

**INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH ASIA: RELEVANCE OF
NORTH EAST INDIA**

**THESIS SUBMITTED TO NAGALAND UNIVERSITY
FOR AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



submitted by

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DECLARATION

I, P. Tepekrovi Kiso, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anyone else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university/ institution.

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I will never stop praising Him

I will praise Him for what He has done

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“End with to begin.”

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APEC	: Asia- Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	: Association of South East Asian Nations
BRIC	: (groups of nations) Brazil, Russia, India and China
BIMSET-EC	: Bangladesh India Myanmar Sri Lanka Thailand Economic Cooperation
BIMSETEC	: Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
CICIR	: China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations
EAS	: East Asia Summit
FIA	: Foreign Intelligence Agencies
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
IAEA	: International Atomic Energy Agency
IAF	: Indian Air Force
IDS	: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
ISI	: Inter-Services Intelligence
LoC	: Line of Control
LTTE	: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam
MIVD	: Military Intelligence and Security Service
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NLD	: National League for Democracy
NPT	: Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
PLA	: People's Liberation Army
PWG	: People's War Group

SAARC : South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SCO : Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
SPDC : State Peace and Development Council
ULFA : United Liberation Front of Asom
UNSC : United Nations Security Council

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PREFACE

North-East India that comprises of eight states today namely; Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura is relevant both strategically as well as economically from the perspective of Indian foreign policy. The region shares territorial contiguity and cultural, ethnic, linguistic commonalities with South Asian neighbours- Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal in particular. For example, the region shares 98% of its border with Bangladesh adjoining with Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura. Bhutan borders with Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim. Nepal is adjoined to Sikkim.

The North-East region, thus, serves as a gateway for India's foreign policy towards South Asia in particular and East and South East Asia in general. It is in this context that the North East India becomes relevant for India's foreign policy towards SAARC, India's Look East Policy, Bay of Bengal Initiative and Mekong Delta Initiative. The political, security, social and economic developments in the North East have wider and decisive repercussions for India's relations with the countries of South, East and South East Asia.

At the same time the direction, dynamics and dimensions of India's foreign policy towards South, East and South East Asia determine the parameters of political, security, social and economic developments in the region of North East India. Thus while North East India integrates India's foreign policy with our neighboring countries and economic associations and groupings like SAARC and ASEAN, our foreign policy, on the other hand, provides immense economic, investment and commercial opportunities for the region and the people of North East India having a great bearing on people's economic and social conditions with a far reaching impact on politico-security scenario of the region.

India's foreign policy's approach to integrate the North East region with our neighbours does pose various challenges on account of illegal migration, drug trafficking, illegal trade, trade in narcotics and arms trafficking and insurgency related problems impacting decisively the political and security scenario of the region in particular and socio-economic and cultural fabric of the people of the region in general and thus threatening India's security and strategic interests.

Thus security of the North-East India determines the security of India as the region is so strategically located. It is in this context that the study of India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia occupies an important place from the prospective of the North-East India.

The social root causes of the domestic problem create and disturb national peace and security. It is relevant to foresee the real social causes in the region. Before the British, none of the empires in India were interested in as well as found it difficult to control the remote and hilly North-Eastern areas. Consequently, the region had enjoyed a long history of independence in socio-political and self-sufficiency in economy. Since the people of North-East differ basically in racial, cultural, ethnic and religious aspects from that of India, they have been suspicious about Indians.

Moreover, the policy of the British to keep these people away from the rest of India created separatist tendency among these tribal people. That is why soon after India's independence North-East region become the hot bed of insurgency causing serious problem to India's national integration. The militant groups began to use the neighbouring countries of India as their organizational bases and obtained enough moral and material support from the countries who have been inimical to India's progress and prosperity. Thus North-East is a burning region. In several ways, it is one of South Asia's most disturbed region. The challenge of and to North-East has several dimensions.

All the states and ethnic groups cannot be seen as one single politico-economic unit. For instance, the Nagas possessed a completely different history, social and political lineage. However, with the passage of time, the States of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Nagaland and Meghalaya began to be identified as a single geographic unit and socio-economic identity. The political process and administrative convenience has come to legitimize this 'region as north-east India'.

The concept of north-east India and as a homogenous entity and the regional reorganization of this multi-ethnic setting has done colossal damage in social, political and economic parameters. In evolution of the policy for the region, the policy makers should have paid greater attention to

the fact that the region has immense geo-political diversity as well as strategic significance. It is bound by four countries of Bhutan, Bangladesh, China and Myanmar.

