a permanent

policy is one of the reasons for the failure of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. These are some of the basic reasons for the failures or obstacles for the Non- military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

3.10. Conclusion

The hostile relationship between India and Pakistan was significantly reduced during the UPA-I government under the leadership of Dr.Manmohan Singh. The resultant of the composite dialogue and Non-military Confidence Building Measures lasted for five years between India and Pakistan. The continuous and steady efforts under the framework of composite dialogues maintained the friendly and stable relations of India and Pakistan. His cautious and step-by-step approaches carried forward the good terms between India and Pakistan. Dr. Manmohan Singh improved the bilateral relations through multilevel contact and cooperation with Pakistan.

Through the Trans-border interactions, he increased the confidence of the people of both countries. The transportation services between Srinagar and Muzafarabad, Poonch and Rawalkot, and Amritsar and Lahore helped to remove the hostilities of the people of both sides. He extended India's cooperation in the economic, commerce and trade relations by implementing a Joint-study group for economics and commerce, and also introduced an overland truck service between Srinagar and Muzafarabad. The trade relations of India and Pakistan began through the Tea trade agreement signed in 2006. Due to his series of efforts, India and Pakistan relations flourished more than ever before. Therefore the role of Non-military Confidence Building Measures was successful in maintaining a stable and friendly bilateral relation with Pakistan under the UPA-I government.

CHAPTER 4

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF NON- MILITARY CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

CHAPTER 4

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF NON- MILITARY CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapters had taken a brief look at the various peace measures initiated by A.B. Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh as the Prime Ministers of India. This chapter makes a critical analysis of the various Non-military Confidence Building Measures which were undertaken by the NDA-I and UPA-I governments of India. Since 1999, the two successive governments of India had relied more upon Non-military Confidence Building Measures to overcome the hostilities and strengthen the relationship with Pakistan.

There have been many attempts to strengthen the healthy relationship between India and Pakistan since the partition itself. Military Confidence Building Measures were prominent among them. Military Confidence Building Measures were a kind of confidence-building mechanism that was used to prevent hostilities, to avert escalation of violence, to reduce military tensions, and to build mutual trust between the hostile countries. Such a mechanism was implemented between India and Pakistan in 1971 through a hotline between the Director General of Military Officers (DGMOs), Direct Communication Lines between Sector Commander across the Line- of-Control in 1991, and a hotline between the Prime Ministers in 1997. The latter period found that military Confidence Building Measures were not satisfactory to deal with the issues between India and Pakistan. Therefore the Non-military Confidence Building Measures came into the discussions.

The first incident of Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan took place in 1951 with Jawaharlal Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan in the form the devaluation of money immediately after the Partition of pre-Independent India. The Indus Water Treaty of 1960 was the second attempt and it was also the first successful Non-military CBM between India and Pakistan. It was the Vajpayee government that brought out the real significance of Non-military Confidence Building Measures in the context of India and Pakistan relations. His insightful acts made a lot of changes in the countries and opened

up new possibilities have been discussed in the previous chapter. Dr. Manmohan Singh, who succeeded Vajpayee as the Prime Minister, took India and Pakistan relations to great heights. He introduced a series of Non-military Confidence Building Measures and peace initiatives under the framework of the composite dialogue in order to strengthen the bilateral relationship of India and Pakistan which have already been discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore this chapter will analyze the Non-military Confidence Building Measures under the NDA-I and UPA-I governments of India during the period from 1999 to 2009.

4.2.1. Political Context of India–Pakistan Relations, and NDA-I and UPA-I Governments

It is necessary to understand the political context of India and Pakistan relations during Vajpayee's and Manmohan Singh's accession to the position of the Indian Prime Minister. Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh served as the Prime Ministers of India at a critical juncture of the South Asian political arena during the 1990s. South Asia is one among the volatile regions in the world due to many issues like religious chauvinism, minority and ethnic conflicts, separatism, terrorism, and boundary conflicts among the neighbouring countries. India and Pakistan were the two predominant countries of the region that remained in conflict for more than seven decades from the partition of 1947. The conflict over Kashmir has been loomed as the major reasons for the hostility between India and Pakistan.

During the passage of history, the traditional enmity transformed into war three times, and has increased the hostility between India and Pakistan. In the second half of the 1990s, the traditional hostility of India and Pakistan transformed into a complex nuclear threat following the nuclear experiments of India and Pakistan in 1998. The political instabilities of Pakistan became a major security concern for South Asia in the wake of the nuclearization of the region. "Indian leaders are alarmed by the growing influence of radical Islamists in Pakistan and the weakening influence of liberals. Any prospect of instability in Pakistan threatens India the most."¹⁰⁷ Further, the international community was worried about the possibility of the unwise use of nuclear weapons by the non-state actors in Pakistan. Such was the political scenario of South Asia when A.B.Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh took their roles as Prime Ministers of India. Therefore the leadership of A.B. Vajpayee and Dr Manmohan Singh has been under the keen observation of the international community, as to

¹⁰⁷ Amit Pande. (2011, May 25). "India-Pakistan: Hand of Friendship." Retrieved June 2015, from *Huff post*:https://www.huffingtonpost.com/aparna-pande/india-pakistan-hand-of-friendship_b_829164.html

how they dealt with Pakistan. This was highly crucial for the South Asian security parameter. Therefore A.B. Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh started their attempts boldly to suppress all worries and break the ice between India and Pakistan through their sincere and constant peace initiatives with Pakistan.

During the 1990s, India and Pakistan relations went through various difficulties and conflicts, along with new changes. In 1998, Vajpayee became the Prime Minister of India under the coalition of the right wing political parties called NDA-I government. But it did not last long. The next year, in October 1999, he faced a vote of confidence and regained power and took charge for the second consecutive term. When Vajpayee became the Prime Minister of India, the relationship between India and Pakistan was stricken by the ISI supported militancy in Indian-held Kashmir, which reached its peak in the 1990s. Further, the relationship became more complex when Benazir Bhutto promised support to the militancy in Kashmir during her visit to Pakistan-held Kashmir on 13 March 1990. "It was under these circumstances that Pakistan implicitly threatened to use nuclear weapons if India intervened militarily, across the Line of Control."¹⁰⁸ It increased the risk of war between India and Pakistan. Such was the background of the India and Pakistan relation when Vajpayee took charge as the Prime Minister of India.

Dr. Manmohan Singh was sworn in as the 14th Prime Minister of India on 22nd May 2004. He was the successor of the Vajpayee-led NDA-I government. India and Pakistan relation was recovering after two years of military standoff in the Line- of-Control. The ceasefire agreement of 2003 and the Islamabad peace proposal improved the India and Pakistan relations. This was the context in which Dr.Manmohan Singh took charge as the 14th Prime Minister of India. Therefore these political contexts have significantly affected their policies and programmes towards Pakistan.

Dr. Manmohan Singh focused more on a structured and step-by-step approach towards Pakistan rather than Vajpayee's unilateral initiative-this was the prime difference between them. Vajpayee did not precede any style of action rather than the unilateral initiation. The nature of India-Pakistan relations influenced their differences in approach. During the NDA-I government, India and Pakistan faced two hard crises- the Kargil war in 1999 and the Military standoff in 2002. Both crises lasted for more than a year. During the

¹⁰⁸ 1990 Indo-Pakistan Crisis."(1990).RetrievedApril2016, from *globalsecurity.org*:
<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/indo-pak-1990.htm>

crises, all contacts between India and Pakistan were suspended. The relations remained more or less motionless. Therefore Vajpayee put forward his unilateral peace effort such as Lahore bus diplomacy and hand of friendship in Kashmir.

On the other hand, Dr. Manmohan Singh did not face any crisis except the Mumbai terrorist attacks in 2008. When he was in power, India and Pakistan were moving towards friendly relations. Therefore he was free to initiate more bilateral relations with Pakistan. His attempts were to improve the already smooth relations between India and Pakistan. This basic difference between Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh was reflected in their approaches towards Pakistan.

4.2.2. Nature of NDA-I and UPA-I Governments

The National Democratic Alliance-I and United Progressive Alliance-I was the two successive coalition governments that ruled India for one decade (1999-2009) under the leadership of A.B. Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh respectively. The NDA-I government was the first non-Congress coalition government in India to complete its tenure. The NDA-I government was a right-wing coalition of political parties in India led by the Bharathiya Janatha Party. The NDA-I government was formed in 1998 with the support of thirteen political parties in India. But in April 1999, NDA- lost its power “when the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kashagam (AIADMK) withdrew its support. This withdrawal resulted in the dissolution and a new general election, which they won with new partners in October 1999.”¹⁰⁹ This time 24 parties gave support to form a new government under the leadership of A.B. Vajpayee. The Shiv Sena of Maharashtra, Telugu Desam Party of Andhra Pradesh, and DMK of Tamilnadu were the major regional parties included in the NDA alliance. The government completed the five-year tenure in office and became the first non-congress government to complete the duration of five years of governance.

The NDA-I government lost its power in the next general elections in 2004. The people's discomfort with NDA government reflected in the next Lok Sabha elections. The BJP failed to keep its majority due to many incidents that happened in India during the NDA government rule. The Godhra train incident opened a large- scale sectarian violence in Gujarat, which killed many Muslims and Hindus in the state in 2002. The riots between

¹⁰⁹Chris Ogden. (2012). “A Lasting Legacy: The BJP-led National Democratic Alliance and India's Politics”. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 42(1), p.25.

Hindus and Muslims spread over the state but the Chief Minister of Gujarat, Narendra Modi failed to stop the rampage across the state. These incidents frustrated the people causing BJP to lose the next general elections, and Congress managed to form a new coalition government in the Centre.

The Congress regained its power at the Centre with 145 seats. Since no party was in a position to form a government, the Congress formed a coalition government called the United Progressive Alliance-I. The United Progressive Alliance-I government was the second coalition government of India which completed its tenure. The UPA-I government was formed with the help of centre-left-wing political parties in India on May 10th 2004. The Left Front (59), and Samajwadi Party (39) Rashtriya Janatha Dal (23) Bahujan Samaj Party (19) and Dravida Munnetra Kazhanjiam (16) were the main political parties that gave support to form the government at the centre under the leadership of Dr. Manmohan Singh. The Dr. Manmohan Singh -led coalition government survived a vote of confidence in the Parliament on 22 July 2008 after the Left Front withdrew their support when India signed the Civil Nuclear Agreement with the United States. The UPA-I government worked on the basis of National Common Minimum Program (NCMP).

