

**CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES
BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA (1999-2002)**



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MS History

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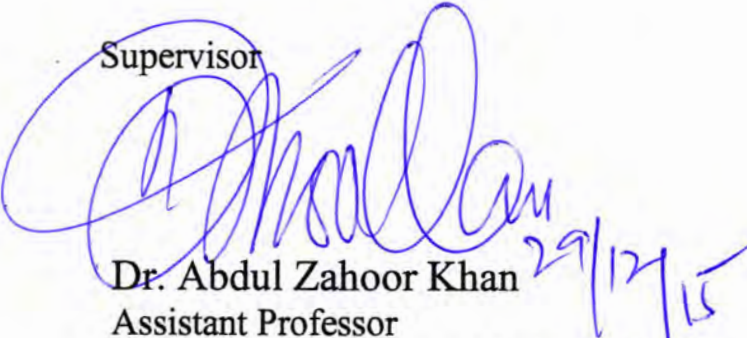
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
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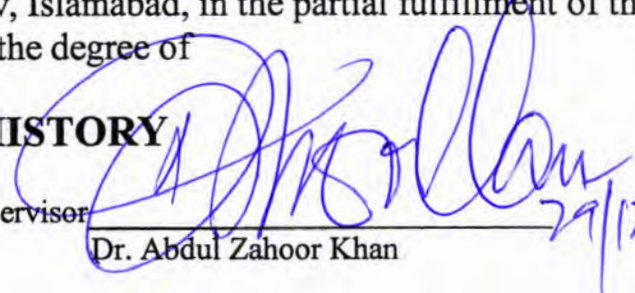
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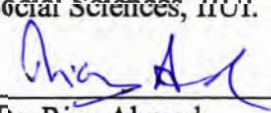
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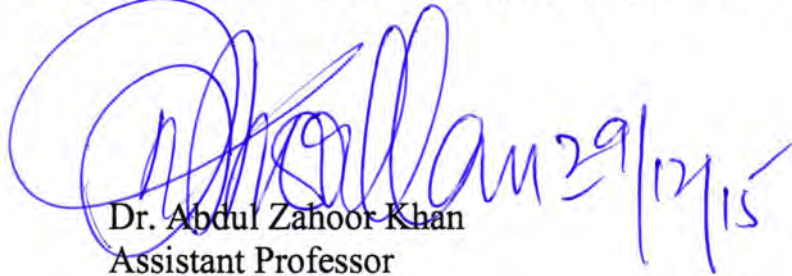
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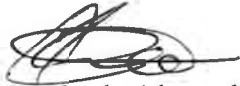


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In the memories of my late Mother

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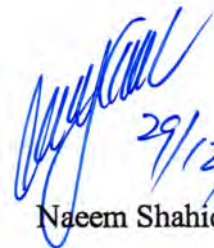
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Abbreviations

CAMs	Confidence Avoidance Measures
CBMs	Confidence Building Measures
CSBMs	Confidence and Security Building Measures
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CAC	Chemical Arms Convention
DCLs	Direct Communication Links
HEU	Highly Enriched Uranium
HDI	Human Development Index
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICBM	Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile
ICOC	International Code of Conduct
IDC	Inter Dominion Conference
IWG	International Working Group
IOZP	Indian Ocean as Zone of Peace
IRBM	Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile
KANUPP	Karachi Nuclear Power Plant

LoC	Line of Control
MFN	Most Favorite Nation
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NATU	Natural Uranium
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NWO	New World Order
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NWS	Nuclear Weapon State
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
SSM	Surface-to-Surface Missile
WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization

Abstract

The Study of Confidence Building Measures in the context of Pakistan and India based on to examine the probabilities of bringing both Pakistan and India on the table of negotiation and dialogue to resolve their longstanding issues in the light of new ideologies and outlook. The longstanding conflicts between Pakistan and India from decades are casting its shadows over peace process and initiatives. Pakistan and India never enjoyed healthy and peaceful relationship since 1947. They have fought four major wars (1947-48, 1965, 1971, and 1999) due to the unresolved and longstanding issue of Kashmir that even widened the gap between Pakistan and India. Both states have nuclear weapons as well as weapons of mass destruction and above all, they have not signed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). The historical nature of the issues and the possible solutions of these problems have addressed in this study.

INTRODUCTION

The adoption of the Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) in various parts of the world has led to positive outcome and it is generally, viewed as essential step headed towards promotion of stability and peace amongst the nations that are struggling to get solutions of their territorial or any other issues in peaceful manners. According to Simon J. A. Mason,

Confidence Building Measures are a series of actions that are negotiated, agreed, and implemented by the conflicting parties in order to build confidence without focusing on the root cause of the conflict. (Mason, 2013)

Marie-France Desjardins define CBMs in 1996, He said,

CBMs are not intended to deal with the root cause of the conflict, but advocates argue that these measures are the first step in turning unfriendly relationship into the foremost accommodating ones. It is often said that if CBMs won't work, nothing else will. (Mason, 2013)

Confidence building measures are diverse arrangements like hot line, people to people exchanges, and prior notifications of military exercises that can be able to help to reduce tensions and encourage good neighborly relations. (Henry L. Stimson Center, 1996)

CBMs aim to create a situation in which the warring parties agree to talk mutual steps for Building of trust and starting talks for the diffusion of crisis or the resolution of conflict. (Ahmad, 1996)

CBMs are like 'Salaam' and 'Namaste'. They are also as old as history. Both of these are expressions of respect and good will, a measure of transparency demonstrating that no arms carried and that the interaction meant to be harmless. The gesture is often accompanied by a smile and conveys feelings of cordiality if not friendship. (The Defense, 2002)

CBMs are the initiatives undertaken by the opponent states to lessen their enmity and to improve the level of faith by dealing with joint concerns. CBMs played a defining role in defusing anxiety in the world particularly between the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War. CBMs have been used very frequently in South Asian political and strategic environment. The purpose of this research is to study the level of mutual confidence between Pakistan and India in all dimensions.

CBMs may be defined as arrangements, designed to improve assurance of mind and faith in the faith-worthiness of states—confidence is the product of much pretty broader patterns of relationships than those which relate to military security. In fact, the latter have to be woven into a difficult texture of financial, cultural, technical, and social relationship. (Salik, 1998)

CBMs are the tools used to create an environment where it becomes viable to address the issues and conflicts between rival states on the table rather than the battlefield. The issues that are causing the confusion might put into the icebox in order to create a relationship of confidence. Therefore, it is viable and often suitable to deal with minor issues first. It is all because the annoyance on the minor issues are tend to under control in such cases and parties are less enforced to go against the agreement if successfully done by the adversaries. It is most probable that both of the parties act according to the agreement reached. This lessens anxiety and improves the faith and the level of confidence, which ultimately, leads the adversaries to address the major issues by gaining confidence in the first stage by addressing the minor issues.

Both Pakistan and India are two major states of South Asia with Nuclear Arms and weapons of mass destruction. Unfortunately, these two immediate neighboring states by no means enjoyed good and healthy relationship since 1947. Pakistan and India had fought three major and hundreds of minute border clashes due to their

longstanding issues of Kashmir, Siachin, water dispute and several other minor issues. (Mishra, 2010)

The issues with neighboring states by no means appreciable in the modern political states, particularly the states like Pakistan and India who are sharing the border of 1280 km. (Wikipedia, 2015) Moreover, these two states have nuclear arms and other modern weapons of mass destruction which is pretty frightening. These two nations fixed their claims to one another leaving no room to move from their basic and primary demands. This state caused a deadlock in the process of negotiations and dialogues. Therefore, generated the environment of mistrust and lacking in confidence building. The two nations left no stone unturned to beat each other in every occupation whether in the playground or nuclear race. This situation is a call of anxiety for not only the political governments, armed forces but also for the people of the both sides of the border are now seemed quite weary of conflicts, unrest, tension and destabilization in the area. This is high time to seize the opportunity to bring people together who are ready to welcome any positive move headed towards stable solution of the problem.

To bring political governments, armed forces, and the people of the both sides together, CBMs are desperately needed so that it may become a useful tool to bring permanent and peace stability between Pakistan and India. The only way to keep these two states away from the shadows of war is to encourage workable and practicable methods of CBMs acceptable to the both countries. It may give lead to the future road map of durable stability and peace between Pakistan and India. The laborious efforts of the past governments, civil societies and many other factors are quite appreciable but still much more to go for bringing durable and permanent peace and tranquility. The study of the past events in the context of CBMs has its own significance to get the highest results of these moves and steps taken in terms of making sure of peace.

The longstanding disputes like Kashmir, Siachin and water issues have yet to be addressed seriously in the atmosphere of bilateral co-existence between

these two states. There is no doubt that the applications of the present Model of CBMs is hard and laborious which cannot bring an over-night change or offering any miraculous spell but to fix brick after brick to bridge the gulf between Pakistan and India. Quick results cannot be expected but with slow and steady applications of the Two-Dimensional Model of CBMs along with the joint efforts of the third and foremost dimension of media, civil societies and people of both sides of the borders.

The Model is good enough to bring peace, security and safety not only between these two states but also bring an environment of faith in South Asia if implemented with whole heartedly with the joint efforts and pretty serious political will of both countries. It is reality that in the atmosphere of nuclear deterrent, the environment of mistrust, ideological differences and extremism from both sides have ruined the efforts and positive moves of stability and peace. The image reflected during the past decades.

Since independence, the riots accrued very frequently in the both countries. The two countries fought their first war soon after their birth followed by two more and many minor and major border clashes. This makes CBMs most desirable between Pakistan and India.

The desire of permanent stability and peace, projects CBMs as the only acceptable solution between these two rival nuclear states sharing a long history of enmity with nuclear weaponry and now fenced borders. (Brass, 2005)

CHAPTER. 1.**Historical Perspective of CBMs**

A Theoretical Framework of CBMs

The theory of Complex Interdependence by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye addresses CBMs between India and Pakistan. This theory has enough room to address the political bifurcation between Pakistan and India. According to the writers, the globalization has given birth to the idea of interdependence, interrelationship, and cooperation among states. The aloofness in the modern political scenario can create difficulties to the state for its survival. Thus, conflict resolution, cooperation, CBMs and conflict reduction helps to provide an environment that serves the assurance for a peaceful living of the states.

The theory offers the doors of negotiations, dialogues by developing mutual understanding to address their longstanding issues of Kashmir, which will open the doors of peaceful life to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The CBMs after the events of Kargil, mobilization of 2002, and so on created a wide gulf and deadlock in the process of negotiations and dialogues. Both the countries have to settle their priorities to defuse tensions in peaceful manners. (Samarjit, 2009) The two states are sharing a long history of enmity moreover, these two states have modern weapons of mass destruction, and above all, they are the immediate neighbors. The people of both sides have a lot more potential to come near in spite of many differences. Therefore, the present approach of bilateral and multilateral measures can be helped if used scientifically by separating both military and non-military measures with the support of media and many other minor measures. The approach well equipped with all types of diplomatic measures including Track 1 and Track II Diplomacy. According to the Henry L. Stimson Center,

Diverse arrangements that can help reduce tensions, and promote good neighborly relations. Traditionally they are designed to make the behavior of states more predictable by facilitating communication among states and

establishing rules or patterns of behavior for states' military forces. (Henry L. Stimson Center, 1996)

So, the set of dialogues whether bilateral or multilateral that acts to reduce political and military conflicts between these two states should be avoided in some way or the other before starting during or after the actual conflict. (Holly, 2004)

Communication, transparency, constraint, and verification are the four major components where CBMs can work in the atmosphere of interdependence and inter-relationship. The use of violence and strategic threats can be reduced by using these tools of CBMs for these can reduce the probabilities of conflict.

CBMs in the historical perspective of Pakistan and India

According to the Plan of 3 June 1947, it had been decided that India would be divided in to two states in June 1948 but instead of the said time framework, the partition had been processed some ten months earlier than the anticipated. (Khan, 2007) The sudden decision of the British government was a move to please the Hindu leadership that left some unresolved territorial conflicts and issues that marked the painful future of the citizens of the aggrieved areas. It created many problems for the regional peace, security, safety, and stability. Besides, experts of international relations, political thinkers, analysts offered hundreds of proposals to settle the problems and issues among different countries in the context of their regional and territorial circumstances round the world. These tiring efforts and hard labor of durable peace seemed vague in the context of Pakistan and India. There are several reasons that contributed the present sorry state of peaceful relationships between these two states.

South Asia is one of the foremost significant and mobilized regions in the world. Its population is almost 1/3 of the total population of the world. The population of Pakistan and India is well over 1 billion people, almost more than one-fifth of the human race. (Ganguly, 2012) International political analysts and peacemakers give a great deal of importance to South Asia especially Pakistan and India because of its geo-political and strategic location in the World.

Pakistan and India emerged as two major states of South Asia. Unfortunately, the British left the loopholes and flaws that proved to be the bone of contention between these two states emerged on the world's map. The fate of these two states had been written on mistrust and enmity and these states have no longer held themselves responsible enough to resolve their major and even minor issues. The gulf between these two got wider and wider due to the minor and some major border clashes led them to the four wars.

The propaganda campaign of different factions based on hatred unable them to settle their issues in the environment of trust and sincerity. Consequently, their longstanding border clashes and issues like Siachen and Kashmir have yet to be resolved. Moreover, the development of modern nuclear, short, and long-range missiles generated an arm race between Pakistan and India. Now, both Pakistan and India have nuclear weapons, which are a permanent threat to the peace and security of these two nations.

Indian soldiers are involved in the mass killing of Kashmiris to strengthen their claim over Kashmir. Even the new wave of terrorism connected with Pakistan by the Indian government. Pakistan victimized by the Indian government on every front of international community and linked Kashmir issue to the cross-border terrorism. (Mubeen, 2013) Pakistan denies the allegations by claiming the plebiscite and the just right of Kashmiris by

attesting to continue the moral support of the freedom fighters in the Indian occupied Kashmir. Instead of doing something, substantial India maintained its claim that Kashmir is the unbreakable part of India. As far the killing of the Kashmiris in the valley is concerned these activities against civilians have been denied by the Indian government and even protesting on nation-wide and international forums that caused an environment of strained relations between Pakistan and India, especially, the propaganda campaign against Pakistan on all fronts during the Kargel War.

Indian Government including its ambassadors and media had left no stone unturned to manipulate Pakistan Army, General Pervaiz Musharaf and the political leaders. They victimized very badly by the Indian officials. Some claimed that the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif was also responsible of that expedition and operation there at Kargil while the political government was denying the guilt for what they had been victimized by the world. That state of mistrust and strained relations sabotaged the long and continuous journey of confidence building that had been generated between these two states so far. Even the tragedy of Kargil had been projected on such a way that it turned into as a stigma for the political history of Pakistan. (Nayar, 2003)

After the attack on the Indian-Parliament on 13 December 2001, Indian Government mobilized its troops near Pakistani borders in 2002. (Samarjit, 2009) That created a big tension and anxiety for not only for Pakistan but also for the neighboring states and international peace makers, which is well aware of the consequences of war between these two states capable sufficient of using their nuclear weapons at any time. Moreover, insecurity and safety concerned under nuclear anticipation from both Pakistan and India have lessened opportunities of good and friendly relationships, peace, security, and safety.

In the environment of nuclear deterrence, the nuclear CBMs are equally important to serve the healthy and save future to the coming generations. The conventional and the nuclear conflict had been constituted a pretty seamless web which needs to be conventional CBMs. (Chari, 2004) The best possible solution to ensure honorable relations is the practical implementation of the CBMs.

There is an old saying, To every cloud, there is a silver lining Various proposals had been initiated and introduced so far from both sides of the border that are probably a comparatively weaker ray of hope to develop an atmosphere in which anxiety and conflicting relationships could be softened. Various segments of the political government and military elites of Pakistan and India have brought forth proposals of, 'Joint defense', 'No war pact', 'Nuclear Weapon free zone' to settle the issues on the basis of negotiations, dialogues and official meetings. The troublesome forces of extremists from both Pakistan and India have obstructed and ruined the practical efforts, hard labor of the peace lover elements from army, political governments, media, and civil societies. Moreover, the nuclear developments and advancements in the late 90s fostered the peace process initiated by the civil societies and political leadership. In that transitional political scenario.

CBMs between Pakistan and India had become the only viable remedies to stop any possible tension. These measures should not be ignored in the peaceful and comparatively acceptable respites between Pakistan and India, which might be the only ray of hope for the people of these two nations. The trust deficit into the applications of CBMs is the main hurdle to achieve the target to make these both nations sit together on the table of trust and confidence to address their major and minor issues by remembering the fact that the establishment of CBMs is difficult to culture but pretty easy to disrupt. (Samarjit, 2009)

CBMs approaches have worked positively in various parts of the World. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to assume that it ought to work and bring the same out-come in the context of Pakistan and India. CBMs are a continuous passionate process of restoring lost faith between adversaries and a strong combination of restoring missing links between groups, individuals, nations, areas, and states.