The region geopolitically shares a large frontier with Bangladesh and receives a large number of political and social refugees from Myanmar, Tibet and Chittagong hill tracks of Bangladesh. The people of the region see themselves as different and call rest part of India as 'mainland'. Many of them belong to the Mongoloid stock and are close to the people of South-East Asia and China.

Though India boasts for 'unity in diversity', but, this diversity obsessed with security treats this diversity as a threat. According to expert, this region is also seen a zone of buffer against China.

The region has a major obstacle to investment in the form of inner line permit that prevents even Indians from entering Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.

The region exhibits certain common problems like drug trafficking, immigration problems, ethnic turmoil and insurgency. There are also immense inter-regional differences in ethno-social issues and political aspirations. Different stages of socio-economic growth and development are discernible in the valley. Illegal migration has completely changed the geo-politics of Assam with about 60 Assembly Constituencies (out of 120) now being controlled by Muslims. In some areas, Muslim population is as high as 70% (Dhubri). ULFA leaders who started their movement against illegal immigration have been given shelter in Bangladesh.

The report of Pakistan' s ISI directly supporting various insurgent groups of North-East is creating modules of fundamentalist Muslims all over Assam with a view to using them at an opportune time against the national interest of our country by vitiating security scenario in the region. Other objectives of ISI include promoting indiscriminate violence in the State by providing active support to local militant outfits, supply of explosives and sophisticated arms to various terrorist groups, sabotage of oil pipelines and other installations.

The insurgents groups in Tripura, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur continue to get patronage and support from Bangladesh. Logistic support for insurgent leaders and their family members is arranged in Dhaka and Sylhet.

The most significant factor has been collaboration among various insurgent groups of the North-East aided and abetted by Bangladesh.

The linkage between Maoists operating in 'Siliguri corridor' and insurgent groups of North-East is another worrying factor. This is a narrow corridor, only 25 Kms wide providing road and rail access to North-East. Efforts by ISI/Maoist in collaboration with other insurgent groups to infest this area can lead to serious repercussions for the whole of India and particularly for the North-East.

Perhaps ULFA is the only separatist organization which has so far withstood all forms of punitive action. While the Bhutan action has upset the ULFA, it has not succeeded in breaking the movement. Its leaders continue to get shelter in Dhaka and guide the movement from there. To find out long-term solutions in the North East, approaches have to be made that involve individuals as well as communities working together for everyone's benefit. Fundamentally, it is a question of empowering people to fashion their own destiny.

It is in this context that India's relations with South Asian neighbours assume significance. A cordial relationship with South Asian neighbors will create favourable economic, political, and security environment in the region. This will have positive impact on security and developmental scenario in the North-East in particular.

Today, it is seen that the security related problems in the North-East generally emanate from the neighboring countries and a good relationship with them will improve the security scenario in the North-East.

Moreover, a cordial relationship with South Asian neighbors will brighten the prospect of SAARC and will have a positive spill-over effect on the North-East as the region would be benefited from the enhanced trade and commerce with neighboring South Asian countries.

The success of India's foreign policy towards South Asia would depend on the nature of security scenario in the North-East as the region would play an important role as a gateway for India's foreign policy towards South Asia.

Objectives of the study

- I. To examine the linkage between foreign policy and national security particularly in the context of India's foreign policy towards South Asia and its impact on the political, security, economic and social developments in the region of North East India
- II. To conceptualize and analyze the evolution of India's Foreign Policy towards its South Asian neighbours, country wise analysis of constraints both internal and external and challenges in the normalization of relations.
- III. To examine the factors responsible for the emergence of SAARC, its relevance, its challenges and the future prospect, India's role in SAARC and benefit for the country.
- IV. To analyse the problems (political, economic, social, ethnic, cultural) of North East region and contextualize them vis-à-vis India's relations with its neighbours.
- V. To examine the relevance of foreign policy towards South Asia for the North Eastern region for its socio-political stability, its economic development and its security.
- VI. To examine the relevance of India's Look East policy for its South Asia neighbours as it would work as a gateway via North East to South and South East Asia.

Hypothesis

The course, content and contour of India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia would determine the nature of political stability, economic development and security perspectives in the North East and Northeast India holds key to success of India's foreign policy towards the neighbouring countries of South, East and Southeast Asia.

Methodology

The research is based on historical, analytical and descriptive methods using both primary and secondary sources. The data are collected primarily through review of literature available on the area and questionnaire. Field survey based on random sampling and through questionnaire method was conducted with the sample size relating to the adjoining areas of the North East and South Asia countries.