When the coalition government was formed with the alliance of many political parties it seemed a difficult task to prioritize the affairs of national interests and formulate policies and programs related to the foreign affairs of the government. The federalist setup and the personal interest of the regional political parties have often led to conflicts between the Central and State governments. All the successive governments of India have faced the dilemma of foreign policy while dealing with the issues related to Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Bangladesh etc The affiliations of Indian Tamils and Sri Lankan Tamils, the Bengal and Bangladesh refugees, and Kashmiri people and Pakistan were the major reasons for dilemmas of the Indian government as it would directly influence the vote bank politics of the political parties of India. However, this being the fact, Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh did not allow this tendency to destroy the friendly bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan during under their governance. The NDA-I and UPA-I governments took the India- Pakistan relations to new horizons of hope and successful bilateral friendly relations than any other government before them.

Vajpayee's Lahore declaration in 1999 and the ceasefire on Line of Control in 2003 were the most influential and path-breaking peace initiatives in the history of India and

Pakistan. Vajpayee's Lahore visit was a historical peace initiation in the India and Pakistan relations. Vajpayee visited Pakistan even when his own government and country opposed and criticized him for the plan to visit Pakistan. But the visit changed the political nature of India-Pakistan bilateral relations as well as South Asian politics. The effort redirected India and Pakistan relations into a new dimension towards peaceful and friendly bilateral relations, and further it rewrote a new history for India and Pakistan relations. However, the new dynamics between India and Pakistan were struck by the Kargil incidents and the twin terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament and the Legislative Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir in 2001. Following these incidents, the relationship worsened and moved to the verge of a nuclear confrontation. However, Vajpayee's unilateral hand of friendship eased the worries and tensions about a nuclear confrontation in the Line of Control in 2003. These two peace efforts were the key events that influenced the subsequent India and Pakistan relations.

Dr. Manmohan Singh pursued the efforts of Vajpayee actively through the constant composite dialogue process. Through the composite dialogue process, Dr. Manmohan Singh addressed all the bilateral issues between India and Pakistan. He promoted a series of bilateral talks to address the various issues between India and Pakistan under the framework of the composite dialogue. This enabled to remove the hostilities and trust deficit between India and Pakistan for a friendly neighboring relationship. Therefore it seems that the BJP-led NDA-I and the Congress-led UPA-I governments were more successful in making India and Pakistan relationship more friendly and cooperative than any other non-coalition government in India. The Non- military Confidence Building Measures helped to build new relations between India and Pakistan. Therefore, it is important to analyse the nature of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures which were initiated under the leadership of A.B.Vajpayee and Dr.Manmohan Singh during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments.

4.2.3. Nature of Non-military CBMs of NDA-I and UPA-I

Confidence Building Measures is a peace building mechanism between the two or more confronted nations in international politics. Confidence Building Measures are classified as military Confidence Building Measures and Non-military Confidence Building Measures. Military Confidence Building Measures are mainly used to prevent armed conflict and escalation of war between two conflicting nations, whereas, Non-military Confidence Building Measures are used to prevent all conflict and in normalizing the conflicting

relationship of the hostile countries. India has used both kinds of Confidence Building Measures in its effort to normalize the conflicting relations with Pakistan since its formation. Military Confidence Building Measures were in the forefront of the India and Pakistan relation as they had fought three major wars till date. India changed its stringent approach towards Pakistan soon after the nuclearisation of South Asia in 1998. Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh were the two Prime Ministers who ruled India under the banner of NDA-I and UPA-I governments respectively from 1998 to 2009. They brought a soft and flexible approach in their foreign policy matters towards Pakistan.

Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh were mainly dependent upon the Non-military peace building mechanism to improve the strained political relationships between India and Pakistan. The Non-military Confidence Building Measures were the back bone of Vajpayee's and Dr. Manmohan Singh's bilateral relationships with Pakistan. Non-military Confidence Building Measures are important peace building mechanisms as they provide a wider area of opportunities for bilateral cooperation. In the case of India and Pakistan relations, a consistent and serious bilateral cooperation was urgently required to maintain the friendly relationship between India and Pakistan. The necessity of the bilateral cooperation and engagement increased since the military confrontation had transformed into a nuclear threat between India and Pakistan. Therefore, both Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh gave more priority to Non-military Confidence Building Measures, which was critically important in the nuclearized atmosphere of South Asia.

Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh employed Non-military Confidence Building Measures as a major foreign policy mechanism in order to develop friendly bilateral relations with Pakistan. They both explored the wider scope and opportunities of the non-military Confidence Building Measures through a relentless bilateral engagement in the multi-dimensional area of India and Pakistan relations. As a result, India and Pakistan relations significantly improved and it changed the security structure of the South Asian political arena. However, there are some differences in the policies of Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh. Vajpayee was a unilateral peace initiator and silence-breaker, since he unilaterally initiated the Lahore peace proposal and a ceasefire in the Line of Control in 2003, which channelized India and Pakistan relations into more friendly and healthy relationships.

On the other hand, Dr. Manmohan Singh continued the peace initiatives which had been introduced by Vajpayee government. Furthermore, he initiated the talks on various

levels- between the multi-layered Diplomats, Bureaucrats, Ministers and Prime Ministerial-level talks between India and Pakistan. Another difference from Vajpayee is that Manmohan Singh guaranteed further follow-up of the peace initiatives to carry forward the momentum of the peace process of India and Pakistan. Dr.Manmohan Singh initiated many Non-military Confidence Building Measures to endorse the people-to-people relations between which were highly necessary to increase the confidence of India and Pakistan. He tried to achieve this through various bilateral operations such as transportation, trade and cultural contact with Pakistan.

4.2.4. Approaches of NDA-I and UPA-I towards Pakistan

Since the enrolment of NDA-I and UPA-I into the power centre of the Indian government, they both maintained a friendly concept of India and adopted an accommodative and more feasible policy towards its neighbours. Both the NDA-I and UPA-I governments' approach towards Pakistan was more flexible, practical and friendly since it was declared as a nuclear-powered nation in 1998. A.B.Vajpayee and Dr.Manmohan Singh carried out visionary approaches towards Pakistan to remove the prevailing tensions and distrust between India and Pakistan.

Under the rule of Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh, India changed its traditional standpoint towards Pakistan according to the international and regional political changes. In the post-cold war period, the international community needed restraint from confrontation and hostility. Thus, they set up a friendly and more collaborative approach towards the international community. During this period, India relaxed its hard-stance that "there is no talk with Pakistan until Pakistan stop the terrorist activities against India and Kashmir". India intimated her willingness to discuss all the issues including Kashmir. It was a sincere and significant effort from the side of India, since the years of policies and programs had failed to block the rising tensions and suspicions between the two countries.

Hence, they believed that improving the trust through the Non-military Confidence Building Measures was the best possible approach for the problem solving between India and Pakistan. However, India's viable dealings with Pakistan were never at the cost of India's sovereignty or at the cost of security. Such approaches were taken after a detailed analysis of the past history and methods which did not bring any permanent solutions between the two nations. Therefore, they revised their conventional stand which had been a major roadblock

to their friendly relationship. The NDA-I government and UPA-I governments decided to adopt flexible policies towards Pakistan which enabled them to reduce the hostility and mistrust that prevailed between India and Pakistan. These were the basic approaches which India followed under the NDA-I and UPA-I governments towards Pakistan.

4.3.1. Factors Favouring Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan

The conflicting relationship between India and Pakistan had been derailing the political atmosphere of the South Asian region for more than seven decades. However, some of the problems were solved bilaterally and some of them were being in the process to reach a stable and final solution. The history of conflict and peace initiatives is a parallel process between India and Pakistan. At whatever time conflict arose between India and Pakistan, the peace initiatives also were being affected at the same time between them. First, the India and Pakistan war ended after protracted negotiations; finally, a ceasefire came to exist between them by the mediation of the United Nations at the request of the Indian government. Therefore the study has analysed that there are certain factors which always contribute proactively and substantially to the peace efforts between India and Pakistan. Such factors had a great influence on the Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. They are discussed below:

4.3. 2. Historical Legacy

The history of India and Pakistan is one of the major factors that always influence the peace efforts of India and Pakistan, as they remained a single entity until it was divided on the basis of the religion in 1947. The Radcliffe line divided British India into two nations, where the Hindus and Muslims had previously lived harmoniously and peacefully. Further, it divided the villages and families of pre- independent India as two Independent nations known as India and Pakistan. Hence, the history of India and Pakistan acts as an influencing factor of their foreign policy.

Inder Kumar Gujral, who was the 13th Prime Minister of India, introduced the ‘Gujral Doctrine’ while he was serving as the Minister of External Affairs in the H.D. Deve Gowda ministry in 1996. The Gujral Doctrine was basically designed to improve better relations with the neighbouring countries, particularly between India and Pakistan. Even though there are seven neighbouring countries for India, Pakistan is the only country that remained hostile and with which India improved the bilateral relations by the implementation of the Gujral

Doctrine.

India and Pakistan had a very close historical relation and cultural bond between them. Therefore, India has been trying to increase the people-to-people relations with Pakistan through various Non-military Confidence Building Measures such as transportation, cultural contact, trade and economic interactions. The first attempt at people-to-people relations was when “India unilaterally announced in 1997 several concessions to Pakistan tourists, particularly the elder citizens and cultural groups, in regard to visa fees and police reporting”. Later, Prime Ministers like Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh worked tremendously to increase the people-to-people relations to ensure the upkeep of the historical relations between India and Pakistan by which their relations have improved.

The Non-military Confidence Building Measures such as the Lahore bus diplomacy, Srinagar and Muazafarabad, and Poonch and Rawalkot bus services were the some of the important Non-military Confidence Building Measures which India had implemented to ensure the historical and cultural relation of India and Pakistan. Therefore the historical legacy became one of the major factors influencing the Non- military Confidence Building Measures of India and Pakistan.

4.3.3. Nuclear Threat

The South Asian region is one of the most problematic regions in the world. The nature of interstate and intrastate conflict and the nuclear capacities of India and Pakistan make the region as a most dangerous nuclear flashpoint of the world. This nuclear threat and the conflicting nature of the South Asian nation-states made the South Asian region as most insecure and dangerous spot of the world. The nuclear experiment of India and Pakistan in 1998 drastically changed the security concerns of the South Asian region. The traditional hostilities among the nation states, especially between India and Pakistan geared into a nuclear threat. Therefore improving the bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan became a crucial factor for avoiding nuclear confrontation in South Asia. Hence the nuclear worries of South Asia become a favourable factor to adopt the Non-military CBM between India and Pakistan.