CBMs have multi-dimensions but political and military dimension are capable enough to address the issues with the force of acceptability and practicability by using the mandate of both people and the forces. The politicians work on the grounds of negotiations, acceptable agreements and joint understanding by using the mandate of the political governments under the atmosphere of inter-relationship by sitting down to iron and smoothen the hardies and strained state of relations with improving joint understanding and mutual co-operation. In this way, the friendly environment can be able to gain confidence to address the issues of mutual interest and get the maximum results of their efforts with a minimum loss of faith. CBMs level the uneven ground by making crooked places to straight and serve the favorable grounds to the aspirants of peace to play the game of politics without any hardies.

CBMs can be used in different ways, like hotlines, exchange of intelligence to fight against terrorism and extremism, exchange of prisoners, people-to-people contacts, and prior notifications existing measures for certain military exercises, ballistic missile, flight tests are useful. (Krepon, 2012) These measures can help to lessen anxiety and encourage good neighborly relationships. CBMs can be termed as the techniques for gaining results by using peaceful solutions of the issues without war.

The prime motive and aim of CBMs are to create a state in which the aggrieved parties agree to take mutual steps to gain faith and preferred dialogues to defuse tensions for the resolution of conflicts.

Kuldip Nayar has rightly quoted in the context of Pakistan and Indian relationship he said,

You may win battles but you can be able to lose the wars.... (Nayar, 2003)

CBMs emerge as buffer between war and conflict and serve a breathing space to the opponents and states involved into an endless state of conflict.

CBMs also provide a second line of communication among conflicting states by seeking remedies to bridge the gulf between the governments of the opponents by serving some testing grounds to initiative new policies acceptable to the both ends. The primary target of these measures is war avoidance and crisis management.

The Two-Dimensional Model of CBMs Or The Rational Model of CBMs. The Two-Dimensional Model further extended to the measures taken by the media and civil societies of the both sides of the borders in the context of Pakistan and India relations. These measures can ensure the efforts of both political and military CBMs. The Two-Dimensional Model is based upon military and non-military CBMs and has the capability of transforming the actions not only of the leaders but also of the people in forgetting enmities and cultivating the seeds of trust friendship and cooperation. The diagrammatic expression of this model is workable in the political scenario of Pakistan and India. This model accepts that although the ground realities are terrain and hard but a sincere and continuous effort help in thawing the glaciers of longstanding enmity. As General Musharraf became the Chief Executive of Pakistan, India officials clearly announced that Indian Government

would not move the process of dialogue with a dictator. However, that did not last longer when India changed its stance when Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee invited General Musharraf in 2001 for Agra Summit in India to resume the process of dialogues. (Pakistan-India, 2011)

The political and military elites of both Pakistan and India have to take serious charge about the present political status of the two nations by discouraging those elements who have ambitions to impose their superiority and dominance upon others. No doubt, the practicability of this Model is hard, incremental, and laborious. Rapid and quick results cannot be expected but slowly and steadily, work on the practical implementation of this Two-Dimensional Model can be able to bring peace, security, and safety between Pakistan and India if implemented with true commitment and with the backing of the righteous political will from Pakistan and India.

In this environment of nuclear deterrent, ideological differences, mistrust, hatred, and the slogans of war by the extremists and fundamentalists of both Pakistan and India generated the urgency and made CBMs the foremost urgent, desirable and the only one acceptable solution for these two states.

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CONTEMPORARY MODELS OF CBMs

Man has a quarrelsome nature and heartiest desire to impose his superiority upon others in some way or the other. At the same time, Man suppressed and bettered by the storms of persecution. He had undergone massacres and genocides but he protested against violence and injustice in all ages and on all fronts. World has been confronting on several issues in which various nations of different areas had been involved but at the same time, positive steps have been taken by the various states and the international community to minimize the causes of conflicts which are quite appreciable. The two countries are sharing decades of enmity and hostility. (Ganguly and Kapur, 2012) To lessen the longstanding hostility and enmity different modes of CBMs and models of CBMs have been introduced to address the conflicts and disputes between Pakistan and India.

Two Dimensional Model of CBMs can well address the contemporary issues between the two states. These are both military and non-military measures to avoid any front between the countries well equipped with nuclear weapons. It took almost forty-nine years and nine months to come closer and develop some understanding when the prime ministers of both sides agreed for Composite Dialogue Process (CDP) in May 1997 in the capital of Maldives under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif and his counterpart Inder Kumar Gujral. (Mishra, 2010) They stressed upon the need to resolve the territorial and ideological issues through negotiations by using non-military measures especially in the context of Pakistan and India. Fairly bus service and by adding the airways can be useful to develop understanding. (Ghosh, 2001) There are certain common causes that lead the states to aggravate or initiate anxiety between adversarial states.

Mistrust, lack of confidence and absence of communication between states creates gap and deadlock in the process of negotiations that may lead them to misunderstandings. If

confidence and faith are lacking between states the peace process merely proved to be a dream and instead fear and disbelief loomed into the relations of the states. These situations in the relations of the nations are quite alarming when chances of peaceful forbearance and co-existence stayed on distance. An environment of disbelief and fear prevails because of factors like mistrust, ambitions, financial domination, and power politics. The mistrust or lacking of confidence further moves the states to make its muscles to impose its superiority on the rival state.

This starts arms race in the region which may further shattered the balance of power into the region and the probabilities of co-operation, dialogues, inter-dependence and inter-relationship. Ideological differences widened and circumstances serve room to conflicts, ambitions of supremacy and dominance. These differences in socio-political status, hatred, feelings of jealousy and mistrust between various nations led them to pledge themselves into different treaties of defense that started a cold war among states. The Cold War between United States and USSR was one of the examples when ideological differences divided them into two blocks.

In South Asia China, Pakistan and India are the foremost important players of power politics with nuclear weapons. Moreover, both Pakistan and China shared a very few respites of some good relationship with India. They came on the table of dialogues on Indus Water Treaty in 1962, after the war of 1965 in Tashkent, Simla Accord in 1972 and even from 1984 to 1997, they have initiated dialogues on different issues with a little success. (Mishra, 2010) This tilt into the relations brought them to the verge of bloody war. The present model of CBMs have capability to address the core reasons of the issues generally to the issues and contemporary conflicts in South Asia and particularly between

Pakistan and India that may help to lessen down the already widened gulf between these two states having weapons of mass destruction.

South Asia is the important region both geographically and politically in the world but unfortunately, filled with ideological rifts, ethnic and linguistic issues, border clashes, difference outlook in the division of resources, water, financial matters, and its distribution. These added fuel to fire and further widened the growing rift between these two states. This stressed upon the need of any breakthrough ensure the practical implementations of the present model CBMs that can be addressed the contemporary complex political situation.

The Nuclear arms race further ignited the already adverse situation. The absence of present communication gap between rival states compounded with mistrust that intensified the state of anxiety between them. Anxiety leads to an up-ward twist into the military operating expenses that include multiplications of conventional arms race for stockpiling and further acquiring of modern and sophisticated arms technology. (Krepon, 2004)

Nuclear Proliferation generates many folds if the opponents are well equipped with nuclear weaponry. This caused a peril not only for the rival states but also for the entire region. This brings the utmost significance to serve the measures of conflict resolution between adversarial states. CBMs are the primary source of the conflict resolution. It is a pre-requisite of the conflict resolution. The rival states can steadily strengthen communication to restore peace and transparency between opponents. The growing faith helps in changing the joint insight to read and observe the ground realities that might help to restore the faith and trust between enemy states. This process metalized amongst the states that are ready to sort out their difference at the table of dialogue rather than battlefield.

The Two Dimensional Model of CBMs has the strength of applicability and acceptability. It enjoys the mandate of people due to the political government and a token of recommendation due to the involvement of armed forces particularly in the context of Pakistan and India where we cannot rule out the value of armed forces to run the business of the state. The political government initially creates an environment by using all channels of diplomacy to ensure positive moves between Pakistan and India. This may serve the acceptability to different elements of the state including armed forces. This model has capable enough to develop consciences on the issues of urgency and further categorize it into the minor and major issues that can handle in the foremost convincing manner. This is quite natural that the stakes of the states are always prime. To create a peaceful settlement of the issues and clashes it is necessary for the states to render a little portion of their interests in terms of the practical implementation of CBMs to avoid wars and confrontations because the ultimate goals of CBMs are to create an environment of peaceful co-existence amongst states.. In this model of CBMs, the channels of communication and openness initialized and the transparency encourages the moves of ensuring international peace and relationship.

The two-dimensional efforts of CBMs designed to seek elimination and reduction of the core causes of enmity and mistrust between nations. Both states plunged in to dialogues and negotiations between 1984 to 1997 and addressed the issues like Sir Creek, Siachen disputes but these efforts of peace could achieve very limited success. (Mishra, 2010). Consequently, it has learnt that the efforts supported by the political as well as military could bear fruit. The present model of CBMs has enough might to meet the both ends in the prevailing situations of both Pakistan and India particularly the longstanding rift between

these two. Different tools and channels of the present Two Dimensional Model of CBMs can be mobilized like Back Door Diplomacy, Track I, Track II Diplomacy, international mediations, people-to-people contacts, exchange of information and intelligence, media campaign to develop faith and relationship, meetings of the army officials, defense agreements, treaties of joint defense against aggressors etc. These can be used according to the situations and needs where necessary. The CBMs, which had been used during the Cold war like formal and informal negotiations, produced a great number of predictability and transparency in to the different moves of military of the two opponent blocks, Communist and capitalist.

According to Cathreen. S. Fisher's point of view, CBMs initiates by conveying 'Credible evidence of the absence of feared threat.' CBMs include measures like the prior notification and observation of military exercises, ensuring communication lines and the exchange of information. Such measures can narrow down the view of CBMs by focusing on specific issue of some particular area

However, the exciting Two Dimensional Model of CBMs can be viewed as a pretty broader point of view. United States, The Republic of Korea, and Singapore, who had co-chaired, International Working Group (IWG) on CBMs in the Asia-Pacific, which had been agreed upon for the implementation of CBMs among nations. The IWG uses an exciting definition of CBMs and be termed as Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBMs). That may include formal and informal measures whether unilateral, multilateral or mutual but it addresses the uncertainties to reduce the possibilities of war among states by carefully looking into the political and military factors. There measures hopefully contribute for the reduction of uncertainty, suspicion and misperception that help to lessen down the

possibility of any minor or accidental conflict. The IWG sees CBMs as embracing any of the measures linked with the concept of confidence building

Existing Models of CBMs

Various states have tried different models of CBMs in order to lessen down the anxiety, tension, inducing in their contemporary sphere of interaction. Many of these measures adopted and used before Cold War. Although it had not been termed as CBMs yet those measures used as instruments of peace-making and peace-bringing. In the recent past, the measures to check and control anxiety linked actions some on Models have been used by various scholars and decisions-makers. The results were encouraging. Therefore, the international community considers it desirable to apply these Models to lessen anxiety and aggression. These Models of CBMs have been effectively operational and are as follows.

East-West Model of Confidence Building Measures

During the Cold War, the nations participating in East-West negotiations set up a Model of confidence building measures. This Model consists of four levels.

- Ground-breakers (First generation measures).
- Second-generation measures.
- Third-generation measures. (These CBMs)

Three Bucket Model of CBMs

The Finland Helsinki Act 1975 laid down the foundation of The Three Bucket Model of CBMs in order to lessen down or de-escalate the causes that aggravate intolerance,

mistrust, and tensions. This multilateral agreement has the features of Three Buckets of CBMs which are as follows:

- Bucket - one
- Bucket - two
- Bucket - three

Bucket One

The issues of security, peace, and stability are the prime concern in the environment of nuclear weapons, use of modern technology, biological weapons of mass destruction in the wars. In this bucket the vital concerns of the states to mediate the opponents to bring them on the table of negotiation. It promotes the peaceful settlement of the issues by the peaceful manners. The members were largely concerned with the contemporary environment of Europe. Their efforts, intentions, hard labor, and outcome largely concerned with the enforcing power, which might be the mutual concerns, resulted into the significance of peace and security.

Bucket Two

This bucket widely constituted peace, security and safety methods like, financial relationship, exchanges in Science and Technology, these relations generally based on natural political environment and steps taken in this regard. The participants of the discussion realized the reality that the world can be divided into the developed, developing, and underdeveloped political states. Almost all of them require financial and substantial support in order to develop and sustain their existence in the global financial environment. Therefore, the main emphasis had been laid on the inter-dependence, transfer of science

and technologies and material help them enabling and making sure in the maintenance of their liberty. (Centre, 1998)

Bucket Three

Bucket-three mainly addressed cultural exchange, development of human rights and its protection. The exchange of information that ignored by the present political states generally viewed as vital for making sure of peace. It has been admitted that millions of innocent have lost their lives in conflicts, massacres, and killing of human on large scale just to impose one's superiority upon others or to make sure of one's hegemony in the area. This race gave birth to the endless enmity, hatred, and abhorrence. In order to cure the cruel and inhuman expeditions, Bucket Three offered sufficient measures to make sure of the human rights, tolerance, faith towards others. The cultural legacy of the people remained intact. The present Model was relevant into the region of Asia-Pacific. The model strongly promoted that states were strongly inclined to focus on financial measures with the hope that the security and safety concerns will be encouraged and strengthened with the growing financial ties, financial activities, and prosperity in the area. In the context of Middle East peace process, the efforts of peace moved a little step forward to develop financial settlement among rival states. Before the outbreak of war in 1965, the trade was normal on the borders between Pakistan and India. Both countries were enjoying healthy trade and economic relations. (Kugelman, 2013) Now, the economic activities are quite limited in spite of traders wished to enlarge the trade volume that is just one percent of the total trade. (Taneja and Sanjib, 2015) CBMs and conflict resolution is the single ray of hope to settle the longstanding issues on the table. It will ultimately, enlarge the vital interest of the both states including trade.

The Model of Henry L. Stimson Center

Henry L. Stimson Center Model included three levels of CBMs likewise The Finland Helsinki Act 1975. The main features of the different levels are as follows:

- Confidence Avoidance Measures (CAMs)
- Confidence Building Measures (CBMs)
- Strengthening of Peace

Confidence Avoidance Measures

In the level one of Henry L. Stimson Model of CBMs, different methods to restore peace have been discussed like Confidence Avoidance Measures and Confidence Escaping Measures that signify those necessities that do not threaten the security of any state. Moreover, do not add in the existing level of enmity and opposition among nations.

CAMs are the basic steps of the safety nets to avoid unintended rise or accidental ties between nations. It is not necessary that it deal with the core issues of conflict. It takes the measures to avoid any adventure from the states, which might worsen the exciting environment of developing confidence between states. Any move, which can shatter the efforts of peace, tried to be avoided. Therefore, CAMs are some suitable methods for the governments to apply practically. Moreover, it serves an opportunity to the governments to resolve their conflicts and issues with comparatively less efforts if they really are serious. Hotline into the Indo-Pak relations is one of the key examples in this regard when hotline used as a tool of Confidence Avoidance Measures to avoid misunderstanding. These antecedent steps lead the state of relations on that stage when states are almost get agree to share information and even exchanges the records of military equipment, strategic arms,

force deployments limitations, site inspections etc. In this way, the confidence of the political governments increased which can handle the spillover of the minor misunderstandings among adversarial states.

Confidence Building Measures

Confidence Building Measures are slightly different from CAMs in degree efficiency and hierarchy. It takes the political will in general by using the mandate of the political insight, capital and a sincere will to implement CBMs. According to Henry L. Stimson

CBMs are the emerging concrete structures, shaped by the 'building blocks' of CAMs. CBMs create new patterns of interaction that are perceived to be beneficial in participating states and therefore it becomes hard to reverse them in case of hostilities.

The transition of CAMs with compare to CBMs is although hard yet the contending states have some deep-seated animosity and grievances that are pretty arduous to address in the environment of conflict. At the same time, CAMs have been far fewer sturdy and their implementation are pretty irregular. Lacking in some active dialogue and absence of some acceptable mediatory channel has been a prime cause for this sort of settlement of conflicts between states. Developing of CBMs requires the significant political will than the CAMs consequently, making them a slippery ground for the states to step and deal with the core-issue.