Significance /Relevance of the Study

1. It is an attempt to examine India's Foreign Policy in the context of North East India.
2. The nature, course and direction of India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia determine and have noticeable impact on social, economic, political and security parameters in the North East India.
3. The study is relevant in the context of new/recent post cold war developments taking place in world politics.
4. The findings of the study would provide necessary inputs for the policy- makers particularly those dealing with the aspects of economic development and security related issues concerning the North East.
5. The research would be a guide to the future researchers in particular and particularly for those students and scholars working and specializing in the area of South Asian region and investigating into the security paradigm of the North East India.

Review of Literature

*Anindya Batabyal, (2006) in the article on "Balancing China in Asia: A Realist Assessment of India's Look East Strategy" in *China Report* writes about balancing China in Asia through India's look east policy. The author argues that India's look east policy will have great bearing on politics of Asia and the world.

India's Look East Policy would determine the pace of development in the region. The development will bring political stability, social security and peace in the region.

China plays important role for the success and otherwise of India's Look East Policy towards the region in particular.

*Bhupinder Brar, (2003), in his article on "*SAARC: If Functionalism Has Failed, Will Realism Work?*" in *South Asian Survey* analyses the factors and constraints for the failure of SAARC in achieving the objectives like poverty alleviation, raising the standard of living of the people of the region and promotion of mutual understanding through trade and commerce between and among the member nations.

Brar in his work stresses on the role of SAARC and its success and failure. The SAARC plays the vital role and its achievements. According to him SAARC was conceived to play important role in strengthening relations among the member states and bringing socio-economic development in the region. Cooperation is the source of development for the nations of the region and checks and balances the tension and conflict and brings lasting regional security.

* Bimal Prasad (1999) in his article on “*Prospects for Greater Cooperation in South Asia: The Political Dimensions*” in the edited book *The Dynamics of South Asia Regional Cooperation and SAARC* argues for the prospect of greater cooperation in South Asia. He also mentions and highlights about the political dimension of regional cooperation and the role of India’s foreign policy for promoting cooperative and friendly relations among the nations of South Asia. He further argues that the political dimension of relations determines social, economic and security prospects in the region.

According to Bimal Prasad India’s foreign policy is a major determinant for peace and progress in the region. The political scenario depends on the regional cooperation in trade and social relations. The free trade relations would promote and pave the social development in the future. India is the model and key player for the regional development and security. Regional security also determines development and freedom from terrorism in the region.

* Jyotirmoy Banerjee, (2006) in the article “*Growing Nuclear Danger in South Asia: Prospects for Cooperative Denuclearisation?*” in the edited work *Challenges to India’s Foreign Policy in the New Era* writes about the growing nuclear danger in the region. He emphasizes that the need of the hour is for mutual understanding and join hands for denuclearization for South Asian nations in general. The nuclear weapons do not bring the lasting solution rather it creates tension and conflict.

Banerjee also discusses about the future of the nuclear power states which is dangerous for the whole nations in particular for the nations of the South Asia. The prospect of peace and development in South Asia depends on cooperation and mutual relations among the nations of the region.

Nuclearisation hampers the confidence and trust and creates fear psychosis among the nation-state. Moreover, it is also at the cost of socio-economic development. On the other hand the nations invest valuable resources of economy in nuclear development on competition.

*Kanti Bajpai (1999), in his article “*Security and SAARC*”, in the edited work *The Dynamics of South Asia Regional Cooperation and SAARC*, Eds Eric Gonsalves and Nancy Jetly, analyses the importance of regional cooperation for the security in the region. Regional cooperation through SAARC would be able to develop confidence amongst the nations of the region and would bring sustainable peace in South Asia.

Bajpai also points out causes of instability in the region namely poverty, communal disharmony, and terrorism. The SAARC’s initiative can control insecurity in the region.

Regional cooperation would bring lasting security rather than war and tension amongst the nations of the SAARC. The formation of SAARC shows the resolve of the member countries to live and develop in the atmosphere of mutual trust and harmony.

*Kenneth Mcpherson (1998) in his article “*Trade and Traders in the Bay of Bengal: Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*”, in the book *Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World: Essays in Honour of Ashim Das Gupta* writes about the prospect of trade in South Asia in particular and Indian Ocean in general. The articles examine the impact of such economic and commercial cooperation on the neighbouring nations. Trade and Traders have the role to play in bringing prosperity to the economy of the nations of the region.

According to Kenneth Mcpherson trade would determine economic power and political strength of the nations. The countries in South Asia need to have a good cooperation for the future prospect. He discusses the economic position from the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries in particular of Bay of Bengal and South Asia in general.