The nuclear experiments of India and Pakistan in 1998 had invited wide international condemnation. “The United Nations Security Council passed a resolution condemning the tests and renewed efforts to pressure the two countries to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). By law, the United States was required to impose immediate economic

sanctions on both countries.”¹¹⁰ Why was the international community so worried? Because the region was already in conflict. The two dominant powers of the region, India and Pakistan, had already fought three wars and were often engaged in clashes. This particular crisis was enough to make the international community worried. Therefore the nuclear capabilities of India and Pakistan became a serious agenda for the international community. Hence, it became a great responsibility for India and Pakistan towards the international community to keep maximum restraint from nuclear conflict since they are non-signatories of the NPT. Since the entry of India and Pakistan into the nuclear club, the equations of the political relation of India and Pakistan changed into a complex phase. Therefore it became another challenge to the diplomats and bureaucrats of India, particularly those who deal with the foreign affairs of India and Pakistan.

The nuclear experiment of India and Pakistan was a statement to the world that, they were capable of developing nuclear weapons. According to the data shown by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the non-signatories of NPT, India and Pakistan, had developed 120 to 130 and 130 to 140 nuclear warheads respectively till date. Both India and Pakistan have developed many long- range and short- range missile with the capacities of striking the entire South Asian region. Pakistan developed Abadali-I, a supersonic missile which could hit targets at 180 KM; Ghauri-II, a surface-to-surface medium-range ballistic missile which could hit targets at 2000 to 2500 KM; and Ghauri –III, a ballistic missile with range of 3000 to 5,500 Km are some of the nuclear weapons that Pakistan developed on-par with India. Therefore Pakistan's nuclear development and combined with its lack of a nuclear doctrine will continue to be a major challenge to the securities of India and South Asia.

The limited war in Kargil and the military standoff in 2001 brought a serious concern about the need of a nuclear policy for India, because these two incidents happened immediately after the nuclear experiments of India and Pakistan in 1998. The Kargil incident in 1999 came as a sudden shock to the ambitious Lahore peace process of A.B Vajpayee. It raised many security questions related with India’s trust of Pakistan, especially with Pakistan’s statement that they would “never hesitate to use the nuclear weapon against India if the sovereignty of Pakistan is threatened” in the wake of the military standoff in 2001. It increased the nuclear worries of India and the doubt about the nuclear policies of Pakistan.

¹¹⁰ India and Pakistan on the Brink: The 1998 Nuclear Tests”. (2014, July). Retrieved February Tuesday, 2017, from *Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training*: <https://adst.org/2014/07/india- and-pakistan-on-the-brink-the-1998-nuclear-tests/>

Therefore “the backdrop shaping the debate is the pressing need to discover options to produce de-escalation or deter an escalation in Pakistan’s sub-conventional war.”¹¹¹

In 2003, India implemented a nuclear doctrine after five years of the nuclear experiment in 1998 as first step to avoid confusions and misunderstanding about India’s nuclear policy. The nuclear doctrine envisaged a ‘No First Use’ and the assurance of a ‘massive retaliation’ response to a nuclear strike. India clearly stated that the nuclear development of India is only for a defensive purpose rather than offensive activities. Therefore, it was very urgent and necessary to eradicate the misunderstanding and mistrust between India and Pakistan through constant bilateral cooperation and conversation

The improvement of bilateral relations with Pakistan became an important responsibility of Indian diplomats as any serious provocation to Pakistan would most likely lead to a nuclear confrontation. Therefore, increasing the mutual cooperation with Pakistan in different areas for an indefinite period was the only way for India to avoid such incidents in the future. In this way, the Non-military Confidence Building Measures were very important in promoting mutual cooperation between India and Pakistan. Therefore the nuclear threat between India and Pakistan has become one of the major factors which favoured the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

4.3.4. Role of the United Nations between India and Pakistan

The United Nations is an intergovernmental organization established on 24 October 1945 to upkeep international order and to protect peace and security. India and Pakistan are two active members among the 193 Members of the United Nations. “India was among the original members of the United Nations that signed the Declaration by United Nations at Washington on 1 January 1942 and also participated in the historic UN Conference on International Organization at San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945.”¹¹² Pakistan became a member of the UN on September 13th, 1947. The UN played a significant role in solving international problems, as well as playing an important role to solve the first India-Pakistan war in 1948. Moreover, there were many occasions where the UN provided a neutral venue for bilateral talks between India and Pakistan. Therefore the UN facilitated the

¹¹¹ Zorawar Daulet Singh. (2017). “Is India’s Nuclear Doctrine Credible”. *Journal of Defence Studies*, 11 (1), p.111.

¹¹² “India and the United Nations”. Ministry of External Affairs (n-d) Retrieved 2017 23, March, From *Government of India*

opportunity for more bilateral talks and cooperation between India and Pakistan.

The UN was an international organization which promoted international peace and security through social, economic and political cooperation. Currently, the UN is functioning with 193 member states. The UN has certain principles and rules to favour friendship and cooperation to avoid another world war. The entire member states are expected to obey the UN Charter and act according to its principles. At this juncture, the relationship between India and Pakistan becomes very crucial. Even though, both are signatories of UN, both nations remaining enmity since their formation in 1947

The third principle of the UN Charter requires its member states to settle their international disputes by peaceful means. This principle is therefore very relevant to India and Pakistan. Even though there is enmity between India and Pakistan, efforts have been taken bilaterally and sometimes through mediation to reach a peaceful solution. India and Pakistan have managed their crises many times through bilateral talks such as the Lahore summit, Agra summit, and the ceasefire agreement of 2003. If India and Pakistan cooperate in respect of the UN Charter Principle Three, the enmity could be eliminated and they can achieve peace and prosperity. In 2003, India and Pakistan have agreed that they would not resort to any threat by the use of force in any situation in the wake of the ceasefire violation in respect of the fourth principle of the UN.

The history of UN intervention in India-Pakistan relations started from the very next year of the partition of British India. The UN has taken many efforts to solve the issues between India and Pakistan at various stages of time. In 1948, the UNSC made resolution 39 to set up an UN Commission for India and Pakistan to settle the disputes following the first India-Pak war. In 1949, India and Pakistan accepted the ceasefire line by signing the Karachi agreement under the mediation of the UNMOGIP. Similarly, in 1965, the UNMOGIP intervened in the affairs of India and Pakistan after the ceasefire violation in the Rann of Kutch area. The Security Council's resolution 211 (1965) asked for withdrawal of all military personnel from both sides of the ceasefire line and to hold the positions held prior to 5 August. In the same year, an observer group (UNIPOM) was setup temporarily to look into the breaches of the ceasefire line on the Jammu and Kashmir. These are the some of the measures taken by the UN regarding India and Pakistan issues which helped to normalize their relations.

The UN served as a neutral platform many times for India and Pakistan to resume

their relations. The UN witnessed the bilateral talks between India and Pakistan that had been stuck due to crises on several occasions. In 2003, the UN was the neutral venue for India and Pakistan to reach an agreement to cool off the worries and tensions across the line of control after the breakdown of their relations due to the military standoff in 2001.

Similarly, in 2004, the UN became a venue for the first meeting of India's newly elected Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf. The meeting created the general mood of flexibility towards the hard-core issues like Kashmir and terrorism. Both the leaders showed optimism towards friendly relations, and they consciously kept away from the issues which had blocked their past peace efforts such as terrorism and issue of Kashmir.

The first face-to-face meeting between Dr. Manmohan Singh and Musharraf was held at New York in the sidelines of the UN General Assembly meeting in 2004. Musharraf warmly welcomed the Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and the meeting of the two leaders made the atmosphere emotional. Both Manmohan Singh and Musharraf wished for the early implementation of the composite dialogue which was initiated at the Islamabad meeting in the month of January 2004 between Vajpayee and Musharraf. It was a good gesture on the part of the two leaders towards peaceful and friendly relationships. Therefore Manmohan Singh and Musharraf wished to carry on the dialogue process forward in the sidelines of the summit meeting in New York. This meeting was a new beginning of friendly relations between India and Pakistan.

4.3.5. SAARC and Non-military CBMs of India and Pakistan

SAARC is a regional organization of South Asian countries established in 1985. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Maldives are the founding members of SAARC. In 2007, Afghanistan joined as the eighth member country of SAARC. SAARC is designed for economic, cultural, technological and educational cooperation among the South Asian countries. Most of the countries are affected by the civil war, ethnic conflict, and religious conflict. South Asia is a poverty stricken area and a region of underdeveloped countries. Therefore regional cooperation was relevant to improve the socio-cultural and economic conditions of the SAARC countries.

India and Pakistan are the two powerful and hostile countries in South Asia. They have been carrying long hostilities over seven decades. The nature of their enmity had

become a cause of concern in the South Asian region. The complexities of the hostile relations of India and Pakistan increased with their nuclear tests. This complex relationship between India and Pakistan was a major security threat to the entire region of South Asia as well as to the regional cooperation. Therefore the role of SAARC in promoting the regional cooperation is considered very important. SAARC promotes cooperation between the member states. Since India and Pakistan are hostile countries, the role of SAARC was essential to reduce their hostility. Therefore SAARC has had an influential role increasing the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

“It is important to mention here that on earlier occasions, Indian and Pakistani leaders have used the SAARC forum to have meaningful discussions that have led to significant breakthroughs in bilateral relations.”¹¹³ The first summit of SAARC held at Dhaka in 1985 had reduced suspicions between India and Pakistan. The atmosphere of suspicion cleared after a fruitful meeting between Rajiv Gandhi and Muhammad Khan Junejo in 1986 followed by the discussions held between Rajiv Gandhi and General Zia in the sideline of the first SAARC meeting. The fourth summit of SAARC held at Islamabad was successful in lessening the tensions between India and Pakistan. The summit brought a “breakthrough in view of softening stand of India and Pakistan on the disputed areas.”¹¹⁴ Both the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto had been impressed with the new dynamics of India and Pakistan. On, Rajiv Gandhi did not forget to praise Benazir Bhutto for “encouraging prospects of enduring friendship and goodwill between the two countries.”¹¹⁵ It was a successful attempt to address the conflicting issues of India and Pakistan under the SAARC framework.