Level Three, Strengthening of Peace

The co-operation among states is always remains the prime concern for the makers of peace. No doubt, it is the first step for going towards peace. This level tries to strengthen the ties between states by opening the new dimensions and existing channels of co-

operation between states for making positive developments and moves in the process of bringing states under one umbrella. The strengthening of peace can work properly under the institutional framework that will make sure the durability and cementing of the CAMs and CBMs. In this way, the troublesome relations get the strength to render a little portion of their right just to get the final goal of permanent peace. Although it is a hard, lengthy, and difficult process yet it is capable to remove obstacles that can hamper prospects of peace, stability, and security. It is apparently a hard job when parties are suffering from hatred and mistrust. Large amount of such feeling and thinking can be undermined the whole process of CBMs and CAMs. Therefore, these can remove the probabilities of mistrust.

The efforts to strengthen peace into the peaceful environment encourage the nations to develop more ties by sharing of their culture. These efforts make sure the presence of peaceful coexistence between friendly nations and they inclined to work together in the environment of interrelationship and interdependence. The example of EURO Zone is quite appreciating in this regard. Europe who had been entered into the modern age of political diversity (Kissinger, 2011) fought two bloody World Wars but ultimately, realized the importance of peace, security, and stability. They are making their relationship stronger than ever before.

Nuclear Anticipation Model

The Nuclear Anticipation Model is somewhat like the process including the chain of parallel strength and capabilities in all dimensions or at least try to grab these. It encourages and inspired by the theory of Balance of Power by its nature. In this model, each rival strives to make themselves capable to fight against his rival in all dimensions.

The cold war era and the race between United States and Soviet Union could not stay to get nuclear anticipation but in all occupations even in space race just to beat the rival in some way or the other.

The Anticipation Model is as old as human being is. The spirit of competition grows and further depicts into the behavior of the nations in the wider aspect. The example of Israelite, Italians, and Germans are well quite here which have been inspired by the nationalism. The invention of nuclear weapons and its practical devastation on Japan alarmed the other warlords to get the modern technology as soon as possible in some way or the other. That indulged the nations into the race of getting nuclear technology to create deterrence. Once again, the two emerging nations who were responsible to conclude the Second World War pore all of their energies to grab more and more power and their allies in that race. That brought the cold war between these two and further swapped more than half of the world in that war. However, at the same time, it helped to promote peace in the presence of balance of power. The Anticipation Model in the CBMs changed all underlined motives of anticipation. The Development of the nuclear facilities gave a new shape and texture to CBMs. Nuclear CBMs between Pakistan and India are intimately linked. (Chari, 2004) Nuclear capability is the foremost preference of Pakistan since the 1971 tragedy. (Waseem, 2015)

The Nuclear proliferation in the world generated an environment of nuclear anticipation. At the same time, the nations mobilized the channel of United Nations to curb the nuclear race. Nuclear non-proliferation appeared to be the call of time to serve a save and peaceful future to the coming generations. Or else, the planet earth will be ruined. The treaties, agreements, mediations, and arbitrations need to be cultured by the peace lovers and

peacemakers to avoid any deadly clash. The Nuclear Anticipation Model believes that each bomb and its linked arsenals are required to be tested until its reliability by making sure of security and safety. It also projects the nuclear nonproliferation and mobility. To make anticipation model more credible and clear the Confidence level among nuclear capable states tried to be generated.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks Salt I and Salt II are the golden examples in this regard. Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) will be useful and effective if acknowledged by the great powers and the nations clamming nuclear capability. US is interested to bring New Start Treaty and CTBT of 1996 to make sure of its applicability by banning all nuclear tests. (Cirincione, 2013) In the classical sense of the Anticipation Paradigm nuclear states use measures of their capability of nuclear arsenal, by showing their will to strike first capability, by making sure their capability to survive in case of first attack on them. These are having enough might and strength to counter and the capability of the second strike and might of retaliation after the strike. This ensures only if the state have sufficient area like United States, Russia, China, and India etc. The nuclear program should be based on transparency so that it could be monitor effectively.

There are two schools of thought of CBMs, one is aspirant to bring stability and peace by increasing the level of deterrence in the international political scenario and believes that strength of nuclear armory can be used as the best tool of dialogues and a reliable guarantee of peace, security and stability. On the other hand, the thinkers and spokespersons of the other school of thought put a step forward with the believe that by making sure of nuclear capability we are not bringing peace but only increases the peril to security, stability and even fueling to war. They also believe that we cannot wash blood

with the blood, which is quite true to its sense. Even the public opinion is quite favorable round the globe.

Some 87% of Americans are in favor of stepping back to the nuclear weapons with the help of the other nations having weapons of mass destruction. The people believe that the nuclear weapons are not only having a great threat to their nation but also for the other nations of the world. (Cirincione, 2013) They stress upon the need to build an environment that have the capability to address the issues and conflicts on the table rather than battlefield. They seemed to be clearly inclined towards Collective security in which international organizations, treaties, mediations, arbitrations and accords could be make more strong and effective in the environment of trust and faith.

Two Dimensional Model of CBMs and Its Conceptual Framework

In the above discussion we have, under-gone the exciting approaches of CBMs in general in which we discussed Henry L. Stimson Center Model including its three levels of CBMs likewise The Finland Helsinki Act 1975. The models stressed upon the need to bring permanent peace and harmony among states through dialogues. These have enough might to address the issues in the friendly environment. The study opened the new face to generate the conceptual framework of the present Two Dimensional Model of CBMs and the phenomenon has been cleared in the context of Pakistan and India relations. It categorized the phenomenon in to two-fold efforts of bringing peace between these two rival states after addressing the minor and major issues scientifically. It will serve us the pedestal to bring both the nations together to develop the understanding of their longstanding issues in the atmosphere of interrelationship and interdependence.

In the first phase of the model, the political efforts of the political governments would categorize into different stages to make all this process systematic but simple all the way, so that the maximum results can be brought. Two-Dimension Model of CBMs or the Rational Model of CBMs is capable to provide complete set of conceptual framework to CBMs that can hopefully cultivate the required confidence between Pakistan and India who are sharing a long history of adverse relationship. The two dimensions of the present model of CBMs are as follows,

- Political Dimension or Non-Military Measures
- Military Dimension or Military Measures

In The Political Dimension or Non-Military Measures includes the factors like political efforts of the political governments, financial measures, media, cultural and educational measures. It will also address the communication, Dialogues, contracts, mediations, transparency, international law, constraint, and verification. The complete line of action, methods, and measures designed to make sure of the fruit of these efforts. In this way, the actions of the states would not remain unpredictable and the states held themselves responsible to consider the issues and problems to some extent in order to put their step forward to ensure peace and healthy relationship for the coming generations. The practicability of these efforts can enhance the probabilities of acceptance because these have underlined in the context and the historical realities of both India and Pakistan.

The modern trends and applications of CBMs can assure the reasonable balance between political and non-military measures of CBMs if apply honestly. The blend of these two dimensional efforts of military and non-military are inseparable into the phenomenon of Indo-Pak relations. Military efforts or CBMs like exchange of intelligence and information,

joint notification, joint line of action to counter terrorism and extremism, visits of military observers, joint military exercises, sites inspections, agreements, treaties etc. Military plays differently in both countries.

The differences of opinion between military and public always bring the two countries in state of dilemma. Whether go to the public side or the military. (Chari, 2004) Therefore, a broad interaction and vision of military and non-military factors make CBMs dynamic in the relations of Pakistan and India because the success of any political move is bound to succeed but military which can serve a token of success to any move between these two states. In such circumstances, military CBMs are good enough to provide the procedural and structural factors to avoid the probabilities of war while the non-military CBMs along with the presence of procedural and structural factor can provide psychological factors to head towards the building of durable confidence. Adams Rotefold, a Polish expert pointed out the role of military in such a way that can come true in the ground realities of the relations of Pakistan and India. He said,

While military oriented CBMs have a role to play in alleviating anxiety and promoting confidence, they are inherently unable, by themselves to deal with the underlying causes of suspicion and mistrust. (Rotefeld, 1996)

Niaz A. Naik, a Pakistani analyst states that

The Confidence Building Measures between Pakistan and India oughtn't to be confined in the fields of military and security. These must be comprehensive and must cover all dimensions. They must be enhanced by The Confidence-Building Measures in non-military fields, in culture, travelling, and people to people contacts. (The Confidence Building)

Similarly, Mark A Heller observes that,

CBMs can be able to play a potentially constructive role, provided that Confidence-Building is better understood to mean both of these states improve to improve faith in their own capacity to cope with the challenges of the modern age and also the process of reconstruction of faith be materialized. (Heller, 1993)

Therefore, CBMs particularly of the non-military range as just are necessary to strengthen relationship for long-lasting peace. These measures tend to develop confidence in one's own capabilities as well as tending to build faith in the mind of a potential rival and therefore make sure of security and safety.

Political Dimension of CBMs or Non-Military Measures

Political or Non-Military CBMs based on the active participation of political leadership of both sides of the borders. The supporters of peace says nay to war. War is a grave affair of the state; it is a place of life and death, a road to survival and extinction and a matter to be pondered carefully. (Kissinger, 2011) It is a pretty important phase in which political force who is enjoying the just mandate of the people are trying to expend their ties with the neighboring countries to serve a pretty save future for upcoming generations. In the region of South Asia both India and Pakistan are struggling for political stability. Both the countries have multi-lingual and multi-religious culture that directly influences their political system. India has achieved the political maturity to some extent by the continuity of successive democratic process but Pakistan that is almost sharing the same circumstances but struggling for the strong political institutions in the country. (Oldenburg, 2010)

Democracy is the only reliable pedestal where a government can feel free to address the long-term solutions of the problems and various issues. The two countries shared the same

history of poverty, inequality and unjust from the very beginning that are the vice versa of democracy.

The European nations who were once the worst enemies of one another and were responsible of mass killings of the innocent citizens of every neighboring state have forgotten their bitter past when they had almost destroyed in some way or the other in the result of Two Great World Wars. They cultured democracy to their societies. The political governments all around well read the aspirations of the people who were quite tired after losing everything. The governments won the mandate of the people and the Berlin Wall that had separated the one nation into two on the basis of ideologies. People showed their desires that they are not willing to fight anymore for nationalism. They are not willing to render their hands to any dictator to materialize his personal desire by making them fool on nationalism.

The democracy cover its journey like snail. Ultimately, the foes of the past came on the table of dialogue to erase their bitter memories by cultivating the rough dirt of the animosity and by sowing the seeds of the friendship for the safe and secure future of their children. They even render the part of their sovereignty and came under the umbrella of peace, security and stability. Non-military CBMs bring immediate lead to build the co-operative framework and institutionalize arrangements by using formal and informal tools of bringing peace and developing trust. It proved to be a reliable way to repair damages caused by any minor and major expeditions of rival states. The major goal of non-military measures is to formulate long-term and short-term ties to open the new doors of trust, recollect the institutional and personal memories of healthy communication. Political or Non-Military CBMs have strength to work between Pakistan and India in the foremost

successful and convincing manner. In the case study of Pakistan and India military CBMs goes parallel from top to bottom to serve the reliability and durability of any move of the political side. However, at the same time, political or Non-Military measures are not passive they are also mobilized and provide opportunities to either side of the military to understand their concerns. These CBMs employed through various approaches like 'integrated approach', which combines the basic initiative into the political, financial, humanitarian, cultural, social, and military realms. European nations have created a web of separate buckets that might facilitate trade-off at the birth of negotiations.

During the Cold War period when East looking forward to get financial gains while West wanted some positive moves and improvements in the development of human rights and making sure of opportunities in all dimensions. Soon both of these sides realized the value of peace and security and tried to come under an umbrella of collective security and striving for international laws and international governing body that can address and resolve their minor and major issues and conflicts on the table of bilateral dialogues and negotiations. Ultimately, both Eastern and Western blocks realized the value of security and safety measures. This environment proved a pretty good fit in the European perspective. Non-Military or Political Approach can work in different ways in the context of Pakistan and India, which are following.

The systematic approach

This is a pretty significance move towards CBMs. This approach can also be termed as rational approach to some extent for it give way to create an atmosphere of understanding through its step by step approach that starts with addressing those issues which are comparatively easier to address with some potential to be agreed upon. The little steps

can repair the uneven road that is going to join them together. Like the little clashes on the borders, exchange of prisoners for the good-will gesture, prior notice of any movement and mobilization on the borders, sharing of information in case of any possible and uncommon activity from any group or terrorist which can be fatal for the neighboring country. These efforts can provide a ground to address the major conflicts and issues like Kashmir, Siachin and other issues after encouraging the favorable and trustful environment, which may lead them to permanent and durable environment of co-existence, forbearance, and healthy relationship.

Step by step approach put all energies to lessen down the underlined differences and removing the hurdles and obstacles for the settlement of the foremost sensitive and complex problems like Kashmir issue, Siachin and water dispute. Such kind of sensitive issues be addressed but after the peaceful resolution of minor differences. Pakistan and India have to learn lesson from the past and other nations like European nations and above USSR and US who were the major players of the Cold War supplemented and initiated many little steps to eliminate nuclear arms race during the East-West CBMs process.

The fundamental advantage of the systematic approach works in a viable environment of co-existence without losing its sight of the ultimate goal. By following this approach, it is important to see into the context of Pakistan and India that shared a longstanding history of enmity and above all, they are nuclear states. This bitter reality along with the even bitter rivalry is a call of anxiety for the international peacekeepers. It would be quite reasonable and for these two nuclear opponents to adopt some practical security and safety measures to save the future of the coming generations. The first instance, both Pakistan and India should take some serious measures to stop the proliferation of nuclear weaponry and the

weapons of mass destruction. The overall public opinion is going against nuclear weaponry. According to the Associated Press and GfK Roper Public Affairs showed that 87% of Americans are supporting the notion to step back from these expeditions while 62% of the Americans are in favor to wipe off the nuclear weapons on the face of this earth including US. (Cirincione, 2013) Under these circumstances, the power players should support the public opinion friendly rather than aggressive. Pakistan maintained that its nuclear program is peaceful and to create balance of power in the region. It should be comprehended not only peace, security, stability but also to curb the nuclear race in the region. In addition, as for CTBT and NPT are concerned, Pakistan's stance is conditional with India. Under the circumstances step-by-step approach is a vital way out to bring these two nuclear states closer and further these two states may decide the fate of their citizens by mutual disarmament or agreements.

Economic and Financial Measures

Economic and financial activities between the neighboring countries serve a platform to the economy of any country. It can be termed as the backbone of the economy of the modern political state. The industrial revolution gave boom to the production. Consequently, the industrial states started pouring their energy to find the international markets for the consumption of their mass production. The major industrial and capitalist states spread their influence from east to west and south to north. Countries appreciate the economic activities and welcome every move offered them a chance of economic activities even during the strained relations. Somalia had welcomed every positive move of financial activity in spite of so many ethnic, social, and political differences among groups. The same is the case with Kenya to open international transport route for trade.

The world shrank to a global village. No state is ready to lose its market due the penetration of multi-national companies. A multi-national company has massive trade volume even greater than the annual budget of a country like Pakistan. Pakistan and India are very important countries of South Asia. Their economic and financial significance made them a great market of consumers. India has an estimated population of 1.25 billion (2002) and Pakistan reached reaching up to 140 million (2002). Almost all of the capitalist and industrialist countries pay special care to the markets of Pakistan and India. Unfortunately, the trade volume of Pakistan and India is very poor due to the longstanding enmity. The two important economies of South Asia are struggling to reconstruct their confidence to multiply their trade volume and it has doubled with compare to the past but still as low as one percent of the total trade of both countries. (Taneja, 2008) Most of the products of these countries penetrate to the markets through smuggling via Dubai and many other Gulf States.

The financial and economic analyst offered many suggestions to improve the falling graph of the trade like the projects of joint financial development, the agreement to enhance trade, free trade zone, and joint exhibition of their industrial production, agricultural products, and its trade financial integration. They also stress upon the need to re-affirmation of the basic principles of international financial relationships, introduction of the measures that could reactivate mutual international co-operation for the growth and development of both sides of the borders. These activities needed the environment of peace and long-term policies and ties of healthy relationship. An atmosphere and mechanisms of trustworthy negotiations, resolution of financial and economical conflicts, implementation of bilateral talks and honor of each other are the measures that can liberalize and a token of

expanding trade by eliminating trade barriers between these two states. Attari and Wagha planned to be operational with better facilities for the passing of many more trucks for better trade. (Taneja and Sanjib 2015)

On 15 January 1998, the foreign secretary met in Dhaka to search the trilateral business probabilities. The talks ended with the hope that the two countries would seize any opportunity to enhance the bilateral business. Initially, it was said that the talks on secretaries' level would proved to be a turning point. Further Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and the Indian Prime Minister, I. K. Gujral met on the margins and could not brought the desired results as were expected after the Foreign Secretaries level meeting. Already very few efforts had been born fruit from 1984 to 1997 to develop the understanding on the minor and major issues. (Mishra, 2010) Therefore, the platform of SAARC proved a hope against hope when Indian Commerce Minister R. K. Hedge visited Islamabad in the SAARC Commerce Ministers Conference on 28 April 1998. Unfortunately, this opportunity had also been wasted due to the lukewarm behavior of the Indian side.