*M.S. Rajan (1993) in the article “*India’s Foreign Policy under Nehru*”, in *Studies on India’s Foreign Policy* writes about India’s foreign policy and its role in the 20th century. Further, stressing on the topic *India’s Foreign Policy under Nehru* Rajan states that India played a

significant role in world politics under the leadership of Nehru. The study not only focuses on India but also reflects on India's relations with the neighbouring states.

India's foreign policy determines social, economic and political development of the region. It emphasizes that security is important for nation building both in present as well as future. Confidence building with neighbouring nations is essential and becomes the ingredient part of our foreign policy. Rajan points out that foreign policy is the backbone of the nation's strength. The good role of and a dynamic foreign policy could progress and grow as well as compete with other nation's in particular. Foreign policy is the essence for prospect of the nation and the people in particular.

According to the M.S. Rajan foreign policy paves the way for development and relations with neighbouring states. He also describes the socio-economic and political scenario of India and its impact on foreign policy.

*Mahendra P. Lama (2001), in the article "*Investments in South Asia: Issues, Constraints and Opportunities*" in the edited book *South Asia 2010: Challenges & Opportunities* analyses the role of economic cooperation to fight the challenges and constraints of the region and also its would impact on the South Asian nations as a whole. Through economic cooperation is the only chance and way to compete and free from developed nations.

According to Mahendra P. Lama the investments must come from South Asia itself rather than depending on developed nations. The region nations would progress and develop when there is an investment amongst the nations. The imbalance in socio-economic development must be overcome through economic and investment cooperation within South Asia nations. Moreover, it is a great opportunity for South Asia for investment and economic cooperation for immediate and future's prospects of the region.

*Mustafizur Rahman (1998) in his article on "Bangladesh-India Bilateral Trade: Current Trends, New Perspectives, New Challenges" in *BIISS Journal*, writes about trade prospects between India and Bangladesh. Trade according to him will play the most important role in

nation building on one hand and confidence building on the other hand. The nations develop and progress when there are good trade relations with other nations.

Mustafizur Rahman highlights the needs for development and progress and also challenges in trade relations between India and Bangladesh. Imbalance in trade relations hampers the nation in the long run. It is not only a loss of economy but also of political strength.

He also discusses the current trade relations as well as future prospects for both the nations of India and Bangladesh.

*Narottam Gaan (2006), on “*Environmental Security in South Asia*”, in *Challenges to India’s Foreign Policy in the New Era* highlights the necessity and importance of environmental security for South Asia in particular and the world in general.

Gaan further highlights the importance to protect and conserve the environment for achieving environmental security with the cooperative efforts of the nations and people of the region to develop in sustainable way. Environmental security is key to both social and economic development directly and indirectly. He also highlights the challenges for environment security in South Asia.

According to Gaan the loss of environmental security would affect South Asia as well as the whole world at large. Besides, he also puts emphasis on the role of policy makers of the region to promote environmental security for economic development and for raising the standard of living of the people.

*Partha S. Ghosh, (2003) in his article “*Challenges and Opportunities: India’s Foreign Policy in the 1990s*”, in the edited book *South Asia After the Cold War International Perspectives* analyses the great challenges for India’s foreign policy in the contemporary world order. He writes that India’s foreign policy has to determine and make a policy for the welfare and sustainable development of the people.

Ghosh highlights the challenges and wise opportunity to play a role of in her foreign policy. This could facilitate and determine the global scenario in social and political prospects.

*Poonam Barua (2006) in her article on 'Economic Diplomacy in South Asia' in *South Asian Survey* writes that economic diplomacy can serve to open avenues for testing new tacks for business relationships that can deliver a peace dividend and help in reducing political tensions and security risks in the region. She argues that economic diplomacy can serve in opening new windows of opportunity for building national, regional and global relationships between countries and their people.

*Rajat Ganguly and Ian Macduff (2003) in their book *Ethnic Conflict & Secessionism in South and Southeast Asia* explore the flaws and contradictions in the process of post-colonial nation building in many countries of South and Southeast Asia as highlighted by the intractable and continuing phenomenon of ethnic conflict. The authors focus on the political alienation, the disturbed social matrix and the economic deprivations that are most often at the root of these ethnic and secessionist movements in the region. The book provides a deep analysis of and insight into the state-society and civil-military aspects of such conflicts and the process through which they have become intractable and entrenched and how they both affect and are affected by national, regional and global developments. The authors also provide the options available for managing and ultimately resolving ethnic conflicts in each country of the region.

*Romesh Bhattacharji (2009) in his article "Road to progress" in *Frontline* highlights China's relations with India. Progress in relations between the two neighbours would herald peace, stability and development in the South Asian region. these goals could be achieved only when India and China come together with a common purpose of building trust and confidence among the people of two countries overcoming the barrier of suspicion, prejudice and mistrust.