The Colombo summit in 1999 was very significant as it was held after the nuclear tests of India and Pakistan. The nuclear experiment had created a far-reaching impact on the political atmosphere of the South Asian region. The tests brought suspicions and speculations into the minds of the people of both countries about the political relationship between India and Pakistan. It changed the nature of hostility between India and Pakistan. Following the nuclear experiments, the South Asian region had turned into a paranoid realm. Therefore the meeting of both Prime Ministers in the 10th summit of SAARC was of much importance for India-Pakistan relations. Moreover, it was not postponed or cancelled as had happened

¹¹³ .S. Pattanaik. (2004). “Indo-Pak Relations and the SAARC Summits”. *Strategic Analysis*, 28 (3), p.430.

¹¹⁴ Mussarat Jabeen, Muhammad Saleem Mazhar & Naheed S. Goraya (2010). “SAARC and Indo-Pak Relationship”. *Journal of Political Studies*, 17(2), pp.127-145.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

previously.

“There have been numerous causes of recurrent postponement/ cancellation of SAARC Summits. The most significant among them include members bilateral disputes; political problems and contentious issues, with India being a party in almost all of them; members internal problems such as political instability, unrest, general elections, insurgencies, and economic recessions lack of adequate infrastructure and resources on the part of some SRCs to organise the regional event; and natural calamities.”¹¹⁶

Even though the bilateral relations of India and Pakistan derailed after the nuclear tests, it did not affect the 10th summit of SAARC. More than that, the summit provided opportunities for the two Prime Ministers, Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif, to meet. Hence, the meeting helped to ease the tensions and worries of the people of India and Pakistan and brought a ray of hope between the two countries.

The same pragmatism was shown in 2001 when the borders of India and Pakistan were disturbed by the troop mobilisation following the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament. However, the SAARC summit was held as scheduled on 28th and 29th December 2001 at Kathmandu in Nepal. The twelfth SAARC Summit was a significant development towards the peace process between India and Pakistan. Even though the Summit was held at Islamabad, Pakistan did not raise the Kashmir issue in the Summit, so as to boost the peace process between India and Pakistan. Similarly, India and Pakistan used the platform of the SAARC Summit as an occasion to regain the mutual trust which was lost in the wake of the 26/11 attacks.

From all these, it can understand how SAARC acted as a factor in encouraging the collaboration and cooperation between India and Pakistan. On many occasions, SAARC provided a platform for India and Pakistan to resume their bilateral talks towards the peace process. The Non-military Confidence Building Measures were the back-bone of the many peace efforts between India and Pakistan. Therefore we can understand that SAARC was an instrument which influenced the Non-military Confidence Building Measures of India and Pakistan.

4.3.6. International Changes

International changes have always been an influencing factor in the foreign policies

¹¹⁶ Manzoor Ahmad. (2017). “SAARC Summits 1985-2016: The Cancellation Phenomenon”. *IPRI Journal*, XVII (1), p.52.

of the nation-state. The post-cold war period had witnessed major changes in the international politics. The nation-states were freed from the compulsions of the bipolarity of the USSR and USA. Newly emerged nation-states were declared independent and many allies of the USA and USSR evolved as republic nations and established their own government and foreign policy. During this period, the international security perspective underwent major changes. Peace and collective security become the ultimate objective of the international system, and confrontation was replaced by cooperation through which a new world order has emerged. Collective security and cooperation came to the forefront of the agendas of international relations. The peace mechanisms such as Confidence Building Measures, especially Non-military CBM became an important component of the foreign policies of the conflicting nation states. Since 1990s, Non-military Confidence Building Measures have become the major peace mechanism in South Asia particularly between India and Pakistan.

Since the 1990s, the Non-military Confidence Building Measures have helped to improve the relationship between India and Pakistan in a vision of a more optimistic approach to practical solutions. The international realisation of the impact of the wars between the antagonistic nation-states has influenced India and Pakistan to adopt more initiatives to remove the hostilities between them. Moreover, the changes in the Post-cold war period compelled India and Pakistan to avail more bilateral interactions through economic, cultural and social Confidence Building Measures. The peace process through Non-military Confidence Building Measures explored maximum opportunities to cooperate with Pakistan under the leadership of Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh. The UPA-I government led by Manmohan Singh has improved the trade and commerce relation with Pakistan with the help of the Non- military Confidence Building Measures. The international economic changes such as globalization, liberalization, and privatization supported India to take up more collaboration with Pakistan and avoid mutual distrust.

India had accepted these new international economic changes at the beginning of the 90s. The trade and economic relations are the least developed area between India and Pakistan even though it can be a potential area to bring more bilateral relationships between India and Pakistan. The economic and trade relations have been used as a peace building mechanism between India and Pakistan, particularly during Dr. Manmohan Singh's administration. Since he was an economist, he realized the potential of commerce and trade

with Pakistan. Obviously, it contributed to the mutual trust and cooperation between India and Pakistan which was necessary to remain in a state of peace. The security and economic changes of the new world order have become a favouring factor for the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

4.4.1 Transportation Links Under NDA-I and UPA-I Governments

The one decade of peace initiatives significantly influenced the economic, political and cultural sphere of India and Pakistan. Transportation is another area that developed through the influence of the peace initiatives between India and Pakistan. Non-military Confidence Building Measures had a critical role in carrying forward the peace process throughout the last one decade since 1999 to 2009. Therefore the Non-military Confidence Building Measures had great influence on improving the transportation between India and Pakistan, which in turn had an influential role in sustaining friendlier and more stable relations. Vajpayee resumed transportation contact with Pakistan through the Lahore bus diplomacy. Later Dr. Manmohan Singh enhanced the connection through his constant peace efforts.

New tensions and anxieties after the nuclear test paved the way for a new peace initiative between India and Pakistan. The post-nuclear period gave more space for peace talks and meetings between the diplomats and the higher level officials for intensifying cooperation and peace between India and Pakistan. The increased trans- border transportation was the result of the mutual understanding of the post-nuclear phase of India and Pakistan relationship. The transportation connection between the borders was resumed and maintained by bilateral cooperation with the help of Non- military Confidence Building Measures, which brought normalcy by increasing the trust level of the two countries and improved the peace negotiations between India and Pakistan. The improvement of India and Pakistan relations through transport links has proven that the scope of Non-military Confidence Building Measures in the peace building process between India and Pakistan is higher than any other mechanisms.

India's close geographical, historical, and cultural affinity with Pakistan promoted the bilateral cooperation in transportation between these two countries. The transportation communication between India and Pakistan was not merely running a transportation service between the borders; it is more than that because it brought together the culture, trade, and

economy of the two countries. It enabled the two countries to remove their mistrust and barriers to enhance the confidence which was vital for the negotiations and peace building between India and Pakistan. The implementation of the transportation link between the two states was crucial for improving their fragile relationship. Therefore the recent initiation to improve the transportation connection between India and Pakistan filled up the long absence of transportation communication between the two neighbouring nations.

4.4.2. Impact of Delhi - Lahore Bus Service

A.B. Vajpayee's remarkable Delhi-Lahore bus service had broken the long wait for the trans-border transportation link between India and Pakistan. It was an important peace initiative in the modern history of the South Asian international politics, and one of the remarkable contributions in the bilateral peace building process of the modern India-Pakistan relationship. India's then Prime Minister A.B. people together and improved the mutual trust and cooperation of the two suspicious nations.

The Lahore bus initiation was a significant unilateral peace effort of Vajpayee. The Lahore bus diplomacy resumed the stagnant relations of India and Pakistan. After the Lahore effort, the bilateral relations and transportation contact between India and Pakistan was re-established. Analysing the volatile political atmosphere of South Asia, the decision to run a bus service between Lahore and Delhi can be considered as a historical change in the India-Pakistan relations. The threat from the nuclearisations, traditional hostility, and militancy in Kashmir had swallowed the region; therefore the single handed initiation of Vajpayee was very significant to remove the worries and tension from the region.

The Lahore peace initiation kindled a new history for India and Pakistan. The brave effort gave confidence to take more peace initiatives between India and Pakistan. Followed by the Lahore initiation, India and Pakistan engaged in many peace initiatives under the NDA-I and UPA-I governments. When we examine the political relations of India and Pakistan in the last part of the 1980s and the 90s, it is understandable how the Lahore initiation became important between India and Pakistan.

The relationship of India and Pakistan were not in active since the latter part of the 1980s. Pakistan's support to the trans-border terrorism and militancy kept India away from friendship. India and Pakistan relations worsened following by the Insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir. The democratic reforms started in Jammu and Kashmir implemented by the Indian

government in 1988 resulted in militancy with the secret support of Pakistan. India's discontent and suspicion about Pakistan supported insurgency and trans-border terrorism affected the good relations between India and Pakistan. Further, the nuclear tests of India and Pakistan led the South Asian region into intense rivalry, and consequently the historic Delhi-Lahore bus service became an important peace initiative in the history of India and Pakistan.

Under the NDA-I government, Vajpayee started the renovation of India- Pakistan relations through the Lahore Bus diplomacy, which became a significant peace initiative in India-Pakistan history. The introduction of the Delhi-Lahore bus service was very significant to remove the mutual suspicion and lack of confidence between India and Pakistan since the 1980s. The Lahore summit agreed to start more bus services between as a part of introducing more Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan to overcome the distrust and to improve the bilateral relations.

India and Pakistan proposed more bus services to strengthen the bilateral relations under the confidence provided by the Lahore bus diplomacy such as the Srinagar-Muzafarabad, Amritsar-Lahore, and Lahore Nankana sahib bus services. Even though there were two crises since the Lahore summit, all the proposed services were implemented successfully during the UPA-I government under the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh. Further Dr. Manmohan Singh continued to increase rail and road contact between India and Pakistan. Therefore it can be analysed that the Non-military Confidence Building Measures are working as the carrying vehicles of the effort to normalize India and Pakistan relationship.

With the proposals for the Srinagar- Muzafarabad, Amritsar-Lahore, and Lahore Nankana sahib bus services, India's commitment towards a friendly neighbourhood relation with Pakistan was proven. Both Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh have taken initiatives to enhance the bilateral transportation contact between India and Pakistan.

Even though the Lahore bus diplomacy was overthrown by the Kargil armed conflict, it resumed in 2003 with additional convoy services. It was the sign of increased confidence between India and Pakistan. Therefore the role of Non-military Confidence Building Measures in increasing the confidence is highlighted. Similarly, in 2003, the suspended transportation connection of India and Pakistan due to the border crisis was resumed followed by the resumption of flight services between India and Pakistan. Vajpayee put

forward 12 Confidence Building Measures in order to improve relations with Pakistan as part of the on-going bilateral crisis.