The trade between Pakistan and India can bring people together if they start trade with each other by offering relaxations on the borders. India gave a relaxation to the traders investing in Pakistan along with the reduction of prohibited items up to 30% imported from Pakistan. (Taneja and Sanjib, 2015). The improvement in bilateral trade is the mandate of the political government. Therefore, the political government should launch a media campaign to bring people together. If the trade is not operational, this is the failure of the political governments alone. The political governments should try to use the tools of CBMs to multiply the trade volume between Pakistan and India. The two nations should develop financial activities by initiating the joint projects of national production and growth. These

activities ultimately, bring peace and further build the shaken trust that will enable them to resolve their issues through bilateral talks and negotiations. (Ahmed, 1996)

Diplomatic Measures

Diplomatic Measures are the part of Political Measures. It encourages joint policy planning and concerns. It also appropriates the levels of consideration and matters of common interest between states. Diplomatic delegations and envoys can be operational and effective in both peace and war. Diplomatic efforts are a buffer against war that say 'No' to violence and discourage the use of force in the international relationships. Diplomacy can play a vital role in the case of Pakistan and India in the present sorry state of relationship. They desperately need a complete overhaul of negotiations and dialogue process so that the mechanism could be established. The major points should be determined including Kashmir, Sir Creek, Siachen, Jammu and Kashmir, terrorism, drug trafficking, conventional and nuclear CBMs. (Mishra, 2010) Diplomacy based on the international law and the abiding force of international rules and regulations to be agreed upon by the countries or parties looking forward to the peaceful solution of conflicts. These measures also include the promotion of legislative contacts for the promotion of discussion on security and safety questions. Both Pakistan and India came closer by using the platform of SAARC. Track 1 Diplomacy had been resumed after a long pause of mistrust caused by the War of 1965 followed by the Dhaka Tragedy. So, the Prime Ministers and the head of the states met several times by using the forum of SAARC and these talks further led them to meet the official talks on foreign secretary level on first March 1997. The results were quite appreciable and both Pakistan and India maintained their intentions to continue dialogues on bilateral interests. One month later, on 9 April 1997 Gohar Ayub the then

Foreign Minister of Pakistan had been invited on a breakfast meeting with Prime Minister of India I. K. Gujral after the Foreign Ministerial meeting of Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) to show a goodwill gesture. That meeting had been encouraged both states to seize the opportunity to come closer and address their minor issues in the atmosphere of interrelationship. Soon Foreign Secretary level Talks held in Pakistan on 19th-23rd June 1997.

The series of meetings continued and once again, Pakistan offered the business opportunities and an increase in trade volume on the third round talks of the Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India. Mrs. S. R. Bomai the minister for Human Rights Development paid a visit on September 1997 to attend the ministerial meeting called by the President of Pakistan. The two states were enjoying the political mandate of the people and were willing to accelerate the Track 1 diplomacy.

There was not any deadlock in the negotiations and dialogues and foreign minister of Pakistan invited to attend the Summit of NAM on 1st September 1998. However, the Kargil War 1999 burnt all efforts of creating stability and peace between Pakistan and India. The trust had shaken. Track I diplomacy was no more and the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan Sartaj Aziz visited New Delhi and met with Indian officials to repair the damages during Kargil War on 12th October 1999. (Ganguly, 2001)

The trust could not be repaired and the other channels of Track II diplomacy and back-door diplomacy decided to be tried to repair the damages and to bring the two nuclear neighbors on the table of negotiations, dialogues to resolve their issues and conflicts in the peaceful and trusted environment. Adequate access and sharing of technology, co-operation

in terms of environmental issues and concerns, conferences, exchange of visits and meetings of parliamentarians in order to strengthen the process dialogues. (Khan, 1998)

Environmental Measures

Environmental Measures includes development of mutual co-operation, Joint programs to deal with the mutual concerns like maritime transportation of nuclear fuel, green house gases and any other waste that can ruin the atmosphere of the both sides. The transportation of such kinds of waste can be observed under the patronage of international body having a good eye on these kinds of sideshows and lapses. The mutual concerns can be handled by the mutual intentions to tackle these issues. Pakistan and India should cooperate with the concerned international bodies for the strengthening the standards of the governing such transportation and its safety in the wasting process of the waste. Necessary to provide support both financial and cooperation might lead the area safer and securer and a token of healthy and friendly relationship.

Political Measures

Political measures plays a vital role in bringing nations on a point where they can well understand the ground realities and reservations from both ends which is very useful in resolving conflicts. The main credit goes to the party that is taking initiative to bring its people together. It can be quite possible if the political governments are willing to do this and they are interested to sacrifice for the larger interest of the masses like Anwer Sadat paid a visit for a goodwill gesture there at Jerusalem in 1977. That visit helped in removing longstanding taboo that Arabs are not dealing with Israel. That initiative had considered a positive political move all over the world. (Mason, 1999) The same is the case with

Pakistan and India when Pervaiz Musharaf shook hand with Atal Behari Vajpayee on Agra Summit that had been highly appreciated as a positive political move.

That was the time when the tension between Pakistan and India was at its peak due to the Kargil War. According to the Indian officials, General Pervaiz Musharaf was the man behind the gun in the Kargil expedition. Overall, it was a sign of goodwill. Political moves to bring nations on the same board by ensuring financial integration, education, political corporation, security and environmental degradation. Indus Water Commission met with the parliamentary members on 6 March 1998 and even Prime Ministers of both Pakistan and India met at Colombo on 29 July 1998 on the sidelines of the 10th SAARC Summit that served a chance to bring both Pakistan and India to resume talks to repair the damages caused by the Kargil War.

The Political parties with same manifestos can collaborates by holding academic and informative seminars along with the participation of diplomats envoys and military officers on various issues and topics under the friendly and broad umbrella of security and safety so that they may develop their understanding towards other side of the wall. This sort of co-operations can help in exchanging views and courage to listen and tolerate the outlook of others. Joint political training institutions, diplomatic efforts on all fronts can further accelerate the process of dialogues and understanding.

Humanitarian, Educational, and Cultural Measures

Humanitarian, educational, and cultural measures are the true spirit of defusing tensions, issues, and conflicts. These measures encourage friendly relationship between rival states. Both Pakistan and India can resolve their ancient conflicts and issues to open the fronts of

cultural exchange that can provide a base to bring people together. The free mix up of people from both sides of the borders, soft visa policy, exchange of literature, artists can remove the dust from the true picture of the culture that had been enjoying by the people of both ends. The assistance on humanitarian grounds to tackle the natural disasters and other calamities can always be highly appreciated by every sophisticated nation. It helped in softening the attitude of the governments as well as people of both sides of the border. Travelling facilities enables people to get benefit from the medical facilities which are quite advance in India especially in the field of transplantation of kidneys and liver and a lot more patients had been treated by the Indian doctors free of cost on humanitarian grounds and as a token of goodwill gesture.

It is encouraging that two- member delegations of the students invited in India to study the diploma in Environmental Law in New Delhi in 2001 for ten months. Nevertheless, these efforts are creeping up but very slow. Meetings of young scholars and exchange of students, training, and learning together bring them closer. Expansion in co-operation, sports links, improvement in exchange of information and broadcasting. Co-operation and exchanges in cultural, literature, art, and education is useful tool of strong ties. It had also been decided to extend the program like this in terms of education and also by encouraging youth and adults to work together on those issues and problems which suppose to be considered as barriers in the smooth flow of the bilateral negotiations and dialogues.

Seminars, courses and studies based on the mutual problems along with their probable solutions with active participation of the civilians and scholars to gain and dispensation the lost trust, faith and confidence between these two countries. To enlarge cooperation with India and to attest its pledge, Pakistan arranged an educational workshop for the Indian

scholars and students on the same concerns in March 2001 at Karachi Institute of Educational Programs. These measures of joint co-operation in the environment of faith and trust desperately needed especially during natural disasters and calamities. After the February 2001, a devastated earthquake had shaken India very badly and Pakistan sent aid on humanitarian grounds and other necessary items as a good will gesture. The motive was to help earthquake stricken people and to generate the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation and building of confidence, communication amongst civilian and military authorities of either side. Consequently, a delegation comprised retired military officers visited Pakistan in February-March 2001 for the encouragement of these sorts of efforts initiated by the Pakistan.

CBMs through Military

The Military is a power-based wing of the state and it serves and makes sure of the sovereignty into the borders. It works on organized patterns and backed by the legitimate coherent power of the states. It is the prime task of the military to counter any expedition or excesses of the foreign forces. It attests the security and stability of the state. Almost every state spends a lion's share of its budget to feed the military.

Millions of people from either side of the borders are forced to live below poverty line. Both Pakistan and India have trust deficit from either sides and even have too many reservations, issues, and longstanding conflicts from each other. Their militaries confronted and sharing a long history of mistrust and some major and minor border clashes, caused heavy losses of life and waste of belongings. Both armies are very well organized and trained with modern technologies, nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, they have neither enjoyed any happy respite because of the strained

relations of political governments and the military leadership from Pakistan's side, using the political mandate of the people. Above all, they have a big say in the political governments.

Under these circumstances, any move backed by the military and based on the mutual concerns of the states likely to bear fruit. So, political CBMs are nothing if the military CBMs are not steps parallel to it in the context of Pakistan and India's military and political scenario. So, the military CBMs are quite necessary to rebuild a permanent peace and security in the region. These measures are also well supported by the political governments having sufficient might to address the prevailing issues and cultivate peace between Pakistan and India. These CBMs of the Military Second dimension consists of security and safety measures are as follows:

- Communication measures
- Constraint measures
- Transparency measures
- Contacts
- Military Training and Education
- Annual Calendars

Communication Measures

Communication measures are the presence of active links between the rival states. The Hotline between Pakistan and Indian DGMOs of both sides was established during 1971 followed by 1990. (Cheema, 2004) These measures include the agreement of areal communication centers, hotline, and consultations that scheduled on regular basis between

Areal Communication Centers

These centers work like hotline links and these help commanders to monitor the movement and the deployments of the forces. It also draws a line between the restricted and normal zones of mobilization. Disposition of forces and data exchange serves as a prior warning about the destabilizing move from either sides of the borders. Areal inspections and communications avoid tiresome political exercise to understand the matter. It enables the commanders to understand the intensity of the matter without pouncing into a big problem or conflict.

Scheduled Consultations on Regular Bases

These meetings practiced very frequently to avoid conflicts like meetings of navy commanders USSR and USA in 1972 to address the Incidents at Sea Agreement. And even the Chief of Staff of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay scheduled on regular bases which provides the probabilities of avoiding any grievances and anger which they might have shared in the past. The consultative meetings on regular bases between Pakistan and India are lacking. Consequently, trust and faith are lacking between these two states.

Constraint Measures

These measures are very important especially on the western border of Pakistan but unfortunately, Pakistan and India both are pretty much concerned about their borders like South and North Korea and forces of these states are head to head on the borders which is quite alarming. Constraint measures or steps are designed in a manner in which the forces of the opponent states to stay at a considerable distance to avoid minor clashes in response of personal revelry, hatred or whatever. Prior notification of any extra ordinary movement

is the basic soul of the Constraint measures. In this way, the opponent nations might lessen the probabilities of pity clashes based on misunderstanding, misinterpretation, or confusion. Pre-notification of pre-defined levels of troop movements to the rival nation by the nation moving troops since one sector to another. Some methods of constraint measures are as follows,

Limited force Deployment Zone

These zones are also called as Demilitarized Zones, which had been previously practiced there between Israel and Syria after the result of Arab-Israel War in 1975, and the forces of both these states had stepped back to the 20 km. In this exercise, the force shows their will that they are really interested and means peace. So, this measure further enhance the confidence level by restricting military exercise and activities to enlarge the peace efforts of both national and international level.

Prior Notifications

It bounds the militaries of the both sides to send a prior notice in a certain period of time to initiate any move related to military. The foremost example of such agreement is Stockholm Accord 1986, in which a period of 42 day and in the larger scale of military exercise, a period of one or two years serves the margin to settle down conflicts. These can really work in the context of both Pakistan and India because these two states indulged themselves into arms race and it is very usual practice of exercises of army. The joint exercises between Chinese and Pakistani forces or with the forces of Arab Emirates had been prior notified to the neighboring countries to enhance confidence level.

Transparency Measures

Transparency measures are pretty significant steps towards peace making process. These measures in the confidence-building process utilize to foster greater openness between states military capabilities and activities.

Observation

Observation in the military activities helps neighboring states to come closer under the umbrella of trust and faith. In the context of Pakistan and India, these measures are pretty difficult to deal with but not impossible if initiated properly and whole heartedly. It could be initiated with the invitation to the opponent to come and observe the routine military-exercises, military arrangements, advance and modern training of the troops and other operations which may lead them to initiate some joint military exercises that might help them to come closer and develop understanding and try to repair the damage caused by the longstanding enmity and expeditions from the either side of the borders. Although it is quite optimistic in the case of Pakistan and India but the deadlock in the confidence building process can damage the vital interest of these two countries, which are struggling to bring their nation on the expressway of success. If the worst enemies of the world wars can sit together for the larger interest of the masses then Pakistan and India can also learn lessons from these countries, which are sharing many joint agreements including defense.

Record Exchange

Record exchange is another positive move in the Building of peace and confidence between states having reservations. These measures including military records and installations of military and interests could be shared in order to lessen the temperature and anxiety

between adversarial states like Pakistan and India. Both ends should show their interests in the sharing of their military information including record regarding command organizations financial and budgetary information on defense and planning.

On 9th of December 1991 UN General Assembly passed a Resolution 46/36-L which addresses member states to report all of their record regarding imports and exports of weapons of various categories including battle tanks, aircraft, helicopters, warships and other missiles or missile system to the United Nations. Consequently, 83 states in 1992 and 90 nations up to the very end of the 1993 reported United Nations. These nations that are providing their military information to United Nations, giving goodwill gesture to the international community. However, this posture is somewhat difficult in case of rivalry among states but it can repair the damage and also capability to bring nations together. Pakistan and India can seize every possible opportunity to work in this regard.

Pre-Notification

Pre-notification enhances the level of transparency and these measures improve the level of confidence. Exercises of the troops, mobilization and even unusual transportation and movement near the borders should be informed beforehand. The United Nations Organizations aptly standardized the international reporting of military operations and their expenses. The Prior notification regarding extra ordinary movement should consist of general information like movement of troops and other necessary information, which can be harmful otherwise. The states involved in the military activity should bring the things above board. The following steps could be helpful if practiced honestly.

- Information on mobility and other military activities linked to the air, naval or military components.
- Timeframe of the particular activity along with the geographic blueprints, features and any other information which is deemed to be necessary like transfer, deployment, concentration and activities of the forces or any other activity like military exercises and recovery etc.
- Annual calendar for regarding and notifying military activity. (James, 1999)

Contact

Contacts on both military official and commands are very important methods in order to build healthy environment and confidence between the states looking forward to resolve their issues on the table of negotiations. The rivalry between nuclear states is not acceptable in the modern world whatsoever. Both Pakistan and India are the immediate neighbors but unfortunately, they are not sharing good relationship from the first day of their independence from the British rule and above all, they have modern weapons of mass destruction this is an alarming situation which should be addressed on priority bases. Contacts between the military commands can serve the foundation of good relationship, which can cultivate the bright future of these two states. Military-to-military contacts, civilian-to-civilian contacts and political govt.-to-govt. contacts can drive good results. Some are specified below.

- Visits of the delegations from both sides for the monitoring of the air bases.
- Visit to the military facilities of the state for the observation of military formations and certain military activities.
- Observatory Visits.

- Demonstrations, regarding their new additions in the military armory in order to develop the confidence of the states who are more concerned with their military activities.

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These CBMs were generally used to introduce transparency into military activities between the two alliances in Europe.

Chapter 3**IMPORTANCE OF CBMs BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA**

Pakistan and India are the two big actors of power play in the region of South Asia. The two states have well equipped with modern weapons of mass destruction. On the advent of the 21st century, the strategic environment and outlook of South Asia presented a rather pessimistic scenario. These two states are still struggling for any substantial breakthrough in terms of financial development, nationwide security, political stability and permanent peace and safety to the coming generations. Both Pakistan and India are still exposed to some predictable disasters. The unsettled conflicts between Pakistan and India directly influence the environment of security and stability. (Bank, 1996) Moreover, the nuclear environment of South Asia has not been conducive to cultivate good neighborly relationship. The big issues have not been addressed properly to resolve the minor and major issues between these two from the very beginning that widened the gap resulted a big damage to fall of Dhakha .