*S.D. Chamola, (2006), in the article "*Economic Co-operation in the SAARC Region: Potential, Constraints and Policies*" in the edited book *Challenges to India's Foreign Policy in the New Era* analyses the potential and constraints for economic co-operation in the SAARC region. He highlights the potential for economic prosperity through cooperation amongst the nations of the region.

Chamola analyses the constraints for the SAARC on one hand and on the other hand he also discusses the scope for economic cooperation among the member nations for social, economic, cultural and political development.

The author further advocates that SAARC would function as a model for development of the region and it is in this context that Northeast occupies a strategic position in India's foreign policy towards South Asia.

*Sanjib Baruah (2009) *Beyond Counter-insurgency* provides penetrating insights into the conflicts prevailing in the Northeast region and analyses them at three levels: structural determinants like poverty and underdevelopment; the nature and politics of the postcolonial state and the agency of multiple actors with diverse motives. The author argues that neither a development nor a military approach can achieve peace in the region. Only concerted efforts to establish rule of law, a system of accountability and faith in the institutions of governance can break the cycle of violence. Between the apparent impossibility of peace through 'reconciliation' and victory through repression or terror, the book envisions the possibility of an open, more inclusive future.

Sanjib Baruah (2005) in the article on "Beyond Durable Disorder: Northeast India and the Look East Policy," in *Durable Disorder: Understanding the Politics of Northeast India* writes about the political uncertainty in Northeast India. The author analyses 'the political meaning and significance of prolonged low-intensity conflicts in Northeast India'. The author further argues that if peace and development are to be brought to the region, India's foreign policy needs to be reoriented and restructured towards South and Southeast Asia.

*Sanjib Baruah (2001) in *India against Itself* argues that human rights abuses by security forces and insurgents, ethnic violence, and steady slide towards liberal democracy are largely due to India's formally federal but actually centralized government structure. The book traces the history of sub nationalisms and cultural politics in Northeast India.

*Shelton U Kodikara (1993) in the edited book *External Compulsions of South Asian Politics* explores the interactions of domestic politics and foreign policy in the South Asian states and the larger question of the impact of the international environment on the region. The book further

explores the impact of inter-state problems and conflicts on the overall security scenario of the region taking particular examples of conflicts between India and Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka, and India and Nepal.

Suresh Dhanda, and Rajinder Punia (April 2007), write on “*SAFTA: Problems and Prospects*”, in *Third Concept* highlighting the need for promoting free trade among the members of the SAARC for lasting peace, prosperity and progress in the region.

They analyse the role of India in making SAFTA operational for promoting trade and regional cooperation in the region.

According to Suresh Dhanda and Rajinder Punia SAFTA is key to promoting trade among the South Asia nations. They further dwell upon the relations among the member states and future of SAFTA and SAARC.

*Urmila Phadnis (1989) in her book *Ethnicity and Nation-building in South Asia* opines that the phenomenon of ethnicity is an intrinsic component of the socio-political reality of multi-ethnic states in south Asia as it is in most countries of the world. She examines the diverse impulses which reinforce ethnic specificities in multi-ethnic societies and the adequacy of institutional arrangements to cope with the pulls and pressures of interethnic competition for a stake in the system. The book provides a critical appraisal of various theoretical approaches to the study of ethnicity and nation-building; delineation of the ethnic composition of the South Asian region and the structures of the states in each country of the region for the energy,

*Vandana Asthana, (1999), in her book *India's Foreign Policy and Sub continental Politics*, writes about the strategic importance of India's neighbourhood for its national security and the role of foreign policy for building a comprehensive, congenial and cooperative socio-economic relations with the nations of the region and their people. Further, it stresses the importance of the foreign policy in building a strong South Asian region for playing a decisive role in the global politics.

*Security, peace and economic development could become a reality when countries of the region would come together and learn to coexist in a peaceful and cooperative manner. It is

in this context that India's role assumes significance in cementing ties between the nations of the region. This in return will have positive impact on political and security scenario of the region and would bring desired socio-economic change in the region.

*Vivek Chibber (2006) writes in *The Journal of Critical Asian Studies* on the topic *On the Decline of Class Analysis in South Asia* that cooperation and mutual understanding are prerequisites to building confidence and trust among the nations of the region. The confidence building is basic to decline in mistrust and non cooperation among the nations. The peace, security and stability in the region depend on cooperation and mutual relations based on trust.

Vivek Chibber highlights the decline of class in South Asia. The future depends on the social development among the region states. India's foreign policy must aim at building mutual trust among the nations of South Asia.