4.4.3. UPA-I and Continuation of Transportation Links

In May 2004, a new government was formed at the centre in India. Dr. Manmohan Singh became the new Prime Minister of the UPA-I government. India and Pakistan relations were in a good swing when Manmohan Singh took charge as the Prime Minister. He did not face any crisis like Vajpayee faced at the beginning of his office. Dr. Manmohan Singh followed the policies of Vajpayee. However, he focused on a step-by-step approach to deal with Pakistan, and so he gave importance to the composite dialogue process towards Pakistan. He conducted structured high level meetings and contact of high officers to strengthen the bilateral relations with Pakistan.

Dr. Manmohan Singh started foreign relations with Pakistan by implementing the 12 Confidence Building Measures proposed by Vajpayee. Dr. Manmohan Singh gave high priority to his agenda for improving the India and Pakistan bilateral relationship. Therefore he utilized a structured and step-by-step process of bilateral relations. He signed many agreements on transportation connection between India and Pakistan. He improved the people-to-people connection through the Munababo- Khokrapur train link, Srinagar-Muzafarabad, and Amritsar-Nangana Sahib Bus services, and he introduced the Srinagar-Muzafarabad overland truck services, and flight services between India and Pakistan as part of the structured build-up of bilateral relations with Pakistan.

This structured and continuous bilateral transportation contact increased the confidence of the people of both sides. It removed the misconceptions from the minds of people about the hostility of India and Pakistan which was spread by the media. Therefore Dr. Manmohan Singh was very optimistic about the composite dialogue process between India and Pakistan as it ensured the continuity of the peace efforts through various level diplomatic meetings and Non-military Confidence Building Measures to strengthen their relations.

When examining Dr. Manmohan Singh's peace efforts, the role of transportation link is more significant. He improved all modes of transportation to connect both people as part of his step-by-step approach. Due to the geographical and historical closeness of India and Pakistan it was important to interconnect the people. Since there were many separated

families residing in both sides of the border, the attempt to improve the transportation connection facilitated visits to their separated family members at the lowest cost. This cultural interconnection among the two countries enhanced the mutual trust of the common people of India and Pakistan residing across the border which was necessary to improve the relations of India and Pakistan. Therefore the UPA-I government gave priority to improving all modes of transportation relations with Pakistan. In order to improve the bilateral transportation relations he introduced Non-military Confidence Building Measures under the frame- work of the composite dialogue.

As a result of the composite dialogue process held in 2004, India and Pakistan inaugurated the Munababo- Khokrapar train service in April 2005. It fulfilled the forty years' demand to re-open the service between Rajasthan and Sind province of India and Pakistan. The cultural and economic impact of the Munababo-Khokrapar train service was very significant. The resumption of the train service had its own significance in the existing relations between India and Pakistan. Certain goods like marbles, handicrafts, solar energy and furniture which have high demand in Pakistan are produced in the Indian state of Rajasthan. The transportation of these goods would be possible with the new train link. So the train service not only provided fair transportation facilities, but also gave scope to the government to think about the possibilities of new economic and trade policies which would influence the peace effort between India and Pakistan.

The Srinagar-Muzafarabad bus service was a symbol of a successful Non- military CBM between India and Pakistan. Since Kashmir was the major theatre of war between India and Pakistan, the Srinagar and Muzafarabad bus service was very crucial to build the confidence among the people of both Azad Kashmir and Indian held Kashmir. Therefore in the beginning itself Vajpayee had rejected all the controversies about the validity of India's claim for Azad Kashmir to be a part of it.

Since the proposal of the service, it had become a subject for deep discussions among the Indian politicians and diplomats. The proposal started as a peace building mechanism between India and Pakistan. But the present control of the Azad Kashmir was with Pakistan, and therefore, running a bus service between Srinagar and Azad Kashmir created a controversial question as to whether Azad Kashmir belonged to India or Pakistan. However, Vajpayee proceeded to propose Non-military Confidence Building Measures to fulfil the bus service between Srinagar and Muzafarabad to avoid the decades of hostilities. Therefore the

inauguration of the bus service in the presence of Pakistan President Pervez Musharaf in April 2005 became a historical peace effort between India and Pakistan.

The successful implementation of Srinagar and Muzafarabad bus service was the great achievement of both Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh. Both the leaders had rejected the controversies for the successful implementation of the peace initiatives to remove the decades old hostilities of the people of the two Kashmir. Therefore the Srinagar and Muzafarabad bus service remained as the most successful Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

The new bus service between Amritsar and Nankana Sahib was an important contribution of Dr. Manmohan Singh to integrate the cultural relations of India and Pakistan. This service interconnected the people of the East and West Punjab. Through the new bus service Dr. Manmohan Singh fulfilled the long demand of the people of the two Punjab. It facilitated the passengers to visit the Golden temple, the birth place of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh faith. Therefore the service had great significance for the cultural relations India and Pakistan between. The Poonch- Rawalkot cross line-of-control bus service was inaugurated in June 2006 as part of improving the people-to-people contact between India and Pakistan.

4.5.1. Non-military CBMs and Cultural Impact

India and Pakistan, the two predominant countries of South Asia had been a single entity before the partition in 1947. For a long time India and Pakistan had kept a common culture and tradition. This common factor influenced the decision making and policy formulation of India and Pakistan. In the last one decade, 1999 to 2009, India and Pakistan have implemented many peace initiatives to improve the bilateral relations which have already been discussed in the earlier chapters. Therefore it is important to analyse the impact of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures on the cultural relations of India and Pakistan during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments.

The Non-military Confidence Building Measures implemented during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments had an impact on the cultural relation of India and Pakistan. The modern cultural relations of India and Pakistan started following the visit of Vajpayee in 1999 in the inaugural run of the Lahore and Delhi bus service. The Lahore bus diplomacy kindled the beginning of a new era of cultural relations. Further it had brought optimism between the two

antagonists. Vajpayee's visit to the cultural place of Pakistan, Minar-I- Sharif become much significant in the India-Pakistan relations. Later the visit gave confidence and space between India and Pakistan to improve their cultural relations. Vajpayee made the visit ignoring all the opposition in his country and government. Even though he represented a coalition government, he did not step down from his decision to visit the Minar-I- Sharif.

Through the visit to Minar-e -Sharif, Vajpayee gave a strong message to world, that India was accepting Pakistan as an independent and sovereign nation. Moreover, his surprise visit diffused the newly emerged nuclear crisis in South Asia. The visit invited wide media coverage and international attention. Therefore the visit had much significance in the international politics. The international community accepted India's genuine commitment and interest to have a friendly and stable relationship with Pakistan. Through Vajpayee's Lahore visits he won the hearts of millions of Pakistani people which were imperative to increase trust between India and Pakistan.

4.5.2. Ramadan Ceasefire

In 2000, India under the leadership of Vajpayee, announced its first cease fire in the holy month of Ramadan. He gave the order to end the offensive activities in the border. The militancy and other terrorist activities were slowed down more than ever in Kashmir. Further the ceasefire was extended for two times, till finally a ceasefire agreement came between India and Pakistan in 2003. The ceasefire in the holy month created a huge impact on the minds of the people of both Kashmir. Ramadan is the holy month celebrated by Muslims around the world. Therefore the decision to stop the military activities in the month helped to increase the confidence among the people both countries. Therefore such a peace initiative had great influence on the cultural relations between India and Pakistan.

4.5.3. Visa Camp

In 2003, as part of improving the bilateral relation with Pakistan, India arranged visa camps at various cities to increase the people-to-people contact. It increased the number of visitors to both countries. The visa camp facilitated more people-to-people visit between these two countries. It increased the mutual trust and confidence of the people. Such a favorable atmosphere could be used as a platform to discuss the major bilateral issues between India and Pakistan. India allowed senior citizens above the age of 65 to cross the border on foot.

It is an important decision by the Government of India, as it felicitated the visit of senior citizens with their separated family, friends, neighbour, and their birthplace. These senior citizens had been children during the partition of pre- independence India, but after the partition they lost their friends, relatives, and neighbours. The visa relaxation helped to create interaction for the previous generation of the two countries. In 2004, as per the Islamabad peace talks, India eased the visa restrictions for the senior citizens and children below 12 years of age. This kind of cultural interaction and exchange help understand the unity and integrity of the pre-independence India. Such cultural integration would inspire the newer generation to reduce their mistrust and suspicion.

4.5.4. Humanitarian Contact

On analysing the Non-military Confidence Building Measures initiated by NDA-I and UPA-I governments, the impact of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures on the humanitarian issues become more evident. Both the Prime Ministers had made constant efforts to solve the humanitarian issues of Indian and Pakistan. As per the understanding of Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif at Lahore, both had agreed on Non-military Confidence Building Measures to resolve the humanitarian issues relating to civilian detainees, missing prisoners-of-wars (POWs) and the release of fishermen and civilian detainees. Later Dr. Manmohan Singh also included these issues in his composite dialogue process.

In 2004, the Foreign Secretary -level meeting agreed to bring in speedy and effective mechanisms to deal with their problems. Even though the issue of prisoners and fishermen was not a major area of conflict between India and Pakistan, it is a fact that it was India that took responsibility for bringing up such humanitarian issues. This kind of political commitment towards small issues offered a helpful atmosphere between India and Pakistan, and therefore the efforts of Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh was very significant.

According to the increased reciprocity from Pakistan, Vajpayee offered free and quality medical treatment for Pakistani children at various hospitals in India. Despite all the hostile relations India had never denied any medical help to Pakistan. India maintained a good humanitarian relation with Pakistan. Whenever any crisis occurred in Pakistan or India, both nations had offered full help to each other. After the military crisis in 2003, India proposed to offer medical treatment to Pakistani children. To this end, India granted permission for 60 Pakistani patients to get treatment in India. This proved Vajpayee's

commitment towards humanitarian issues.

Apart from political relations, Vajpayee and Dr.Manmohan Singh made significant attempts to bring normalcy between India and Pakistan through various peace building mechanisms. Increasing the confidence among the people was the most necessary prerequisite between India and Pakistan. Therefore dealing with minor issues also become of high importance between India and Pakistan; both Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh were successful in that. In this way the intervention in the issues of fishermen and civilian detainees, and other humanitarian issues become important initiatives.

4.6.1. Cricket Diplomacy

Cricket is the most popular sporting event of the South Asian countries. Cricket between India and Pakistan had a crucial role to unite the people and leaders together irrespective of their hostility. India and Pakistan started the use of cricket as a tool for diplomacy in 1987. In 1999, at the joint declaration of the Lahore summit, both Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharraf agreed to resume the bilateral cricket ties between India and Pakistan. Since the summit, India and Pakistan have conducted four cricket series-at Pakistan in 2004 and 2006 and at India in 2005 and 2007. The two cricket series in 2004 and 2005 were highly relevant to remove the misunderstanding, hostilities and speculations spread by the news media.