The Indian role to destabilize Pakistan by providing training to Mukti Bahini and Sevak Bahani in addition to a complete support to Mujeeb ur Rahman resulted Pakistan in to two. (Agha, 2011) Since then all efforts, hard labor and steps, which have been taken to bridge that gulf, proved to be wasted. CBMs are the only way out to come out of this problem and a single ray of hope in this environment of mistrust.

The Socio-Economic Indicators of Pakistan and India

While studying the socio-economic indicators of Pakistan and India we found some negative impressions, which are quite noticeable in South Asia. The major source of concern in the region is the long-standing conflicts between Pakistan and India. The unsettled conflicts directly influence the areal security concerns. Trade between these two nations is almost 1% of the total trade. India gave the status of Most Favorite Nation to

Pakistan (MFN) in 1996 that enhanced the trade to some extent. Pakistan appreciated the trade of the positive list. (Taneja, and Sanjib, 2015) that were the positive moves that should be continue in all means to improve the confidence level.

Nuclear Proliferation between Pakistan and India

National security is the major factor that compelled a nation to go for nuclear facility. After the Dhaka Tragedy 1971, Pakistan put all its focus to get the nuclear capability. Pakistan got the bitter truth that nuclear facility was the best option to make its defense and guarantee to its national interest and security. (Rais, 2015) Nuclear race have no end and nothing to do with its reduction for it encourages the notion of deterrence among the opponent and rival states. Henry Kissinger said, in certain cases nations view nuclear arms as currency of power and prestige and regard them as essential for acquiring a higher power status at the areal or global level to serve their own politico-military interests. (Kissinger, 1994)

Use of modern work force, available natural and other resources discourage the unnecessary arms race. Japan is a pretty good example utilizing modern and sophisticated technology in peaceful manners. On the other side of the coin, Pakistan and India who do not have advance technology to meet the challenges of the modern age in the peaceful use of technology. The presence of weapons of mass destruction in the countries like India and Pakistan who are sharing a long history of differences and enmity is a great challenge for the builders of peace to bring these two next-door neighbors on the table of negotiations to reconstruct their lost confidence and trust. There are different motives between Pakistan and India that led them to stand stiff on their standpoints that are as follows,

To Create Dominance

India wanted its hegemony and dominance in the area. India is the second most populous state after China in the world. India is also a strong aspirant to get the permanent seat of the United Nations Security Council. Under these circumstances, Pakistan has a lot of political and security concerns in the area especially, when India is morbid to this extent to continue its enmity and keeps claiming on the areas claimed by Pakistan. Pakistan claimed to acquire all these weapons to make sure of its defense and to save itself from the aggression and any possible attack against it. Moreover, the following factors encouraged Pakistan to make sure of its nuclear program.

Self-Survival

Pakistan is comparatively small in size when compare to India. It is nearly one-seventh of the total size of India. The primary and foremost concern of Pakistan is to make sure of its survival and concentrate to protect its sovereignty in the presence of an unfriendly neighbor who leave no stone unturned to affect the just right and interest of Pakistan. (Three Works, 1999)

Under these circumstances, Pakistan has a lot of political and security concerns in the area especially, when India is morbid to this extent to continue its enmity and also keeps claiming on the areas claimed by Pakistan. Pakistan's expeditions to acquire all these weapons are to make sure of its defense and to save itself from the aggression and any possible attack against it.

India is an important country of South Asia yet it is quite unacceptable for Pakistan to accept the Indian dominance over it when they are not sharing good relations with each

other due to the longstanding issues. India throws the whole guilt of cross-border militancy in Kashmir, which has created a No-win situation between these two states. India also throws all guilt on Pakistan by saying that Pakistan has no any other option to keep the issue of Kashmir alive by means of supporting militancy in the valley of Kashmir. (Nayar, 2003) while Pakistan denies the Indian allegations.

Threat Perception

The nuclear program of Pakistan has been triggered the aggression by adopting aggressive nuclear posture that proved to be a live wire and a direct threat to the security and safety of Pakistan. Pakistan underwent a long and tiring endeavor to acquire nuclear facility to make sure of deterrence in the contemporary political scenario and an unfriendly neighbor. The anxiety of threat perceptions sparked and ignited Kashmir crisis resulted acceleration into the nuclear proliferation trends. Unresolved issues between two nuclear states keep the peril of any major conflict between these two states. The possibility of such a war is bound to influence decision-making on critical security and safety issues on both of these sides. (Cohen, 1979)

For Pakistan, the real nuclear threat to its security and safety start off primarily from Indian threat not any other nuclear states. For Pakistan, non-proliferation in South Asia is directly linked with Indian initiative in this regard. India perceives a near-term nuclear threat since China and in the long term, threats since United States, and any other powers. Its initial search of a nuclear explosive was driven by the nuclear facility of its northeastern neighbor, China, with whom she had the border war of 1962. (Cohen, 1979) On the other side of the coin, India regarded non-proliferation as a global problem and will agree to accept restraint norms only in the context of a global arrangement.

Balance of Power Problems

The two states are sharing massive difference in every sector. This is not a call of anxiety for Pakistan. The real concern and alarming reason is nuclear India that has gathered piles of weapons of mass destruction but not sharing good relations with it. To create deterrence and Balance of Power in the absence of arms control threat perceptions will persist regarding each other's intentions and ambitions.

While defense-operating expenses will continue to mount and the competitive arms buildup will stay enlarging the military arsenal of both of these sides with the foremost deadly weaponry systems. India's dealing with its South Asian neighbors and its general military buildup, particularly its exertions in the naval field, has also raised concerns in and around the area about that State's ambitions. In order to maintain balance of power both of these States see the importance of nuclear arms for them. India wanted to maintain the status quo on the fulcrum of balance of power whereas Pakistan plays the role of revisionist.

Public Opinion

Some other factors compel both of these nations to go for nuclear race. India launched an adverse propaganda campaign through its press and media that started from early 60's to find out a justification to the government to continue their nuclear program. But during 1960's and the 70's public opinion polls in Pakistan and India had been shown a majority against nuclear arms race in both of these states. The public opinion well in favor of nuclear tests in response of Indian nuclear tests in 1998 that pressurized the government to test its nuclear devise to maintain the Balance of Power in the region. (Gallup, 1998)

Territory

The territorial issues are contributed the major rise of conflicts between the two states. Among these all Kashmir is the major unresolved disputed territory that caused heated and anxiety between the two nations and brought the two states to the battlefields. India claimed Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of Indian land. Whereas, Pakistan considered it to be disputed territory sharing a long historical, cultural and religious ties with Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan wanted that the dispute of Kashmir should be resolved by following the resolutions of United Nations. Both India and Pakistan frequently use big guns and other artillery across the Line of Control.

The political scenario has been changed after May 1998 when India and soon after that Pakistan tested its nuclear arms. Therefore, the nuclear states, rival states, and above all adjacent nuclear powers can contribute any deadly conflict with a missile alert warning of a few minutes or so. This situation aggravated the chances of conflict and threat between the two states. This is a call of anxiety for the builders of international peace and security that considering the area of South Asia as a "Most perilous place in the world." (David, 1989)

Proliferation

Proliferation refers to the spread of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons, also known as weapons of mass destruction (WMD), including associated delivery systems and scientific know-how, to nations or non-state actors not already in possession of such capabilities.

Nonproliferation

Nonproliferation refers to the action or practice of preventing or limiting the spread of weapons of mass destruction. (Javid, 2014)

Both Pakistan and India have not ratified CTBT and NPT to lemmatize their nuclear weapons of mass destruction, which can be caused a permanent threat to the peace, and stability of the region. Following are the different international and legal agreements that prove to be a hope against hope into the environment of deterrence and proliferation.

Nuclear Capabilities of India

India has the indigenous capability of generating its natural uranium and also had the capability of generating heavy water to modulate them and a comprehensive capability to reprocess the spent fuel and transfer into arms-gradation and plutonium. India was also shared a significant research and industrial infrastructure. (Durrani, 2006) Indian military power is also growing enormously in the subcontinent that made the region of South Asia very important indeed. (Ganguly and Kapur, 2012) Moreover, there had been a power products engineering division, three public-sector industrial companies to constructing, designing and operating nuclear power reactors plants, private-sector satellite suppliers and three teaching and research institution sponsored by the government were operational up to the end of 2002. Those reactors had been the prime source of Indian arms-gradation of plutonium.

Three out of eight research reactors of India were operational or under construction to the above-mentioned period of the research which were good enough to produce plutonium. India's reactor that had been supplied by the Canada was generating heavy water that became operational during 1960 and was good enough to generate nine kilogram of the plutonium within a year that had been sufficient for India to manage at least one atom bomb in the year 1974.

Koodan-Kulam a new research reactor constructed there at Trom-bay, named Dhruva, Tarapur, Rajasthan, had commissioned in the summer of 1984. By the end of the year 1988 the above-mentioned three plants (Dhruva, Trom-bay, Kal-pakkam had been quite to reprocess almost 225 tons of spent fuel a year. The estimated unsafe guarded plutonium of Indian stockpile of 200-250 kilograms had been quite sufficient to produce some forty to fifty nuclear arms. (Krepon, 2004). In addition to the production of Dhruva power reactor supplied sufficient amount of spent fuel to extract 25 kilograms of plutonium annually which was quite adequate for the preparation of several nuclear arms. (Javid, 2014) Even India had acquired the capability of producing its plutonium's stockpile to 75 kilograms a year that had been quite sufficient for fifteen bombs by the mid-1990's that might had been quite near to the production capacity of China by the year 1995. India had also been achieved the capability of enrichment of the uranium. Unfortunately, not all of the above-mentioned reactors were under the international inspections and safeguards.

Tarapur Atomic Power Station that had been supplied by the United States in 1960 that enabled India to run its four power stations each with 200-220-mw reactors which had been designed to the heavy water-moderated and natural uranium-fueled reactors in addition to the plants under construction or completed including Rajasthan Atomic Power Plant (RAPP Unit-I and II), twin reactor at Narora in Uttar Pradesh, Madras Atomic Power Plant (MAPP Unit-1 and II) and Kakrapar in the state of Gujarat. The first unit in Rajasthan Atomic Power Plant (RAPP-1) had been operational in the end of 1973 following by the quick nuclear explosion of India.

Indian had completed RAPP-II in April 1981. Apart from these, India had five more heavy water plants like Nangal had the producing capability of 14 metric tons of heavy water a

year. The units of Baroda and Tuticorin had been designed to generate 67 and 71 tons of heavy water a year respectively. A fourth one plant of Talcher had been sharing to generate 63 tons of heavy water. Up to the year 1981, India was producing nearly 30 tons of heavy water a year that had been progressed so rapidly in terms of Heavy water output in 1984. The improved performance was due to the progress of the Baroda and Tuticorin units. India had only two operational reprocessing facilities. (First Reactor, 1984) A third plant of Kaspakkam at Madras and the Narora plant at the State of Uttar Pradesh reactors were in the planning phase.

Another development in the field of acquiring nuclear technology was India's acquisition of the Soviet's Charlie-I nuclear power submarine renamed Chakra by the Indians in January 1988. Even United States stretched its ties with India by enlarging civil nuclear technology despite the fact that India did not signed Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968. (Ganguly, 2012) India stood the first third state that had been acquired the submarine like that. India extended the agreement to get the foremost acquisitions of higher-class vessels. The Chakra had been leased without its cruise-missile complements. India returned Charlie-I vessel to the Soviet Union in December 1990 after its expiry of the three year term of the lease. India had successfully tested Pirthvi SSM in February 1988 with a payload of 1-ton that carried it to 250 kilometers.

Pirthvi undergone several tests since its preparation with its deployment in 1992. India tested its Agni SSM with the range of 1,000 kilometers in May 1989. Agni had been a capability to reach all the South Asian states including Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives, Bangladesh and even China's Tibet, and Sinkiang provinces. At its potential range it could cover almost the central Asian former Soviet Republics, China and

almost the whole of Iran, Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean while Thailand in the Southeast Asia. Abdul Kalam a leading scientist of India claimed that India had honorably achieved the capability of inter-continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) in January 1990 with the range of 5,000-kilometers. Both Pirthvi and Agni had already equipped with the guidance systems capable enough to achieve its target with an outstanding and impressive accuracy even better than the Soviet Scud Missile.

Nuclear missile capability had theoretically been achieved with the comprehensiveness of her nuclear and space program. Moreover, the war-head necessities which had been presumably within the capability of its indigenous source, India had aptly got MiG-23 and the Jaguar aircraft. They could carry the loads of certain types having nuclear arms. India had already been launched her three satellites into the orbit with the weighing of 38 kg with the help of its own rocket. However, not all Pakistani cities had been out of range by the Indian ballistic missiles up to the end of 2002. India did not quit the policy of developing and modifying its nuclear capabilities. She had also been succeeded to produce 30% U-235-material that were being used in making of atom bombs. India also had the capability of enriching uranium and heavy water. According to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) India had acquired the capability of assembling at least 25 nuclear weapons in 31 October 1992. Senior officials of United States reported on 27th April 1998 that India had got a sea-launched Ballistic Missile named Sagarika with a range of 200 miles also capable enough to take nuclear war-head. India had conducted her three nuclear explosions at Pokhran nuclear test-site on 11th of May 1998.

Defense Expenditure of both India and Pakistan

The legacy of unresolved issues including Kashmir, Siachen and border issues contributed to many major inter-state conflicts effected bilateral relations and incurring disproportionately pretty high military expenditures. (Faruqui, 2002) Following are the details of both Indian and Pakistan's defense expenditure up to 2002.

Indian Defense Operating expenses

Under the cotemporary term of transfer of power, the moveable military infrastructure divided at the ratio of 30:70 between India and Pakistan. (Ganguly, 2001) According to Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) in 1961-62, India's defense operating expenses had been estimated 30 billion US\$, 15 billion US\$ had been contributed by the federal government approximately 20% of the general federal government's GDP of 172 billion rupee. Indian defense operating expenses were 90.4 billion rupee in 1965-66. Indian defense operating expenses were 152.5 billion rupee in 1971-72. In 1980-81, the Indian Defense operating expenses had been increased to 409 billion rupee. The operating expenses had been reached up to 1334 billion rupee in 1988-89. The Indian defense operating expenses had been reached to a colossal sum of 4,120 billion rupee in 1998-99.

The total number of defense forces of Indian military in relationship with its population were 492 thousands of 455 million people during 1961-62, 688 thousand in a population of 480 million people in 1964-64, 980 thousand to a population of 578 million in 1971-72, 1,105 thousand to a population of 690 million people in 1980-81, 1,365 thousand to a population of 815 million people in 1988-89 and 1,445 thousand in to a population of 985 million people in 1998-99. The above-mentioned figures well indicated that not only the

population of India but also the defense forces had been increasing over the years in a steady rate. The total defense budget of India was 11.8 billion US \$ in 2001. (crossed 45 billion US \$ in the year 2015-16). (Waseem, 2015)

The Defense Expenses of Pakistan

The military operating expenses of Pakistan in 1961-62 was two billion rupee approximately 55% of the operating expenses of the Federal Government since federal government over all GDP was 19.0 billion rupee, 4.5 billion since with the GDP of 29.0 billion rupee in 1965-66, seven billion rupee to the GDP of 50.0 billion rupees. In 1971-72 it increased to 15.3 billion rupee in 1980-81, those operating expenses had been reached up to 55.0 billion rupee to a GDP of 770 billion rupee In 1988-89 those expenses had been reached up to a colossal sum of Rs. 145.0 billion in 1998-99 to a GDP of 3,000 billion rupee. It is interesting to note that the share of the Pakistani defense operating expenses of the federal government operating expenses increased in terms of money approximately 2.0 billion rupee in 1961-62 to 24.0 billion rupee in 1998-99. Nevertheless, at the same time the percentage share of Pakistan's defense operating expenses decreased approximately 56% in 1961-62 to 25.0% in 1998-99.

Pakistan's defense forces in 1961-62 were 250 thousand out of the population of 98.5 million people both from Eastern and Western Pakistan, 278 thousand in to the population of 116.5 million people both from Eastern and Western Pakistan, 404 thousand in to the population of 135.0 million people in 1971-72 from both Eastern and Western Pakistan, 560 thousand in to the population of 86.44 million people from West Pakistan alone, 481 thousand in to the population of 107.0 million people in 1988-89 from West Pakistan. Approximately, 250 thousand defense personnel into the population of 100 million people

almost one defense person to every 400 persons in Pakistan in the year 1961-62, 1.1 million defense personnel to a population of 137.5 million people almost 1 defense person to every 125 people in Pakistan.