ARTICLES

*Bajpai, Kanti (1999) *Security and SAARC*, The Dynamics of South Asia Regional Cooperation and SAARC ed. Eric Gonslaves and Nancy Jetly, Sage Publications, New Delhi. The article dicusses in detail about security and SAARC.

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The article gives the security scenario in the region.

Design of the studies

The study consists of six chapters

Chapter I

South Asia: An Introduction

Chapter one provides physical/geographical, political, social, economic and cultural profile of the countries of South Asia. For the relevance of the study, Myanmar and China have been included. South Asia consisting of the huge subcontinent of India, includes Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), Maldives, Nepal and Bhutan.

Chapter II

India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia: an Overview

Chapter two provides a holistic perspective of India's foreign policy-its evolution, philosophical contour and contents, impact of personality, its development under internal and external milieu and more importantly its course and direction towards the neighbouring countries of South Asia, Myanmar and China.

Chapter III

SAARC: Its Evolution, Objectives, Constraints/Challenges and Prospects

Chapter three analyses in a detailed manner the events and factors leading to the evolution of regional organization in South Asia and establishment of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). The objectives, development- summit-wise, the constraints, challenges and obstacles have been delineated along with the future prospects of the association.

Chapter IV

North East India: Social, Political, Economic and Security Perspectives

Chapter four highlights the profile of the region and states of the Northeast India. It examines and analyses the existing and prevailing social, economic, political and security scenario of the region. The chapter also analyses the relevance and strategic significance of the region for India's foreign policy towards South Asia in particular and South and South East Asia in general. The relevance of the region for success of India's foreign policy based on look east policy has been discussed in this chapter.

Chapter V

Relevance of India's Foreign Policy for North East region: Political, economic and security

Chapter five discusses and examines the relevance and impact of India's foreign policy on the social, economic, and political and security aspects of the region of Northeast India. The chapter argues that the pattern and parameters of India's foreign policy will determine and influence the course and contour of social, economic, political and security dynamics of the region. India's cordial and successful relations with South and South East Asia particularly Bangladesh, Myanmar and China would have a positive and decisive spill-over impact on the Northeast region.

Chapter VI

Conclusion: Findings and Suggestions

Chapter six specifically deals with the findings of the study. It also incorporates the suggestive recommendations for India's foreign policy towards the neighbours specifically important for the region of Northeast India.

Chapter I

SOUTH ASIA: AN INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

South Asia: An Introduction

Map 1.1

SOUTH ASIA



Map No. 4140 Rev. 3 UNITED NATIONS
January 2004

Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Cartographic Section

Sources: <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/seasia.pdf>, "Map No. 4140 Rw: 3 United Nations, January, 2004", Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

South Asia: An Introduction

South Asia, consisting of the huge subcontinent of India, includes Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives as well as the nation of India itself. In spite of differences in physical appearance, complexion, stature, and other ethnological features, the people of the entire region of South Asia are unified by a common cultural and ethical outlook; a wealth of ancient textual literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and regional languages is a major unifying factor: Music and dance, rituals, customs, modes of worship, and literary ideals are similar throughout the subcontinent, even though the region has been divided into kaleidoscopic political patterns through the centuries.

The close interrelationship of the various peoples of South Asia may be traced in their epics, as in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Kinship between the gods and heroes of regions far distant from each other is evident, and the place names themselves often evoke common sources. Moreover, there have been continual attempts to impose a political unity over the region. In the 3rd century BC, for example, the emperor Asoka had almost the entire region under his sway; in the 11th century AD, Rajendra I Cola conquered almost the whole of India and a good portion of Southeast Asia; and the Great Mughal Akbar again achieved this in the 16th century. Though the expansion and attenuation of boundary lines, the bringing together or pulling apart politically of whole regions, have characterized all of South Asian history, the culture has remained essentially one.

The geography of the region encouraged a common adoration of mountains and rivers. The great Himalayas, which form the northern boundary, are the loftiest of mountains and are conceived to be the embodiment of nobility, the abode of immaculate snow, and the symbol of a cultural ideal. Similarly, the great rivers such as the Brahmaputra and the Indus are regarded as the mothers of their respective regions, assuring prosperity through their perennial supply of water.

The association of lakes and spring with water sprites and sylvan fairies, called *nagas* and *yaksas*, is common throughout the region. Karkota, the name of an early dynasty, itself signifies *naga* worship in Kashmir. Sculptures of *nagas* and *yaksas* found in widespread sites suggest a common spirit of adoration, as do sculptures, printings, temples, and religious texts that for

centuries were immaculate intonation. The same classical dance is seen in sculpture in Gandhara in Pakistan, in Bharhut in the north and in Amaravati in the south.