Cricket is not only a game for India and Pakistan; it becomes the most powerful unofficial diplomatic tool to unite the people of both countries even in tensed political conditions. The Indian cricket team's tour to Pakistan in 2004 created more faith in Pakistan as they provided Presidential security to the Indian team and high protection and warm hospitality to the twenty thousand cricket lovers who visited Pakistan. It was a highly appreciated and significant gesture from Pakistan.

As a reciprocal activity, in 2005, Dr.Manmohan Singh invited Pakistan President as a special invitee to watch the one-day cricket match. Both leaders watched the entire match in the midst to thousands of Indian and Pakistani fans. The presence of Pervez Musharraf and Dr.Manmohan Singh melted the hostilities from the minds of the spectators in the stadium and millions of people all over the world who were watching the game on television. Therefore Dr.Manmohan Singh's initiative to conduct cricket matches became an easy diplomatic tool between India and Pakistan to unite the hostile people together and it

provided an unofficial platform for bilateral discussions between the leaders.

4.7.1. Trade and Commerce

Trade and commerce between India and Pakistan is the least explored area, even though it has high potential between two countries. The NDA-I and UPA-I governments have taken some efforts to resume the bilateral trade relations between India and Pakistan. During the UPA-I Government, the bilateral discussions and initiatives as the part of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures started to improve the trade relations between India and Pakistan. Dr. Manmohan Singh introduced the Srinagar-Muzafarabad overland truck service to promote trade between India and Pakistan. Trade between the two Kashmir has immense possibilities as it is far from the mainland of India. If the trade facilities were opened between the two Kashmirs, the local market and traders would benefit. It would give normalcy between the two Kashmirs. Therefore the overland truck service between Srinagar and Muzafarabad was very significant for India and Pakistan. Similarly the freight service has shown a tenfold increase after the resumption of Attari and Lahore train service.

Further a Joint Study Group was established to improve the economic cooperation between India and Pakistan. They conducted detailed meetings of higher level officers for economic and commercial initiatives to explore larger opportunities. Further, to increase the trade exchange, a new shipping and air-service between India and Pakistan was proposed. A Tea-trade agreement was signed to export tea from India to Pakistan, the second largest consumer of the tea in the world. It helped Pakistan to cut the cost of trans-shipment from Kenya.

India and Pakistan have plenty of unexplored areas where both can cooperate. It would help them to reduce their economic burdens. If more business is done between India and Pakistan, it would be beneficial for the local people, especially in the bordering states. The trade and business across the borders would bring peaceful relations between the people, and it can be substituted for political discussions between the leaders. Therefore the role of Non-military Confidence Building Measures to initiate economic and trade relations between the two countries is very significant.

4.8.1. Conclusion

This chapter has made an overall analysis of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures of India and Pakistan under the NDA-I and UPA-I governments. A.B.Vajpayee and Dr.Manmohan Singh were the leaders of the two successive Governments of India. During the time of NDA-I and UPA-I governments, India had taken many important peace efforts in the history of India-Pakistan relations. Both Vajpayee and Dr.Manmohan Singh have given their own unique contributions in promoting India and Pakistan bilateral relations.

This chapter has given an idea about the policies and approaches of Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh towards Pakistan. They both followed the basic foreign policies of India in dealing with Pakistan. From the beginning of his term, Vajpayee adopted friendly neighborhood approach towards Pakistan. Dr.Manmohan Singh has also followed the same friendly approach and increased the bilateral relations through the people-to-people contact.

Non-military Confidence Building Measures played a crucial role in the peace initiatives of Vajpayee and Dr.Manmohan Singh towards Pakistan. The modern bilateral relations between India and Pakistan began from Vajpayee's unilateral Lahore peace initiative in 1999. The Lahore Peace initiative had a significant place in the history of India-Pakistan relations. Dr. Manmohan Singh carried the momentum forward by the policy of a step-by-step approach. As different from Vajpayee, Dr. Manmohan Singh gave more priority to the composite dialogue process to improve the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan.

Finally in this chapter the impact of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures implemented between India and Pakistan has been analysed. The role of Non-military Confidence Building Measures has increased significantly than ever between India and Pakistan. Therefore the efforts of Vajpayee and Dr.Manmohan Singh to improve the bilateral political relations between India and Pakistan have left a personal and indelible mark on the history of both nations.

CHAPTER-5
CONCLUSION

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In the previous chapters, the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan that were implemented during the NDA-I and UPA-I Governments of India have been discussed. A brief overview about the role of Non- military Confidence Building Measures in the trust-building process between India and Pakistan in the post-nuclear phase of India and Pakistan relations have been looked at in these chapters. The present chapter sums up the findings and observations of this study on the Non-military Confidence Building Measures of India and Pakistan in the period of NDA-I and UPA-I government there by bringing this study towards a conclusion.

As mentioned in the earlier chapters, Non-military Confidence Building Measures are a set of assumptions to avoid conflict and the possibility of occurrence of war through mutual understanding and cooperation between two or more conflicting nations. Confidence Building Measures became a significant and relevant international peace building mechanism after the Second World War, as peace and security concerns had become the ultimate priority of the nations around the world due to the bloodshed and violent experiences from the two World Wars. The changing equations of the international politics in the post-cold war period have significantly increased the demand for collective security and cooperation rather than confrontation. Therefore, the relevance of the non-military Confidence Building Measures has increased in the trust building process of international politics in the post-Cold war phase.

In South Asia, the trust deficit and lack of confidence between India and Pakistan had kept these two countries at loggerheads for the past six decades. The last sixty years of India and Pakistan relations have shown many ups and downs due to this very same reason. This phenomenon of lack of trust and confidence between the two powerful nations is one of the basic reasons for the underdevelopment and political insecurity, and the categorization of the South Asian region as a zone of .Therefore the relevance of the Confidence Building Measures in the South Asian region has come to prevail as an unavoidable reality. Hence, India and Pakistan have taken advantage of the Military Confidence Building Measures to resolve their basic problems. Even though Military Confidence Building Measures existed between India and Pakistan, it was not successful in achieving its objectives due to the deficit

of trust and confidence between them.

With the missing trust and lack of confidence growing steadily between them, both countries worked on their nuclear development policies, and South Asia became a nuclear zone after the nuclear tests of India and Pakistan in 1998. The nuclear development intensified the crisis between India and Pakistan, and moreover, it turned out to be the most serious security crisis of the South Asian region. However, at this critical juncture of the post-nuclear era, the political atmosphere of South Asia underwent significant changes. The peace and security became the most important agenda of India towards Pakistan. The popularity and relevance of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures increased between India and Pakistan. This is the focal period of the present study.

With regard to the political scenario, two successive Coalition governments NDA-I and UPA-I came to power in India under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh respectively from 1999 to 2009. During this period, the Non-military Confidence Building Measures played a crucial role to ease the distrust and lack of confidence between India and Pakistan. India implemented various Non-military Confidence Building Measures to improve the bilateral problems between the two nations. Therefore, the study becomes relevant as it analyzes the role of Non-military Confidence Building Measures in the peace building process between India and Pakistan.

The first chapter of the study has attempted to analyze the first objective of the thesis. The analysis and study of the different types and nature of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures in the India-Pakistan relation stands out as the first objective of the thesis. The first objective has two parts. The first chapter has dealt with the history and different types of the Confidence Building Measures and Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. The second and third chapters of the thesis have dealt with the nature of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments.

To meet one part of the first objective, the introductory chapter has analyzed the history of the India-Pakistan relations. The study observed that the conflict between India and Pakistan increased due to the trust deficit between the two nations. Therefore, the researcher has noted that the role of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan has increased in the post-cold war period more than ever before in history. It

heightened the mutual trust and confidence between the two countries. Thus, the Non-military Confidence Building Measures had more prominence over the Military Confidence Building Measures in the peace building process of India and Pakistan during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments.

Another observation made by the researcher is that India had mainly employed two types of Confidence Building Measures- the Military Confidence Building Measures and the Non-military Confidence Building Measures. The Non-military Confidence Building Measures have played a major role during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments in the peace initiatives between India and Pakistan. Non-military Confidence Building Measures included various types such as Cultural, Economic, Social and Political Confidence Building Measures. With regard to increasing the confidence and trust among the people of both India and Pakistan, these different types of non-military Confidence Building Measures have played their own significant roles in contributing to the buildup of confidence and faith between India and Pakistan. Thus, the confidence gained through the various non-military Confidence Building Measures has facilitated the scope for the political discussions between the leaders of India and Pakistan.

To find out the nature of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures, the researcher analyzed the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments. Through the analysis the researcher has observed that the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan had two basic natures. They are more people-centric and peace- centric. All the Non-military Confidence Building Measures initiated during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments have been undertaken keeping in mind the emotions, ambitions and the demands of both sides of the people of India and Pakistan. Since the trust deficit and lack of confidence had become a hindrance to the friendship between the two nations, enhancing the confidence and trust became an ultimate priority for India. Therefore India initiated many people-centric Non-military Confidence Building Measures to regain the lost confidence and trust between India and Pakistan. The decisions to resume the transportation link, civil aviation link, train services, and easing of the visa restrictions etc. are examples of India's commitment towards fulfilling the demands and ambitions of the people of both sides. Therefore the above observation highlights the fact that the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan are more people-centric in nature.

The peace and security of South Asia was one of the basic objectives of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments. Non-military Confidence Building Measures initiated by India is more peace-centric in nature. The new security realities of South Asia forced India to take a peace-centric approach towards Pakistan with respect to normalizing their relationship of conflict. Therefore, peace and security became the ultimate priority of India's Non-military Confidence Building Measures with Pakistan. The Lahore peace initiative in 1999 and the Kashmir peace initiative in 2003 are the best examples of India's sincere commitment towards peaceful relations with Pakistan. The Indian Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee's visit to the Minar-I-sharrif and the proposal to resume the Srinagar-Muzafarabad bus service are other examples. Thereafter, the succeeding UPA-I government has carried forward the momentum of the Indian Non-military Confidence Building Measures to ensure peaceful and friendly bilateral ties with Pakistan by addressing the emotions and demands of the people of both nations. Therefore the study states that 'Indian Non-military Confidence Building Measures are more peace centric in nature'.