The Nuclear Capabilities of Pakistan

Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) had been formed in 1956 under the chairmanship of Doctor Nazir Ahmad who under-took the task to send scientists and engineers abroad for getting training under the national policy of *Atoms for Peace* programs. Several Pakistani scientists and engineers completed their training in the foreign research centers between 1955 to 1965 along with Harwell in the Argonne, United Kingdom, Oak Ridge and the Brookhaven laboratories in the United States. (Strategic Survey, 1981-82)

Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP) a minute 125 MW plant that had been supplied by Canada became operational in 1972. A reactor of heavy water was able to generate 55kg plutonium yearly while operating at peak capacity. The Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology (PINSTECH), Islamabad also had a minute U.S.-supplied five-megawatt research reactor that had been installed in 1960. Moreover, Pakistan had also been constructed a 900 megawatt light water power project that had been capable enough to enrich uranium-fueled power installed on the Indus River at Chashma, Mianwali, in Punjab. It was well capable to get hydro-electric power up to 2002.

The nuclear program of Pakistan had ability to fabricate its own fuel-rods by using unsafe guarded uranium at Chashma. Pakistan possessed significance uranium deposits in Suleman Range, near Gilgit and Dera Ghazi Khan. Pakistan had a pilot plant for the extraction of

uranium there at the Atomic Minerals Center at Lahore. Pakistan had also tried irradiating indigenous fuel-rods to obtain a source of fissile materials. Moreover, Pakistan was doing continuous work on the project of Chasma facility to date. Pakistan had been known to have pursued the second-route for a bomb capability by constructing a centrifuge uranium enrichment facility at Kahuta, Rawalpindi also a minute pilot-plant at Sihala. Doctor Abdul Qadir Khan claimed that Pakistan could enrich enough uranium to the reactor grade, presumably for a future light water reactor. The Kahuta plant then had the capacity to generate almost 55 kg of arms-grade pretty High Enriched Uranium (HEU) annually. Pakistan also continued working on its 40-MWTs heavy-water reactor at Khushaab. It would be the state's first source of plutonium and spent fuel could be extracted at the Chasma reprocessing plant or from Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology (PINSTECH) in Rawalpindi.

The Khushaab reactor estimated to be capable enough to generate sufficient plutonium for between 1-2 nuclear arms yearly. It had been increased general arms production and capabilities of Pakistan up to 20-30% also make sure the availability of plutonium that permitted Pakistan to develop even more lightly nuclear war-heads. In addition, Pakistan can be able to irradiate lithium-6 in generating tritium a material that used to Boost up nuclear arms employed there at Khushaab reactor.

The Khushaab reactor had been completed in 1996. China had also contracted a 300-MWT-power reactor nuclear power plant in 1989 in collaboration with Pakistan at Chasma for energy supply. Pakistan did not declare its nuclear arms before May 1998 but it had been believed that Pakistan have enough capability to develop nuclear weapons by using its secret nuclear arsenal/unassembled nuclear arms that could be quickly made and quite

readying for use. One estimate put Kahuta's annual production potential for arms-grade enriched uranium at 25-75 kilograms. (Albright, 1999)

The Stockpiles estimated by the end of 1990 had been like 175-325 kilograms that was quite sufficient for the development of eight to fifteen nuclear arms. In the spring of 1998 Pakistan tested Ghauri Missile which had ranged 1,500 km or so it was quite to reach deeply into Indian Territory. Pakistan constructed a factory in 1995 that capable of producing the short-ranged; solid-fuel missiles based upon Chinese designed M-II. Pentagon reported in April 1996 that those missiles had been stored in Sargodha Air Force Base, along with maintenance facilities and missile launchers. The missiles could be launched in as little as 48 hours. (Albright, 1999)

In February 1989, the Pakistan Army announced the successful testing of Hatf-1 at 80 kilometers and the Hatf-2 at 300 kilometers. The government claimed that they tested Surface to Surface Missiles that achieved its predicted range and accuracy. Army Chief General declared, The missiles are extremely accurate and can be able to carry a payload nearly 500 kilograms. (Test of Hatf, 1998) He also claimed that they were developed locally, together with the guidance system. In July 1991, China disclosed that it had supplied Pakistan with a very limited number of M-II missiles, which have a range of 300 kilometers, falling within the permissible range under the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). The first batch of Anza MK-11 was inducted in the Pakistan Army in September 1994, while mass production of Anza MK-11 began in October of the same year.

Pakistan has procured hardware to build a plant capable sufficient of producing 90-120kg of HEU annually, Pakistan is also believed to have some of the building blocks of a war-head delivery system. Reportedly this capability includes Blast wave detonation technology

and aircraft, together with both of these the U.S. F-16's and older Mirage III that can be able to carry a crude nuclear weapon.

The uncertainty surrounding Pakistan's response to the Indian nuclear tests was ended on May 28 when the government announced that Pakistan had detonated its nuclear explosions in the Chagi Hills of Baluchistan province, on 28 May 1998. The Pentagon said that the multiple explosions had been monitored, which measured 4.2 on the Richter scale. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif asserted that the nuclear tests meant that Pakistan had now leveled with India. He described the test as a verdict of people. After Pakistan's and Indian nuclear tests in 1998, the two countries came to the verge of war very frequently up to 2002. Both countries took some certain measures especially Islamabad developed its command and control system including its civil nuclear capabilities and military. (Paul, 2012)

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Chapter No. 4**Applications of the Two Dimensional Model of CBMs**

Michael Krepon, the President of Henry L. Stimson Center said that CBMs in the area like South Asia having dual role. According to him,

The absence of political stability and reconciliation caused pretty much-tensed situation in the region. The process of negotiation, dialogues and practical implementation of CBMs have been so critical in maintaining peace and preventing the use of arms of mass destruction in the region. (Krepon, 1993)

The policy makers of both Pakistan and India investing much of their energies to strengthen the budget of military and the expenses rather than appeasing tension through conflict resolution. Permanent and durable peace can not only bring prosperity to the people of both sides but also ensure education to the children and health facilities to all. It will release tension and anxiety will hopefully pave the way for a pretty better understanding between the two countries that will serve them an opportunity to allocate their resources and energies to uplift the standard of living in the countries. Both Pakistan and India require realizing the fact that human security and safety has become the foremost today but not in the presence of weapons of mass destruction and above all a longstanding enmity which has been cultivating and fertilizing over the years. On the other side of the coin, citizens are starving to death. Security and stability cannot be made possible when military generals tried to run the duties of politicians. Following are the two major dimensions of CBMs between Pakistan and India.

Dimension -I Military CBMs between India and Pakistan

Pakistan and India had fought their first war over Kashmir in 1948 soon after independence. United Nations intervened to resolve the conflict. United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) constituted in order to monitor the stability and peace situation in Jammu and Kashmir. Unfortunately, misunderstandings and issues aggravated that resulted the war in 1965 and Runn Kutch conflict in 1964, (Mishra, 2010) war in 1971, conflict at the Siachen Glacier in the 1984 and armed conflict in Kargel

1999. These conflicts inviting politicians and think tanks of the both sides of to come on the table of negotiations and dialogues rather searching any possible solution of the conflicts in the battlefields. Following are the measures related to military.

- Contacts and Communication measures
- Nuclear-risk reduction
- Various agreements.
- Joint declarations
- Border security and safety measures
- Joint defense, No War Pact.
- Transparency measures
- Pre-notification
- Data exchange measures
- Constraint measures
- Observations, security and safety measures.

Contacts and Communication Measures

Communication between Director General Military Operations of both Pakistan and India initiated after the war of 1965. Nevertheless, the efforts had been ends in smoke due to another war between Pakistan and India in December 1971. Hotline or Direct Communication links (DCL) between DGMOs of both states resumed in 1972. Foreign secretaries of both states Gotar Salvaiz from India and the Abdul Sattar from Pakistan signed an agreement in Islamabad on March 1987 for the withdrawal of Indian forces. The two states determined to revive those links and regular telephonic Communication. The

intention was to lessen harshness and sharing of information on military movements including exercises, prevent airspace violations of military aircraft and open the doors of negotiations on a wide-range and outstanding issues.

These Communication links become operational between sector commanders of both for the western sector of Line of Control (LoC). A three days conference had been held between the officers of both India and Pakistan on Wagha border on December 1987 and in December 1990 it was agreed upon that the DGMOs of both sides would use hotline on weekly basis for the exchange of routine information. According to the Article 5 of the Agreement on Prevention of Air Space Violations. Moreover, urgent operations should promptly bring to the notice by using the telephonic line created between the Army headquarters of the two countries. (Roghavan, 1999) Hotline between DGMOs had been used during the Kargel Crisis on May - June 1999 the telephonic communication by the DGMO's stopped the expected conflict. The DGMOs Lt. General G.S. Sihota called his Pakistan counterpart Ahmad Shuja Pasha on July 2001 to talk between the two states for the encouragement of peace. Both DGMOs concluded that a prior meeting between them should be held in order to address the military issues like LoC and Siachen Glacier. The telephonic contact resumed between DGMOs of one with his counterpart. (Nayar, 2003)

Nuclear Risk Reduction Measures

Nuclear proliferation has added fuel to fire between India and Pakistan. Both Pakistan and India had not signed CTBT and NPT up to the end of 2002. The Nuclear Risk Reduction Measures between these two adversaries became so difficult than ever before. Both Pakistan and India subscribed the Material and specific safeguards agreement modeled by

IAEA's Information Circular 66 in terms of purchasing nuclear technologies from other countries by the both states. These safeguards agreements of IAEA have been designed to keep a curb and preventing the diversion of nuclear material for peaceful use of nuclear technologies. Nevertheless, there are no legal obligations on both India and Pakistan to strengthen the existing IAEA safeguards. However, many steps had been taken by the both countries voluntarily to improve the maturity level to handle the nuclear technology. The first step in this regard involved in releasing the records for the review of IAEA. (Golglat, 2002)

The agreement of Prohibition of Attack against Nuclear Installations and Facilities in 1988 is the first step of its type followed by No-Attack Agreement, Prohibits attack or direct or indirect attack against the nuclear installations and facilities of either state. In this agreement both Pakistan and India pledged to refrain each other or participate in any action or move aimed at causing the damage or destruction to any nuclear installation, facility of either state. In terms of nuclear arms, Pakistan had proposed many proposals such as the creation and development of the nuclear weapons, nuclear free zone, and mutual acceptance of IAEA's safeguards by signing NPT, bilateral inspection of the nuclear facilities of both sides and signing of CTBT. (Cheema, 2004)

These steps required to share information that identifies their installations or facilities on annual basis and are bound to inform each other of any changes in the previous information. Under this agreement, it would have been comprehended and presumed that all of nuclear facilities or installations in the two countries have now been declared. The No Attack Agreement expands the scope of Articles 56 of both first and second protocols of the Geneva Convention. (Geneva, Article 6)

Pakistan and India both are the members of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of United Nations. FAO teamed up with IAEA for the developing a Joint Division of Nuclear Techniques used in Food and Agriculture in October 1964. These technologies and techniques had been used in food, agriculture, plantation, breeding, sterilizing insects, pest control, improving soil, food irradiation, improving crops, livestock production, and water management. (Ganguly, 2001)

Indian and Pakistani got the membership of FAO that provided them an opportunity for the technological collaboration into the nuclear field. The collaboration gave birth to The Nuclear Research Laboratory and Indian Agricultural Research institutes in New Delhi that was working since 2002 on the broad use of nuclear techniques in the improvement of the management practices by increasing crop production into the rain-fed areas having limited water resources. The Nuclear Agriculture Division of Nuclear Institute for Food and Agriculture was working since 2002 in Peshawar for increasing crop production in to the rain-fed areas by improving water using nuclear techniques. (Golghat, 2002)

Agreements

Following are the existing nuclear-linked agreements that have not been signed by both India and Pakistan.

- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
- Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials
- Convention on the Agreement of Security Control in the Field of Nuclear Energy
- Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution since Land Damage

Joint Declarations

A Joint Declaration signed between Pakistan and India on the Complete Production of Chemical Arms in August 1992. According to that agreement, both states disowned the production, development, acquisition, and use of the chemical arms. They pledged to co-operate with each other into the adaptation and finalization of a comprehensive Chemical Arms Convention (CAC) also to become an original parties to the convention when it finalized. The declaration of CAC made subsequently by the both states. India declared a previously unacknowledged stockpile of the chemical arms also Pakistan declared that she had not possessed any such stockpiles of chemical arms.

Border Security and Safety Measures

The usual issue between the two states was the security and safety of their borders. According to the Inter Domino Conference on December 1948 in New Delhi followed by at Karachi on January 1949, both Pakistan and India reached at the decision of the boundary conflicts in addition to a number of humanitarian issues. In order to avoid any border clash between the two states Karachi Agreement 1949 signed by the both states. That agreement had created a Cease-Fire Line. After the Wars of 1965 and 1971, the CFL reviewed with some changes. Pakistan and India had long since disagreed over the demarcation of their border in the area of Rann of Kutch. After the Fifteen Days War of 1965, both countries agreed to international arbitration in order to lessen anxiety in their relationships. That contributed to the Rann of Kutch Tribunal Awards 1969.

Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan had signed in 1972 after the Pak-India War 1971. The two states ultimately put an end to the conflicts that marred the relationships of

both states. It had been agreed that military representatives of both India and Pakistan between July and December 1972 would determine Line of Control (LOC). A package of CBMs had been proposed during the eight rounds of dialogues and negotiations in November 1998 that led to a comprehensive cease-fire.

No-War Pact

No-War Pacts, a vow to stop any military action against each other had been offered by the both countries to serve various purposes at different times. Muhammad Ali Jinnah the first Governor General of Pakistan expressed his heartiest faith that as an independent sovereign state Pakistan would collaborate in the international community in a friendly way. Even Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah believed that these two nations should jointly defend their frontiers, land and sea against the aggression of any third party. Quaid-i-Azam believed that these two nations should settle their own disputes, differences, and domestic issues on primarily basis. The proposal of Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru of No-War in August 1949 was the first ever initiative of its type. Liaquat Ali Khan the first Prime Minister of Pakistan also maintained the importance of peace and the settlement of their major conflicts with India while addressing the Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly. (Gopal, 1992)

Pakistan also offered India for a Non-Aggression Pact on 15th September 1998. The offer was, If India is tending to banish its unfounded fear it shall not get us wanting in fully reciprocating to any gesture on its part for creating good-neighborly relationships. On our part, we are prepared to enter into immediate consultations with India for exchanging joint guarantees of non-aggression and non-use of force in the spirit of the Simla Agreement. A great deal of political maneuvering

marked these exchanges. The substance of these proposals was a pledge to avoid conflict and settle their issues by peaceful negotiations. In No-War Pact, India proposed six principles for the pact. Those were strictly adhered to the Simla Agreement, the provisions are as follows,

- A better life for their people.
- Anxiety-free atmosphere between the two states.
- Commitment to peaceful co-existence.
- Equality and mutualism in the relationships between the two states.
- Avoidance the threat of war to settle all conflicts mutually and peacefully.
- Adherence to non-alignment that was non-involvement in the conflicts of the

great powers. (CBMs, 1981)

Transparency Measure

Transparency Measures such as exchange of information regarding military strength, armed forces, expenditures, arms production and transfer, military maneuvers, prior notification, foreign observers, verification measures (Goldblat, 2002) are the measures brings trust between the adversaries. Some of the important transparency measures are as follows.

Prior-Notification Measures

Pakistan and India had adopted some pre-notification measures. An Agreement had signed between these two in April 1999 for a prior notification of military exercises, troop movements, and maneuvers. An agreement on Prevention of Air Space Violation had

signed in 1992. (Krepon, 2004) According to the Article 3 of that agreement, Both of the states will provide a prior notice regarding exercises of land Forces. According to Article 4 of that agreement both of the states will serve a fifteen days prior notice when moved to their operational locations to the periodic maintenance of their defense. The schedule military exercises with troops would be transmitted in written to the either side through political channels while Air exercises should be notified at the level of supreme Command beyond fifteen day's pre-notification. Divisional level exercises and major naval exercises if six or more than six ships, a thirty days pre-notification. Corps level exercises, sixty days prior notification. Army level exercises, ninety days prior notification. In addition, Fifteen Days prior notification for military exercises including ballistic missile flight tests have been useful (Pak-India, 2012) in respect of divisional level exercises and Naval exercises. In respect of Air exercises, an advances notice of seven days would be provided.