The relation of the various arts to each other is very close in South Asia, where proficiency in several arts is necessary for specialization in any one. Thus, it is believed that without a good knowledge of dance there can be no proficiency in sculpture, for dance, like painting or sculpture is a depiction of the entire world.¹

South Asia is thus a cultural region consisting of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan on the mainland, and Ceylon and the Maldives in the Indian Ocean. The region had an estimated population of 754 million or 20% of the world's total.²

¹“South Asia” (1985), *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Inc., Volume 27, Robert P. Gwinn, Chairman, Board of Directors, Charles E. Swanson, President, Philip W. Goetz, Editor-in-Chief, Chicago, Auckland/ Geneva/ London/ Manila/ Paris/ Rome/ Seoul/ Sydney/ Tokyo/ Toronto pp 634.

²“South Asia” (1984) *Encyclopedia Americana* Volume 25, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., p 297.

Country-wise Profile of South Asia

Map 1.2

Afghanistan (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan)



Source: "Worldatlas explore your world..."
<http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/af.htm>, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

Afghanistan,³ now called Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.⁴

Afghanistan is a mountainous, landlocked country. Wedged between the Soviet Union, Iran, Pakistan, the territory of Kashmir, and China, it lies literally and figuratively at the crossroads between East and West. Afghanistan, with a population of diverse ethnic origins and customs, is a nation in transition, attempting to bridge the gap between a tradition bound feudal society and a modern industrialized state.

An ancient, much plundered land, Afghanistan achieved at least a superficial measure of national unity in 1747 and became nominally a constitutional monarchy in 1931. In 1973 the monarchy was overthrown in a bloodless coup, and a republic was established. The new republic and its constitution of 1977 failed to survive the “Great Saur Revolution,” of 1978, which brought into being a Marxist state under the patronage of the Soviet Union.

Even with the massive Soviet support the new Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was unable to win the allegiance of Afghanistan’s Muslim population, whose disaffection ripened into insurgency. Impatient with the failures of the Afghan regime to suppress rebellion, the Soviet Union airlifted thousands of troops into Afghanistan in late December 1979 and installed a puppet regime. A shared hatred of the Soviet invader came as close as anything had in the past to unify, at least temporarily, the generally discordant tribes of Afghanistan, whose primary allegiance was traditionally to the family the village, and the lineage group rather than to the nation.

The Soviet Union pulled out from Afghanistan in 1989 creating a political vacuum to be filled up by Taliban. With the US intervention in December 2001 in the wake of 9/11 attack, Afghanistan’s political future still looks bleak and uncertain.

³ Afghanistan (1985), *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Inc. Volume 1, Robert P. Gwinn, Chairman, Board of Directors, Charles E. Swanson, President, Philip W. Goetz, Editor-in-Chief, Chicago, Auckland/ Geneva/ London/ Manila/ Paris/ Rome/ Seoul/ Sydney/ Tokyo/ Toronto pp 128- 129.

⁴ “Afghanistan - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia,” <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan>, Accessed on 22nd June, 2012

The People of Afghanistan

All the citizens of the country are called Afghans, but the name Afghanistan, meaning “land of the Afghans,” was not used to describe the area until the 18th century A.D. Local scholars and historians write that the ancient name for the region was Aryan, meaning “land of the Aryans.” According to these historians, the movement of tribes from Central Asia into the area occurred after 2000 B.C.

Ethnic Groups and Languages of Afghanistan

The so called true Afghans are Pushtun tribes to whom the term “Afghan” was first applied. Ancestors of these Pushtun groups may have moved into the Indus Valley not long before the opening of the Christian era. Beginning in the 11th and 12th centuries the Pushtuns spread from the Sulaiman (Sulayman) Range north toward Peshawar and Kabul. Their numbers increased, and they won renown for their martial character and pride in independence. These Pushtuns, Pashtuns, Pathans, constitute between 50 and 60 percent of the population. They are Muslims of the Sunnite sect and speak Pushtu (Pashto), an Iranian language related to Persian. Among the major Pushtu tribes are the Durrani (Durani), Ghilzai, Mohmand, and Shinwari; the ruling dynasty was Durrani.

The Tajiks are another important ethnic group. They are of Iranian origin and speak Persian much like that current in eastern Iran—Most are Muslims of the Sunnite sects, but some in the west are Shiites.

The Hazara, the third largest of the ethnical distinctive groups of the country. They believed to be the descendants of Mongols who moved into the region between the 13th and 15th centuries. They speak a dialect of Persian that contains many Turkish words, and are Muslims of the Shiite sect.