Further, the Non-military Confidence Building Measures have seemed to 'crisis breakers' and a 'pace setters' between India and Pakistan. During the NDA-I government, the Non-military Confidence Building Measures played a significant role in breaking and dissolving the newly emerged crisis between India and Pakistan following the nuclear tests of both countries in 1998, and another crisis in 2001-2002 following the military conflict in the borders. These two crises had slowdown the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. Hence the role played by the Non-military Confidence Building Measures to relieve the tensions and worries of both India and Pakistan is a very significant development in the peace building process of the contemporary international politics. Therefore it is justifiable to call the Non-military Confidence Building Measures initiated by India as 'crisis breakers,' particularly during the tenure of the NDA-I government.

The work has observed that the other nature of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures of India, particularly during the UPA-I government, has been the 'pace setter' of India and Pakistan relations. The following reasons led to the above observation: The Non-military Confidence Building Measures have facilitated a constant and series of bilateral talks between India and Pakistan without any serious breaks to the flow of the bilateral cooperation during the UPA-I government. The continuous bilateral talks and cooperation

have reduced the mistrust and suspicions between the two countries, and has provided a useful platform to address the issues between India and Pakistan. Thus, during the UPA-I government, the Non-military Confidence Building Measures helped to carry forward the peace process between India and Pakistan. This explains the observation that the nature of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures is as a 'pace setter' between India and Pakistan.

The second and third chapter of the thesis deals with the second objective of the study, which focuses on the different dimensions of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures initiated during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments. To meet the objective, the work has made an in-depth analysis on the Non-military Confidence Building Measures of India during 1999 to 2009. Through the analysis, the study has observed the different dimensions of Non-military Confidence Building Measures. India increased the multi-level non-military Confidence Building Measures to enhance the trust and mutual confidence and cooperation at various fields of India and Pakistan relations. The intersection of the multi-level non-military Confidence Building Measures has significantly facilitated the removal of the mistrust and suspicions of people of both sides. It ensured the consistency and continuity of peaceful relations between India and Pakistan.

The cultural dimensions of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures have been very important in the India-Pakistan relations. The cultural bond between India and Pakistan has been providing plenty of opportunities to expand the bilateral cooperation. The two South Asian countries follow more or less the same culture and way of living, and both nations have a history of togetherness in the pre-independence period. In the post-partition period, many separated families have been residing in the bordering villages of India and Pakistan, and therefore the two nations have great cultural affinity towards each other. Therefore culture became a significant factor where Non-military Confidence Building Measures could play a significant role to increase the mutual trust and confidence between India and Pakistan. Both nations have made many efforts to use the advantage of the cultural relations to enhance their trust and confidence.

India's cultural affinity towards Pakistan was started by Vajpayee's visits to the places of cultural importance in Pakistan on the occasion of the Lahore summit in 1999. It contributed to creating immense faith and trust between the two countries. The easing of the visa restrictions during the festival times in both countries was another contribution in the

cultural relations of India and Pakistan. Further, the UPA-I government maintained the cultural interaction by resuming more transport services between the religious places of India and Pakistan. So the cultural dimensions of the India-Pakistan relations have provided more scope to both nations to increase their mutual trust and confidence during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments.

The economic dimension of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures is another significant area in the India-Pakistan relations. It is an important area which can provide more trust and confidence between India and Pakistan by the way of improving the trans-border economic interactions. Unfortunately this area remains to be the least developed and most unexplored area of India and Pakistan relations. Since India is the largest economy in the region, Pakistan can benefit from it. But due to the trust deficit and lack of enough understanding, Pakistan imports Indian goods via third parties. Another opportunity is in the economic and trade interactions between the bordering states of India and Pakistan. The unpredictable nature of the borders and the trust deficit and lack of confidence keeps India and Pakistan out from such economic relations.

During the NDA-I and UPA-I governments, India has shown commitment to improve the bilateral economic and trade relations between India and Pakistan. As part of the efforts made at the secretary level between India and Pakistan in 2006, both nations signed an agreement to export Tea from India to Pakistan. In the same year, the formal export to Pakistan and the volume of formal trade between India and Pakistan has increased as a result of India's economic initiative. Therefore the above observation states that trade between India and Pakistan need more attention, as it can promote stable bilateral relations between India and Pakistan.

The social dimension of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan is another relevant area. There are numerous social issues existing in both India and Pakistan such as poverty, underdevelopment, water sharing issue, issues of fishermen, and terrorism which provides an opportunity to India and Pakistan to join hands in mutual cooperation. During the NDA-I and UPA-I governments, India has taken many non-military initiatives to address all these issues at various summits and peace talks between India and Pakistan.

Poverty and underdevelopment are common issues in India and Pakistan, as well as in

the region of South Asia as a whole. In the New York meeting in 2004, India and Pakistan mutually agreed to take steps for peace and prosperity. In the Lahore summit, India has taken the initiative to address humanitarian issues such as the issues of fishermen and civilians sentenced to jails in both India and Pakistan. In 2004, India offered free medical treatment with free travel and accommodation to Pakistan children in Indian hospitals. These are some of the developments between India and Pakistan in the social dimension. The above mentioned observations shed light on the relevance of the social dimensions of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

There are also other relevant dimensions that exist between India and Pakistan. One is the Political dimension. The political interactions and visits of leaders of both countries have provided more confidence and trust between the two nations. Similarly, the sports ties between India and Pakistan is another dimension of India's Non-military Confidence Building Measures. The game of Cricket between these two South Asian countries has had a significant role in providing mutual interactions of the masses of both countries. It was one of the best Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan, and could easily bring together the people of both sides. These were the basic dimensions of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures initiated by India during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments. The various dimensions have significantly contributed to building the trust and confidence between these two countries.

The third objective of the study was very significant in the present research. To meet the third objective, the study has analyzed the Non-military Confidence Building Measures under both the NDA-I and UPA-I governments. The second and third chapters have dealt with the objective. The important observations from these chapters are given below:

All the Non-military Confidence Building Measures that have been implemented during the period under the NDA-I and UPA-I governments have played a major role in providing a new path for the peace building process in the subcontinent, especially between India and Pakistan. The Lahore diplomacy in 1999, Agra summit in 2001, and Kashmir peace initiative in 2003 have significantly contributed to becoming guiding principles for the new peace initiatives between India and Pakistan.

The highly ambitious Lahore peace initiative was implemented under severe nuclear crisis in the South Asian region. The Lahore initiation gained political importance by

overthrowing fears and tensions from the South Asian region, and provided a ray of hope for peace initiatives in South Asia. The Agra summit between India and Pakistan took place during the crisis of 2001. Therefore, Pervez Musharraf's visit to India on the occasion helped to ease the tensions and to increase the confidence between India and Pakistan. Similarly in 2003, Vajpayee's decision to extend the hand of friendship towards Pakistan became another important political development between the two nations. It reduced the military crisis and provided further space for new peace initiatives between India and Pakistan. India is still continuing the momentum that began from the Kashmir peace initiatives in 2003. Therefore, the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan have significantly contributed to building confidence and trust, which are the necessary prerequisites for the friendly and peaceful relations between India and Pakistan.

The confidence of the people extended over the period of the UPA-I government and it extensively provided an opportunity to initiate new peace processes between India and Pakistan. The decision to improve the bilateral ties after the Mumbai train blast in 2008 was in the light of previous good experiences between India and Pakistan. These events have shown without doubt that the non-military Confidence Building Measures were a major factor in reducing the gap between India and Pakistan. The non-military Confidence Building Measures provided a favourable platform to address the issues and problem between India and Pakistan through which it played a crucial role in improving their political ties. Moreover, the new political activism of the Indian government towards the peace process with Pakistan increased the political status of India in International politics. Therefore the above observation proves that the contributions of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures were highly significant between India and Pakistan during the NDA-I and UPA-I governments.

The fourth objective of the study aimed to examine the major hurdles and obstacles for the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. Even though the bilateral relations have improved in the last one decade, there still exist certain barriers between India and Pakistan. The lack of trust between the leaders, diplomats, bureaucrats, and moreover between the people of India and Pakistan is the basic reason why a final solution for the unresolved issues between India and Pakistan still lacking. The trust deficit had prevented the leaders of both countries from formulating an independent policy on dealing with each other. Even though the issue of Kashmir became part of the many

discussions and composite dialogue processes of India during the NDA-I government, it still remains as a primary issue that is unresolved between India and Pakistan. The status of Kashmir and the positions of the Line-of-Control are not acceptable to Pakistan until the plebiscite is done. Thus it is inconvenient for India to believe any peace offer from Pakistan regarding the Kashmir issue. Therefore the trust deficit creates a dilemma in the minds of the leaders of both countries when dealing with the Kashmir problem.

The Trans-border terrorism and Pakistan-supported militancy in Kashmir had forced India to keep its borders closed. Terrorism is always at the forefront of the agenda of the bilateral talks between India and Pakistan. Terrorism has been a hindrance to the peaceful relations of India and Pakistan. India has always questioned the double stand of Pakistan in respect to terrorism. Even though Pakistan had taken action against the terrorist groups in 2002, trans-border terrorism towards India is still continuing. Therefore, it is a challenge for the peace initiatives between India and Pakistan.

Religion and domestic compulsion are the other reasons for the hurdles faced by the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. Religious and domestic factors have forced the leaders to withdraw from taking any independent policies towards Pakistan. The religion of the two countries has been a major factor for the political compulsion towards the leaders to declining from formulating policies. Lack of political willingness and courage of leaders is also another factor that creates hurdles for the non-military peace initiatives between India and Pakistan.

The nature of the coalition government in India and the political instability in Pakistan is another reason that hinders the bilateral relations of India and Pakistan. Thus, it reduces the scope for Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. In a coalition government, the scope for taking an independent decision is limited, and therefore it affects formulation of policies according to the wisdom of the Prime Minister. The complexities of the coalition government keep the leaders from taking their own decisions. So this kind of technical difficulty is a pull factor between India and Pakistan.

The third-party intervention in the India-Pakistan relations has limited the scope for the Non-military Confidence Building Measures. In the history of India and Pakistan, it was the outside intervention that resolved the conflict between the two nations many times. In 1966, India and Pakistan agreed to resolve their conflict under the mediation of Alexei

Kosygin at Tashkent in the USSR. Similarly, the U.K. and the U.S. have intervened to reduce the border tensions between India and Pakistan in 2001-2002. Thus, the role of third party intervention has limited the scope for Non- military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan.