Lahore Declaration

A remarkable move to step forward for peaceful co-existence and security initiated in February 1999 when Lahore Declaration signed by the Foreign Secretaries K. Raghunath from Indian side and Shamshad Ahmed from Pakistani side. Both emphasized the need to improve nuclear security and safety by preventing accidental agreements by the mid-1999. New Delhi and Islamabad both Committees took several steps to lessen down the nuclear peril in the region. (Roghavan, 1999)

Memorandum of Understanding signed on February 21, 1999, in Lahore. The two countries were fully committed to undertake nation-wide measures to lessen the risks of accidental use of nuclear arms under their control. The two sides also undertook to notify

immediately in the event of any outbreak of nuclear clash between the two countries. The two sides also maintained to create and identify the appropriate communication mechanism for getting this purpose. Another important breakthrough was the prior notification of Ballistic Missile Test, nuclear test and the up-gradation of the present communication links, to reduce the risk of unauthorized nuclear weapons. (Rajain, 2005)

Data Exchange

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and his counter-part Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto signed an agreement on Prohibition of Attack against Nuclear Installations and Facilities in 1988. It was further ratified in 1991 and it had been implemented in January 1992. The agreement required an annual exchange of the lists detailing the locations of all nuclear facilities of each state. Both India and Pakistan needed to exchange the lists and also to inform each other regarding any changes in the lists. When the lists had been exchanged firstly in 1992, each side reportedly left off one enrichment facility. The agreement began to institutionalize the transparency between Pakistan and Indian relationships. According to the agreement, Pakistan and India serve a prior notice of its Military Exercises and Troop Movements. (Roghavan, 1999)

Observations

CBMs between Pakistan and India had always been so critical. Both the states used CBMs more as Competition building measures than as confidence building measures. (Krepon Quote) Pakistan and India both adopted Observations Measures which are another military Conflict Avoidance Measure (CAM). The military exercises of Pakistan in 1989 named Zarb-e-Momin had been conducted and foreign observers had been invited to confirm

unfriendly intent. In the first week of December 2000 there was a 10-day joint Indian army maneuvers named Shiva Shakti held in Rajasthan desert. These exercises were the biggest since 1986-87.

Political CBMs between Pakistan and India

Political CBMs tend to construct confidence and faith in the mind of a potential rivals by using different tools including dialogues and negotiations. Following are some important tools of CBMs used in the bilateral relations of both Pakistan and India.

- Track I and Track II Diplomacy
- The Political CBMs

Track I and Track II Diplomacy

Democracy is the Key to project the mandate of the people. Although both Pakistan and India faced the extreme inequality and extreme poverty which militate the democracy yet things are growing. (Oldenburg, 2010) The representatives of the people have capability to exploit the opportunities to create peaceful co-existence among the states. Democracy provides a chance to speak out without staying in mind any consideration when it needs to promote the vital interest of the masses. It never encourages any sort of wrongdoing. (Nayar, 2003) Therefore, democracy opens the new dimensions of peaceful settlement of the nations on the behalf of the mandate of the people. Democratic governments wanted to maintain peace not only within the borders of the states but also on the borders. Politicians in the democratic system of government always want to resolve the issues on the table of dialogues. Politicians and diplomats of the two nations could settle their dispute by using diplomacy. (Dixit, 2002)

Treaties and Agreements

There had been some significant political and financial agreements between Pakistan and India over the years, paving the way for better understanding between each other. These agreements are as follows,

Liaquat-Nehru Agreements

Pakistani Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan with his Indian counter-part Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru signed an agreement in 1950 to protect the minorities of both countries. Muslims of India are in minority. It was a great move in terms of CBMs. The Article 29 and 30 of the Indian constitution are serving the different treatment to the minorities. The constitution is rendering somewhat better role to the minorities. These articles are good to read and project in the sophisticated world but discriminatory policy is exercising in all dimensions. (Singh, 2003) Moreover, the agreement letting masses to enjoin both of these states to make sure that their minorities would have a complete set of equality in enjoying the rights of citizenship, religious tolerance and equality, security and safety in respect of life. (Krepon, 1996)

Temporary Agreements

A conference of Financial Commissioners of both Indian Punjab and Pakistani Punjab held on 31 January 1954 to settle the boundary issue of Indian Punjab and Pakistani Punjab. A temporary agreement signed in 1954 to supply five thousand kilowatts electricity to Pakistani Punjab from the Jogandhar Nagar hydroelectric project.

Pakistani and Indian engineers met in Peshawar on 19 January 1958 for two days. They signed a temporary agreement that had been constantly ratified and extended between Pakistan and India for ten years. According to that agreement, Indian Punjab had been believed to sell her surplus electricity to Pakistan. Pakistan had been stopped buying electricity in 1958 just because of Indian conditions on per unit operating expenses.

The Tashkent Declaration

Tashkent Declaration signed in 1966. The two states shown their firm intentions to settle and restore normal and peaceful relations by encouraging understanding and friendly relationships among their peoples. Both countries acknowledged the United Nations' Charter that enjoined on all nations to avoid the use of force by settling their conflicts through peaceful. The cease-fire line restored to its pre-position of September 1965 followed by a joint troop's withdrawal. The Tashkent Declaration is also called Rum-interference in the Internal Affairs of each other. One of the important points was that both countries avoid passing any negative statements directed to the other side. (Tashkent, 2001)

The Simla Agreement

The Simla Agreement signed in 1972 on the Indian hill station at Simla. In this agreement, both states pledged to Put an end to the conflict and conflict that have hitherto marred their relationships, work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the agreement of durable peace in the sub-continent. (Ganguly, 1994)

The Lahore Bus Diplomacy

Both Pakistan and India shared a long colonial history. (Khan, 2012) Any move, which may bring them closer, is quite appreciable. The big landmark in the Pakistan and India CBMs history was the visit of Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee to Lahore on February 20-21, 1999 on the inauguration of the Delhi-Lahore bus service. There was absolutely an emerging realization for Prime Ministers, Nawaz Sharif, and Vajpayee that improved the relations between the two states. Both of the leaders had done to their part to serve a kick-start such a process that further serve a foundation to the upcoming relations of both states. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif realized the importance of potential financial co-operation between the two countries. The Bus service had been a great step forward to reconstruct the lost confidence.

Sports Diplomacy

Both the states gave a momentum to the relations when Prime Minister Vajpayee's visited Pakistan and the cricket teams of India and Pakistan played test series despite the opposition of right wing. The hockey diplomacy and the participation of Pakistan's team in the Kabadi Tournament within India encouraged the people of both sides to come closer.

Lahore Declaration

The Lahore Summit led both India and Pakistan to Lahore Declaration on February 21, 1999. That was the fruit of democratic governments of that India was enjoying long since and Pakistan was struggling to get rid of different hurdles like feudalism and dictatorship. Democracy was the only reason that brought these two countries together on one table of

negotiation. Although India had introduced land reforms in the very beginning to stay the landed class away from the government and Pakistan is still struggling to ensure true democracy to get the environment of trust among neighboring countries. (Naseem, 2002)

The whole credit of Lahore Declaration went to the responsible democratic governments that issued a Joint Statement. The Memorandum of Understanding had signed by the both Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India. The Lahore Declaration and the Memorandum of Understanding referred to the joint adherence to the principles of UN Charter. All the outstanding issues had agreed upon in the Lahore Declaration and the MoU agreed upon together with the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, counter terrorism strategy also scheduled. (Krepon, 2009)

At the end of the summit, a number of steps had agreed upon along with nuclear CBMs to prevent any possible conflict, condemnation of terrorism. Both the governments agreed to serve an advance warning to each other before conducting the tests of ballistic missile. The two states also agreed to alert immediately in case of any unauthorized, accidental, or unexplained incident. Unilateral suspension on nuclear testing had also been agreed upon. The Foreign Secretaries talks and meetings stressed to be continued which had been crept up with short intervals during the period of 1984 to 1997. (Mishra, 2010)

The dialogues should be cultured and in the first stage minor issues should be addressed and basic initiatives should be taken, as travel restrictions should be modified, people-to-people contact should be promoted. The Lahore Declaration brought a new hope for improving the bilateral ties between Pakistan and India. Lahore Bus Service brought a wave of optimism in the Indo-Pak relationship that emphasized to put step forward to the resolving of the other minor and major issues on the table of dialogues and negotiations.

Lahore Declaration and Memorandum of Understanding encouraged the feelings of good will and harmony in the post Vajpayee visit. Indian Prime Minister had left an appreciable message for both nations, I wish to work together with your government to develop a relationship of peace and friendship and put in place a comprehensive structure of co-operation. It is now incumbent upon us to translate our recent initiatives for the welfare of the peoples of our two states into reality. (Lahore Declaration, 1999)

The Agra Summit

Prime Minister Vajpayee served motion to peace process by his visit to Lahore early in 1999 in pursuance of Lahore Declaration and Simla agreement. India Prime Minister Vajpayee invited General Pervez Musharaf, the Chief Executive of Pakistan pay a visit to India, at his earliest convenience to serve a momentum to the efforts of peace, reconciliation, co-operation and stability between the both states. In connection with the invitation to General Pervez Musharaf and the Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee said, "We want peace in our state, in our neighborhood and the world. I invited Gen. Pervaiz Musharaf to achieve this goal." General Pervaiz Musharaf accepted the invitation of Indian Prime Minister and in response to that invitation he said, forward movement is viable provided the two sides come to the negotiation table with open minds and agree to show some flexibility in their stated positions on Kashmir.

In response to Gen. Musharaf the Indian Prime Minister said, I am happy Musharaf has accepted my invitation, and we will talk on all issues. I am sure some concrete way will emerge out of the talks. (Ushba, 2005) General Pervaiz Musharraf maintained to discuss Kashmir Issue while Attal Behari Vajpayee wanted to focus on the issue of Pakistan's insurgent in

Kashmir with the help of his allies in addition to narcotics trafficking. (Ganguly, 2001)

Vajpayee government was trying to invite Pakistan since 1998 to dismantle the Log jam with Pakistan's government which ultimately, be achieved by the participation of Pakistan in the Agra Summit of 2001 but L. K. Advani was not so optimistic regarding Agra Summit and said, No permanent peace can be expected. Unless there is a fundamental transformation of the power structure in Pakistan, not only in terms of its military components but also of the social background and political inclinations of the plutocratic and feudal leadership. (Dixit, 2002)

Nobody is overly optimistic about the outcome of the proposed summit meeting. Even after the visit of Vajpayee to Minar-e-Pakistan the rightist washed the place to purify it from the malign impact of the visit of an infidel prime minister of the enemy country. (Dixit, 2002)

However, everybody expects the peace process to be revived after it broke down in 1999 in the wake of the Kargel War. This is the least expectation. The eyes-cold relationships must have confidence and avoidance of hitting each other. General Pervaiz Musharaf arrived in New Delhi on July 14, 2001. The Prime Minister of India and General Pervaiz Musharaf met one and half-hour, one-to-one and over an hour with different delegations and talked on various issues but it could not proved to be a as fruitful as the two sides failed to arrive at an agreed text. However, it helped to reconstruct the confidence as the focus of both states remained on the entirety of relationship and endeavor to build trust, faith, and confidence. That exercise brought these two nations to come and develop understanding for co-operation, peace, friendship, security, and safety. It also stressed on the need to initiate political dialogue at all levels.

Financial CBMs

Financial CBMs have comparatively solid foundation, as these CBMs do not involve the interest of a particular group. Financial relationships lay its foundation on the cooperation in which different groups, companies, industrialists, banks, corporations, businessmen and individuals involved. Strained relations especially between the immediate neighbors like Pakistan and India affect a major institutions and people. Therefore, the interest groups put pressure on their governments to take some positive steps for peace so that they may flourish in the environment of interrelationship and interdependence. There was an import quota on a vast range of products. The tariffs of 38.5 percent and an average of tariff less than 30% with a commitment to phase out all quantitative restrictions by 2003. India's share of the world trade had also been growing up to 2002 and India failed to attract some remarkable foreign investment. The trade of both Pakistan and India draws the attention of the world at large. (Krepon, 2013) The trade between the two countries can serve a platform to establish their relationship.

Direct Investments

Direct investment by the private investors of both India and Pakistan different projects are very important in the state's economy. The joint ventures and cooperation not only on public sector but also on private basis played a vital role in the bilateral relations of both countries when initiated in the past and especially during the democratic government of Nawaz Sharif followed by General Pervaiz Musharaf.

The major reason that contributed for the low level of trade and investment between Pakistan and India are the political conflicts and the trust deficit. Pakistan had not granted

India the status of Most Favorite Nation (in spite of WTOs commitments) up to the year 2002 that proved to be an obstacle for trade of both states, consequently, encouraged growth of trade in which any third state involved like trade through Dubai and Singapore which estimated almost two billion US\$. The two economies of either side flourished and almost doubled during the last 10 years. Thus bilateral trade volume was just one percent of the total. (Taneja, 2015) Another potential and complimentary financial cooperation between the two states had been infrastructural trade particularly gas pipelines through Central Asia, Iran and the Gulf and even the joint distribution and development of electricity. The further financial ties between these two countries had been lacking in terms of Information Technology and services linked with it since 2002 that might contribute to enlarge the financial cooperation through gas-based fertilizer, power plants, and petrochemical.

Cultural and Humanitarian CBMs

The people of both Pakistan and India are sharing a great deal of cultural legacy. Subcontinent has a great history of its political, religious, cultural and literature heritage. The culture of subcontinent revolves round the religion and its activities. Great art of the ancient sculptures, music wall-painting are the remarkable part of the Indian society and culture. This intensity found but very rare in the living and ancient art of the world. (Bashm, 2004) Indian society is divided into four major, classes originated by Aryan class division existed in Indo-European community. (Bashm, 2004)

Muslims of subcontinent have an ancient legacy with this culture that cannot be ignored and need to be found any move that may bring the people closer sharing great culture.

Contact amongst people of various ethnic and political cultures ought to remove some of the misunderstandings generated by the political elite of both of these states for their own vested interests. The common socio-cultural bases could be used to progress interdependence and cooperation. The vested interest of the two governments based to allow unofficial dialogues between the political leaders and opinion makers that could be encouraged the greater interaction among their people. In the context of cultural and humanitarian interaction, the stereotyped images of both Pakistan and India ought to be broken. A new type of psychology ought to emerge by learning lessons from the past that could even help to break the images of enmity from the minds of Indians and Pakistanis, which had been cultivated by both political leaders during the era of 1999 to 2002.

People-to-People Contacts

The people of both Pakistan and India share common culture and different custom which proved to be useful to bridge the gulf between Pakistan and India. Atmospheric CBMs also contributed to the people to people contracts, cultural exchanges and the release of political and other prisoners like fishermen etc. (Krepon, 2009) The wave of terrorism that generated in 2001 after 9/11 questioned the relevance of the religious elements, which might have a great misunderstanding between these two countries. After the 'Lahore Declaration' Track-1 diplomacy between Pakistan and India picked up pace in the right direction.

The common base of language ethnicity, cultural traditions, and linkage is sufficient to exchange views on informal issues or common problems faced by the two states. Indian films songs and their singers like Muhammad Rafi, Mukesh, and Lata Mangashkar are

widely popular in Pakistan. Similarly, Pakistan Television plays and singers like Medhi Hasan, Noorjehan, Nusrat Fateh Ali and Ghulam Ali are immensely popular in India. The exchange of culture through artists served opportunities to Pakistan and India for initiating socio-cultural confidence-building process. Increased and frequent visits of personalities and artists loved by the people of both states are allowing for a new immensely effective media for cross-cultural dialogue.

Cricket Diplomacy

Cricket is the most popular game of both India and Pakistan. Cricket diplomacy gave way to bring people closer to replace their grievances. General Zia ul Haq went to watch a cricket match in India, 1987. The cricket diplomacy helped in bringing people closer and develops understanding. (Arne, 2010) Sports helped politicians to put their step forward to address the issues between the two countries through negotiations for the resolving of the longstanding and pending issues. India and Pakistan both left so many interesting and thrilling games across the borders. The governments of both sides decided to step forward to seize the opportunity to strengthen the web of games between the two countries especially Cricket. Consequently, Pakistani cricket team invited to play a series with the Indian team on January 1999 after a break of eleven years with adequate security and safety arrangements along with the assurance of Indian Home Minister L.K. Advani who assured to provide Fool-proof Security at all the venues during their Indian tour which had been welcomed by the Pakistan.

Perception of Students towards CBMs between Pakistan and India

The survey conducted to get the general perception of educated youth towards CBMs that projected by the different elements through media and civil society. This survey comprised the students of graduation up to the level of MS. The sample contained fifty students only by using non-probability Sampling. The results are quite appreciable and opened the new face of CBMs.