The study has achieved the last objective of the study by analyzing the contributions of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures to the trust building process, and the present political reality of India and Pakistan. The researcher has made some significant observations about the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan. The Non-military Confidence Building Measures have played a very relevant role in keeping the India-Pakistan relations friendlier and more cooperative. Non-military Confidence Building Measures have played a major role in preventing the trust deficit from developing into another war between India and Pakistan by increasing the mutual trust and confidence. In the above made observation, the work has put forward the further scope of Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan for their future relations.

Since the unsettled issues are continuing as a major irritant between India and Pakistan, the need for Non-military Confidence Building Measures is unavoidable. Until a final solution to their problems can be arrived at, the only option left for India and Pakistan is to extend their peace initiatives, improve their cooperation, and strengthen their bilateral interactions. Therefore the role of Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan is highly relevant. So, the researcher has made a concluding remark that the role of the Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan have increased more than ever. Therefore, until the problems of India and Pakistan have been peacefully settled, the scope of the Non- military Confidence Building Measures is still relevant and significant.

From the above overall discussions the researcher has made certain significant observations and put forward some important suggestions in view of the India- Pakistan relations.

Findings and Suggestions

- India-Pakistan relationship has always been discussed in terms of their rivalry and conflict. This historical conditioning has had a big role in keeping the relation at stake.

This situation is a little more ideal than pragmatic. So the authority/government has its own limitations in dealing with this issue. The historically and socially constructed condition has to be changed in order to reach a satisfactory implementation. A different vision from the usual perspective is required to arrive at a resolution of this issue. Confidence Building Measures are the most apt need of the hour and of the situation. In the current situation of India and Pakistan, Non-military Confidence Building Measures are to be preferred over Military CBMs, as the present global situation demands and promotes cooperation and healthy relations rather than conflict between nations.

- India and Pakistan have never enjoyed a constant and stable friendly relationship since their formation. Instead of friendly relations, wars, border clashes and militant activities of non-state actors have dominated the India- Pakistan relations. Over the course of time, policies and peace attempt were made, but they remained as insufficient and unsatisfactory to resolve the problems between India and Pakistan. The conflict resolution and management steps such as diplomacy, negotiations and mediations have mostly ended in failure and futility. Both sides need to increase the bilateral communication and cooperation through different social, economic, and unofficial diplomatic windows. A concrete and ultimate conflict resolution on different issues between India and Pakistan is paramount for a peaceful South Asia.
- India and Pakistan never have had long-term and short-term objectives for resolving their problems. It is the basic reason for the failure of the peace efforts between India and Pakistan. Since hostility and enduring rivalry has continued for over than half a century, it is necessary to establish long-term and short-term objectives to remove the barriers between India and Pakistan. A long-term objective must be drawn for resolving the Kashmir issue and border clashes between India and Pakistan. To attain this long term objective, some short-term objectives must be formulated by the use of Non-military Confidence Building Measures. The economic, cultural and border-to-border interaction will increase the confidence and trust required to attain the short- term objectives.
- Efforts for conflict resolution between India and Pakistan have always been hindered by non-state actors. Pakistan and India need to establish constant bilateral communication which can work even during hostile times. The trust building measures must be taken up by both governments through various level track diplomacies. The back channel diplomacy needs to be practiced on a regular basis as it will keep a window open for

negotiation and dialogue. Moreover India needs to improve its intelligence service in order to prevent the illegal migration of foreign terrorists into the Indian Territory. Many time the peace efforts between India and Pakistan has been overthrown due to terrorist attacks.

- India and Pakistan have not tried to adopt the model of regional cooperation as that of the European Union, and hence have always remained at loggerheads with each other. In Europe and other parts of the world, a number of conflicting nations have resolved their long conflict through bilateral cooperation. To a certain extent, India and Pakistan can view them as models to resolve their rivalry.

The Non-military Confidence Building Measure is a significant peace building mechanism which carved out a way for mutual co-existence and understanding between India and Pakistan. The new trend of peaceful and friendly relationships of India and Pakistan is a significant change in the history of South Asia. During NDA-I and UPA-I governments the then Prime Ministers of India tried to be successful in bridging the differences between the two countries through Non-Military Confidence Building Measures. Some sort of significant changes have been seen during NDA-I and UPA-I governments for example the Bus service between Delhi and Lahore, Srinagar and Muzaffarabad, Khokrapar and Munababo and trail service between Sindh (Munababo) and Rajasthan (Khokrapar) and Civil and Aviation link between India and Pakistan etc. Therefore, the Non-military Confidence Building Measures gave an impetus to boost the relationship in nominal way between these countries. Thus the implications of Non-military Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan have given a new direction and hope towards the peace building initiatives of South Asian region. It could be helpful to the thought of ‘a peaceful South Asian region’. The ongoing Non-military Confidence Building Measure between India and Pakistan has to walk a long distance to reach its real destinations, which is ‘pacific settlement of the unresolved issues of India and Pakistan’. Therefore the Non-military Confidence Building Measure has further scope to the future peace building efforts of India and Pakistan as well as the South Asian region.

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APPENDIX

Appendix-I

Ministry of External Affairs Government of India

Prime Minister's Opening Statement at the Plenary of the India-Pakistan Summit 15 July, 2001 at Agra.

The subjects whom we have identified for the Composite Dialogue between our two countries cover a wide range. Progress on them can meaningfully contribute to the welfare and security of our peoples. We believe that the time has come to resume our engagement on the entire range of these issues

- We have consistently for over two decades urged Pakistan to release the 54 Indian POWs that we strongly believe remain in your custody. This is a human problem. I would urge that Pakistan takes urgent and purposeful action to end the agony of the families of these soldiers
- We have recently issued instructions to our Coast Guard not to take into custody Pakistani fishermen, who inadvertently stray into our waters, but to turn them back after due warning. A similar reciprocal gesture on Pakistan's part would lead to a permanent resolution of this recurring problem.
- The enhancement of trade ties would be mutually beneficial- we seek no unilateral advantage. Trade and industry circles have constantly urged both governments to respond to the desire for great interaction.
- We are willing to take further major steps in this direction. We have already announced a reduction or elimination of tariffs on 50 tariff lines to encourage Pakistani imports to India. I propose that a group of experts of both countries be constituted to recommend measures to increase bilateral trade, economic and technical interaction.¹¹

¹¹Prime Minister's Opening Statement at the Plenary of the India-Pakistan Summit External Affairs and Defense Minister, 17 July, 2001- Agra, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

Appendix-II

Ministry of External Affairs Government of India

India – Pakistan Joint Statement

September 08, 2004

1. External Affairs Minister of India, H.E. Shri. K. Natwar Singh and Foreign Minister of Pakistan, H.E. Mr. Khurshid M. Kasuri, met in New Delhi on September 5 and 6, 2004 to review status of the Composite Dialogue. Their meeting was preceded by a meeting between the Foreign Secretary of India Shri Shyam Saran and Foreign Secretary of Pakistan Mr. Riaz H. Khokhar on September 4, 2004. The talks were held in a cordial and constructive atmosphere.
2. They reiterated their commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and their determination to implement the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit.
3. The Foreign Ministers expressed satisfaction at the progress made so far, and positively assessed the developments in bilateral relations over the past year.
4. Recalling the reassurance contained in the Joint Press Statement of January 6, 2004, they exchanged views on carrying the process forward in an atmosphere free from terrorism and violence.
5. The Ministers held detailed and substantive discussions and reiterated the confidence that the Composite Dialogue will lead to peaceful settlement of all bilateral issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, to the satisfaction of both sides. They agreed to continue with the serious and sustained dialogue to find a peaceful negotiated final settlement. They expressed their determination to take the process forward.
6. The wide ranging proposals on confidence building, promotion of friendly exchanges, and enhancing trade and economic cooperation, made by both the sides, were examined and it was agreed that these would be discussed further.

7. The Ministers agreed on the following:
 - I. Expert level meetings on Conventional and Nuclear CBMs, inter alia, to discuss the draft agreement on advance notification of missile tests;
 - II. Meeting between railway authorities on the Munnabao - Khokhrapar rail link;
 - III. Biannual meeting between Indian Border Security Force (BSF) and Pakistan Rangers in October 2004;
 - IV. Meeting between Narcotics Control Authorities, including for finalisation of an MOU in October/ November 2004;
 - V. Meeting between the Indian Coast Guards and the Pakistan Maritime Security Agency in November 2004 to, inter alia, discuss the Memorandum of Understanding for establishing communication link between them;
 - VI. Establishment of Committee of Experts to consider issues related to trade;
 - VII. On Siachen, the outcome of the August 2004 meeting of Defence Secretaries would be implemented;
 - VIII. Joint Survey of the boundary pillars in the horizontal segment (blue dotted line) of the international boundary in the Sir Creek area;
 - IX. Meeting on all issues related to commencement of a bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad;
 - X. Add a new category of Tourist Visa in the visa regime between the two countries, and to promote group tourism;
 - XI. Set up a mechanism to deal with the issue of civilian prisoners and fishermen, effectively and speedily;
 - XII. Further measures for facilitation of visits to religious shrines, and upkeep of historical sites;
 - XIII. Enhanced interaction and exchanges among the respective Foreign Offices, including study tours of young diplomats/probationers to each other's country.
8. They recognized the importance of availability and access to energy resources in the region around South Asia. The Ministers of Petroleum/ Gas could meet to discuss the issue in its multifarious dimensions.
9. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan met the National Security Adviser, Mr. J.N.

Dixit, and also called on Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, during his stay in India.

10. The two sides agreed to the continuation of high level meetings and visits, including a meeting between President Musharraf and Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh in New York on the margins of UNGA later in September 2004;

I. a visit by Pakistan's Prime Minister to India as Chairperson of SAARC;

II. a meeting between the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan's Prime Minister in Dhaka, in January 2005, on the margins of the SAARC Summit.

11. It was also agreed that the two Foreign Secretaries would meet in December 2004 to discuss overall progress, as well as subjects of Peace and Security including CBMs, and Jammu and Kashmir, in the Composite Dialogue. They would also work out the schedule of meetings on the other six subjects, i.e. Siachen; Wullar Barrage/ Tulbul Navigation Project; Sir Creek; Terrorism and Drug Trafficking; Economic and Commercial Cooperation; and Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in Various Fields, under the Composite Dialogue.

12. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan invited the External Affairs Minister of India to visit Pakistan. The invitation was accepted and the dates would be worked out through diplomatic channels.

New Delhi September 8, 2004