4.1 Education of the respondent.

EDUCATION	Number of students	PERCENTAGE
BA	18	36
MA	24	48
MS	08	16
TOTAL	50	100

The students from graduation up to the level of MS requested to fill the questionnaire as is mentioned in the table 4.1 to make the result of this little project more affective and reliable. Following are the brief summary of the survey.

4.2 Relations between India and Pakistan are desperately needed to bring permanent stability and peace in the region.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YES	50	100

NO	00	00
DON'T KNOW	00	00
TOTAL	50	100

Table 4.2 shows the data relating to the need of permanent stability and peace in the region. According to the data of this table the 100% students of all levels stressed upon the need of stability and peace in the region.

4.3 Minor issues should be addressed first to ensure the application of Confidence Building Measures.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YES	50	100
NO	00	00
DON'T KNOW	00	00
TOTAL	50	100

Table 4.3 shows the data relating to the issues. Issues and disputes can be divided into major and minor issues. Both the issues addressed separately in different questions. In the present question it was asked whether the respondents are agree to resolve the minor issue first or major. All 100% respondents agreed with the idea to resolve the minor issues between the two countries.

4.4 Major issues should be resolved on the table rather than borders.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YES	50	100
NO	00	00

DON'T KNOW	00	00
TOTAL	50	100

Table 4.4 shows the data relating to the issues and the growing tension on borders. In this question the importance of dialogues addressed. All 100% of the respondents were agreed with the idea that the issues between these two states should be resolved on the table through dialogues rather than war on the borders.

4.5 Confidence level can be improved by strengthen cultural ties.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YES	48	94
NO	02	04
DON'T KNOW	00	00
TOTAL	50	100

Table 4.5 shows the data relating to strengthening the cultural ties between Pakistan and India. 94% of the respondents agreed to improve the cultural ties but 4% were disagreed to this move as is mentioned in the 4.5 table.

4.6 Sports activities will help people bringing closer.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YES	49	98
NO	01	02
DON'T KNOW	00	00
TOTAL	50	100

Table 4.6 shows the data relating to sports diplomacy which was addressed in a simple way by calling it sports activities just to facilitate the respondent so that he may understand the motive behind these activities properly. The table 4.6 tells that the 98% of the total respondents agreed with these activities while 2% of the total disagreed with that idea.

4.7 Flexible visa policy will enhance the relationship between these two states.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YES	47	94
NO	03	06
DON'T KNOW	00	00
TOTAL	50	100

Table 4.7 the results show that the free movement of the people of both sides are quite helpful to defuse the tension and softening the strained relations. The flexible visa policy in a token of free mobility of the people of the both sides and this inter action can serve a solid ground to the both state to revisit their foreign policy in the larger interest of the masses.

4.8 Trade with India is in favor of Pakistan.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YES	49	98
NO	00	00
DON'T KNOW	01	02
TOTAL	50	100

Table 4.8 shows the data relating to the trade with India. Information technology brought a revolution also helped people bringing closer. 98% of the respondent supported trade with India that is favorable for both countries. 2% of the respondents showed themselves unaware of this idea.

4.9 The model like European Union can be useful in South Asia.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YES	38	76
NO	11	22
DON'T KNOW	01	02
TOTAL	50	100

Table 4.9 shows the data relating to the model like European Union in South Asia. No doubt, it is pretty optimistic approach but it shows the growing change and is quite appreciable for these two countries. The table 4.9 gives us the details of respondents that marked 76% of this optimistic approach and 22% were against this idea while 2% of the respondents were unaware of that model of European Union.

4.10 Working relations are good for both countries.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YES	50	100
NO	00	00
DON'T KNOW	00	00
TOTAL	50	100

Table 4.10 shows the data related to question number 1, 4, 5 and 7. That was an effort to analyze the true opinion of the respondents. A little fluctuation has been observed. On the whole 100% of the respondents were agreed with the idea to defuse tension by encouraging stability and peace in the region.

4.11 Both the countries should sign 'No war treaty'.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YES	45	90
NO	02	04
DON'T KNOW	03	06
TOTAL	50	100

Table 4.11 shows the data relating to sign 'No war treaty'. 90% of the respondents were in favor of signing such kind of move. While 4% were against it and 6% of the respondents avoided this question.

Pakistan and India that have pretty strained relations on different major and minor issues can be devastated due to the modern weaponry and above all, longstanding cultural, social, and religious differences. These two states confronted many times on the borders, left blood strains on the soil. CBMs are the part of back door diplomacy that should be remained open in any case for bringing both Pakistan and India closer on the table of dialogue and address their minor and major issues on the table rather than battlefield. CBMs should be highly appreciated. It will help both states to defuse tensions for the better future of the coming generations. (Perception of Students, 2014)

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Survey

Perception of Students towards CBMs between Pakistan and India conducted on May 2014 in IIU, Islamabad by the researcher.

Conclusion

CBMs are the tools used in preparing and cultivating peace mediation, dialogues and negotiations between the adversaries. CBMs support to create faith among the antagonistic parties for the resolution and management of their conflicts. CBMs are not a new phenomenon between Pakistan and India as both states signed many agreements to resolve issues, hostility and tensions that perhaps setting them away to come closer and develop understanding.

The agreements between these two were the product of wars and conflicts like Liaqat-Nehru Pact, Indus Water Treaty, Tashkent Agreement, Rann Kutch Agreement and Simla Accord. The term CBMs first used into the context of Pakistan and India in 1987 after the Operation Brasstacks soon after the addition of nuclear dimensions in the relationship of both Pakistan and India. Military and political CBMs like diplomacy, dialogues and negotiations introduced to extend bilateral ties by stretching cultural and humanitarian CBMs. In spite of so many efforts of both political governments, military and media but very few of them bore fruit due to the lack of confidence, trust deficit and ill will that accumulated over the longstanding and unsettled Kashmir conflict. After getting the nuclear facilities, some serious measures had been taken to lessen the probabilities of war between these two rival states. (Ganguly, 2001)

No war pact, communication and contacts measures, proposals of peace and friendship, nuclear risk reduction, transparency measures, joint declarations, data exchange measures, pre-notification are the tools of CBMs that can help in pacifying the growing tensions between Pakistan and India. There are some non-military measures like political measures, financial measures, cultural measures, people-to-people contacts, and diplomacy (Track-I, Track-II and Track-III diplomacy) that have enough might to lay the foundation of peaceful settlement of the minor and major issues between Pakistan and India. These measures initiated over the years especially during 1999-2002 to improve the level of

confidence. No doubt, these helped in diluting the intensity of Kargil Crisis, nuclear tests and particularly the attack on Indian parliament on 13th December 2001. That was the time when tension between these two adversaries resulted strained relations between the two nuclear states and threatening not only the security and safety of each other but also challenging to the regional peace.

Pakistan wants to resolve all of its major issues with India through bilateral dialogues and negotiation including Kashmir and Siachen through the resolutions of UN and even mediation. India denies the mediation of any state and maintains that this is the mutual issues between the two states and both Pakistan and Indian governments have to resolve the issues through bilateral dialogues and negotiations. Both Pakistan and India have to put their steps forward to make sure of the security and stability of their people by starting meaningful dialogues the way that they had started after Kargil conflict up to 2002. Those were not good enough to bring out any remarkable breakthrough but to break the silence and deadlock in the process of CBMs. Both states should address the minor issues first in order to create the environment of trust where they could be able to address their major issues. Only then they could be able to institutionalize a pretty effective framework of conflict de-escalation.

The exchange of information, exchange of ideas on the strategic doctrines and joint activities of both to deal with the prevailing threats of nuclear radiations/nuclear incidents, deployment of international observers along with the sensitive areas of LoC, visits of military officials in short intervals to the staff colleges of both sides. The policy of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of each side should make possible in order to construct confidence and trust. Exchange of students, media personals,

teachers, scientists, traders can help in de-escalation the prevailing anxiety and tension between the two states.

The modern applications of CBMs are good enough to tend a reasonable balance between non-military and military measures. An extensive interaction of the military and non-military measures can make CBMs dynamic and can effectively influence the politico-military scenario of both Pakistan and India. Military CBMs are capable to serve the procedure and structural factors in avoidance of war while non-military CBMs along with the procedural factors can serve psychological factors to work towards confidence building both in the period of war and peace. Moreover, cultural, financial, socio-political, arms control, disarmament, people to people contacts will be useful to minimize suspicion and mistrust among the people. There should be close co-ordination into the activities carried through Track-II and Track-III diplomacy to get good results in a short period of time. The facilitation measures to improve bilateral trade like better roads and proper railways, flexible visa policy, direct foreign investment and frequent visits of the business delegations should be emphasized in order to improve the environment of confidence and trust.

It is imperative to learn the lessons from the past when the tension between the two nuclear states brought them on the verge of devastated conflict but the two governments not only tackled the adverse situation but also stretched their arms to strengthen bilateral ties. Both Pakistan and India are co-operating specially in the multilateral forums like United Nations, NAM and SAARC. They should extend cooperation to resolve their political differences and works for the well being of the two nations. Agro-food industries, space linked, scientific and technological ventures, utilization of energy, electric power and solar energy projects

could mutually initiate between the two nations for common gain. Television and all modes of media can be used for transmitting of friendly gestures across the borders on the events like Independence Days, Dewali, Eid Days etc. *Aman ki Asha* initiated by the efforts of *Times of India* and *The Jang Group* to launch a media campaign in the recent past, which will hopefully bring the people of the both states closer to understand the benefits of peaceful relationship and the devastation of war and conflict.

Several barriers are contributing to keep these two nations to come on the table of negotiation on equal grounds. There are some traits between these two to keep them away from any amicable solution of their minor and major issues. The sense of superiority of Muslim rule over Hindus and the anger of being subject on the part of Hindus in India enlarge the rift between the two nations. Civil societies of both India and Pakistan almost failed to serve a solid ground to bring the people of both sides closer.

After the wars of 1971 followed by Kargil Conflict, India has developed superiority complex which is also a hurdle in the process of bilateral negotiations and dialogues. India throws all the guilt of agitation in Kashmir to Pakistan, while Pakistan denies by claiming itself as a supporter to the just right of the Kashmiris who are fighting for their freedom against Indian forces in Kashmir by giving them moral and humanitarian support.

Pakistan claimed that its support to Kashmiris is according to the resolutions as well as the Charter of United Nations. India deems it that the Pakistani nuclear program is not peaceful but an instrumentality to get geopolitical objectives in Kashmir. Militarization and disbelief between Pakistan and India have undermined the democratic institutions and the forces of right wings stoking the politics of religious intolerance, hatred of minorities, extremism and war hysteria.

Consequently, financial deprivation and poverty deepens. These circumstances have multiplied the need of CBMs even more than ever before. The media is not playing a positive job to bridge the gap between the two countries except a frail endeavor of *Times of India* and *The Jang Group* in Pakistan under the banner of *Aman Ki Asha*.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- CBMs should be highly appreciated to promote stability and peace in the region.
- All media including printing and electronic should feel their responsibility to bring these two states closer for the better future of the coming generations
- Trade, sports, flexible visa policy will help people bringing closer.
- CBMs are the single ray of hope into the relations between Pakistan and India and these should be made more functioning and affective.
- The minor issues should be addressed first to develop the environment of trust.
- There should be effective hotline to tackle the odious and increment situations.
- The frequent visits of the political leaders, foreign ministers, foreign secretaries, students and cultural heritage can help people and the political leaders to come closer and understand the value of stability and peace between both states.
- Both countries should realize the cost of conflict and benefits of peace.
- Both countries should not interfere the internal matters of each other.
- The resolutions of United Nations should be followed in order to resolve their major issues.
- Mediation, arbitration, dialogues should be resume to develop understanding on different issues in order to resolve the growing tension.

- Both countries should exchange intelligence in order to combat terrorism, extremism and fundamentalism from either sides.
- Sports diplomacy should be cultured in order to bridge the gulf between the two countries.
- The poisonous and provoking statements should be avoided to pacify the odious situations in control.
- Conflict resolution should be resumed through result-oriented and sustained dialogue.
- Nuclear restraint measures and the conventional balance should be discussed at expertise and political watchdogs.
- Credible deterrence and maintenance of nuclear weaponry on the status of low alert including, no active deployment of nuclear ballistic missiles delivery systems or deployment ballistic or Anti-Ballistic Missile.
- Nuclear or conventional arms race should be avoided.
- Meaningful dialogues should be resumed on Kashmir issue including Sir Creek, Siachin and Baglihar dam.
- Progress of the existing CBMs and other measures should be reviewed periodically.
- Avoidance of every violation like airspace, borders and territorial water.
- Military exercises, maneuvers should be prior notified in addition to no joint military exercises with any country in the disputed areas.
- Communication links with both Director-General Military Operations should be made more effective.

- Reduction of regular forces substantively including non-induction of regular forces in Kashmir.
- There should be a speedy and comprehensive return of the inadvertent line crossers including exchange of prisoners on monthly basis.
- Both countries should initiate for a comprehensive and effective joint mechanism of Anti-terrorism.
- Hotline should be more effective between interior ministers level on terrorism.

Not all of the above-mentioned steps would have the guarantee to bring permanent stability and peace between Pakistan and India but to serve a platform to address their longstanding minor and major disputes and issues in the atmosphere of trust, faith, inter-dependence and inter-relationship. However, it is quite optimistic to say that the afore-said measures can end the difficult situation between Pakistan and India. But the true and sincere efforts to make sure of these steps can bring the two nations closer to that extent that they may handle the odious situations in the atmosphere of trust-worthy neighbors to avoid conflict, spinning out of control.

Appendix I

Pakistan-India Fact Sheet

- **1949** United Nations Military Observer Group India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) formed and the UN resolution called for plebiscite to address the issue of Kashmir.
- **1950** The protection of minority agreed upon by the both sides of the borders under Liaquat-Nehru Pact.
- **1959** Ayub Khan offered a 'Joint Defense' to India, Nehru rejected with the statement 'Threat against whom?'
- **1960** Indus Water Treaty signed between India-Pakistan under the auspices of World Bank for the sharing of waters.
- **1962-63** In the context of India-China border clash, an effort to resolve the issue of Kashmir through Anglo-American mediation that encouraged dialogues between these two countries followed by an organized meeting between the Foreign Ministers Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Sardar Sarwan Singh.
- **1964** Sheik Abdullah paid a visit to Pakistan with a peace plan. Unfortunately, the mission postponed due to the sudden death of Nehru.
- **1965-66** Pakistan and India fought a seventeen days war and consequently, an agreement had been signed between Ayub Khan the president of Pakistan and the Indian Prime minister Lal Bahadur Shastri in Taskent.
- **1971** India signed a defense treaty with USSR in response to the Pakistan's stepped towards China and US.

- **1972** Indian Prime Minister Gandhi signed Simla Agreement with his Pakistani counterpart Z. A. Bhutto after the war.
- **1976** Samjohta Express Train started between the two countries.
- **1978** Indian foreign minister A. B. Vajpayee visited Pakistan.
- **1981** Indian foreign minister N. Rao visited Pakistan and Pakistan offered a No War Pact but India said that the Simla Agreement is already a No War Pact.
- **1984** The first Track 2 Conference started in Islamabad participated by the non-officials, media officials and retired government servants of both sides of the borders.
- **1984-85** India occupied Siachen Glacier. Zia ul Haq signed an agreement with Rajiv Gandhi not to attack on the nuclear installations of each other. SAARC formed.
- **1989-90** Insurgency began in occupied Kashmir. President Bush sent Robert Gates to mediate between two countries.
- **1992** Hotline established.
- **1997** Foreign secretaries of both sides agreed on Composite Dialogues including Kashmir.
- **1998** India went for nuclear explosion followed by Pakistan.
- **1999** Vajpayee went to Pakistan to inaugurate the bus service between New Delhi and Lahore signed Lahore Declaration.
- **1999** Kargil Conflict occurred that resulted Washington Declaration and the withdrawal of Militants from the heights.
- **2001** Musharaf went to attend Agra Summit after accepting the invitation of Vajpayee.

- **2001-02** Indian Parliament went under attack. Musharaf banned *Lashkar e Taiba* and *Jaish e Muhammad*.
- **2002** US intervention to defuse crisis also averted war.
- **2002** India withdrawal of troops the peace-time locations followed by the elections in occupied Kashmir. Deputy Prime Minister of India L. K. Advani said, Let us fight it out, face to face, we have fought three wars, let there be fourth one. SAARC Summit and the SAF games postponed due to the non-participation of India.
- **2003** Prime Minister Vajpayee ruled out war with Pakistan.

Appendix II

International Legal Agreements

1922: Conference on the Limitation of Armament

1968: Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

1969-1972: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I)

1972: Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM)

1972-1986: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II)

1991: Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I)

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