The Religion of Afghanistan

Nearly all Afghans are Muslims. Approximately 80 percent, including the true Afghans, Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Turkomans, are Sunnites. About 18 percent are adherents of the Twelver sect of Shiites, and the rest are Ismailities or members of more obscure sects. The precepts of Islam pervade the national life, playing a vital role in education, law, and social behaviour.

The religion hierarchy is very loosely knit. Most of the people are in touch with the mullahs (Persian mulla) or village priests, who teach the principles of Islam, instruct the children, and take charge of the local mosques. Shrines and places of pilgrimage attract pious veneration and strengthen the feeling of spiritual unity. Confronted with modern challenges to religion and its role in family and public life, the government operates higher theological schools designed to produce a broad- minded class of religious leaders.

Education in Afghanistan

Formerly education was in the hands of the mullahs, who taught village children the rudiments of reading, writing, and the Koran in schools called maktab, which were usually conducted in mosques. While hundreds of such schools continue to function, with the government supplying books and other equipment, the ministry of education has built modern primary schools throughout the country.

The Economy of Afghanistan

Despite the rush toward industrialization, Afghanistan remains a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Farming, the mainstay of the economy, employs an estimated 85 percent of the labour force.

The main focus of the development programme was the improvement of agricultural techniques and the extension of irrigation facilities. However, the agricultural side of the economy suffered a setback in the early 1970's when the country experienced several years of severe drought. Other goals included promoting new industries and generally building the economy to raise the national income and the standard of living.⁵

⁴ Donald N. Wilber, Editor of "Afghanistan" (1984), *Encyclopedia Americana* Volume 1, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 242- 248

Map 1.3

Bangladesh (People's Republic of Bangladesh)



Source: "Worldatlas explore your world...." <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/bd.htm>, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

People's Republic of Bangladesh.⁶

Bangladesh is a republic in South Asia. Between 1947 and 1971, till it gained its independence, Bangladesh formed the eastern part of Pakistan and was called East Pakistan. Before the partition of India into independent India and Pakistan in 1947, the area that now forms Bangladesh (“the land of Bengal”) had been the eastern part of the Bengal province of the British Empire.⁷

Bangladesh is one of the world’s poorest nations, and is also among the populous and most densely populated. In addition, Bangladesh has a larger portion of its population at risk of flood and famine under normal conditions than virtually any other country.⁸

Bangladesh, a land of rivers, lies in the easternmost part of the Indian subcontinent. It is almost entirely surrounded by India, a condition that affects the foreign policy and economy of Bangladesh.⁹

The Land and Natural Resources of Bangladesh

Bangladesh lies in the delta of several major river of the Indian subcontinent, primarily the Ganges (called the Padma in Bangladesh), the Brahmaputra, known as the Jamuna in its lower reaches, and the Meghna. They meet to form one river, which flows into the Bay of Bengal through a large delta formed by it. The tributaries of these are smaller rivers interlock, particularly in the monsoon season, making the central, western, and southern parts of the country a vast series of waterways surrounding low lying, fertile land. Rainfall on the land itself is high, varying from 50 to 200 inches (1,270- 5,080mm) per year.

Because of the extensive waterways, transportation is primarily by boat. Craft ranging in size from small boats to large cargo and passenger streamers constantly ply the rivers.

⁶ “Introduction Official Name: People’s Republic of Bangladesh ...,” <http://images.rca.org/docs/mission/country-profiles/Bangladesh.pdf>, Accessed on 22nd June, 2012

⁷ Edward C. Dimock, Jr., University of Chicago, “Bangladesh” (1984) *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 3, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 161- 161a

⁸ Harry W. Blair (1993) “Bangladesh” *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (ed) Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph, Miles Kahler, Georges Nzongola- Ntalaja, Barbara B. Stalling, Margaret Weir, pp 71- 72

⁹ Ibid pp 161- 161a

The tropical climate and heavy rainfall ensure thick jungle vegetation, especially in the swamps, the Sundarbans, in the southern part of the delta. This country is plagued by almost annual cyclones, especially to the fishing villages and offshore islands.

Mineral resources as far as is known, are almost nonexistent in this primarily alluvial land. Only three small pockets of natural gas and coal of a very low grade and have been discovered.

Timber from deciduous and evergreen trees is plentiful in the southern jungles but not easily accessible. Moreover, the wood is so hard as to be usable. Consequently, sun-dried mud, bamboo, and thatch are the primary in the rural areas.

In the forested areas are tigers and snakes of various kinds as well as spotted deer and wild fowl. The river are full of fish, a choice items in the Bengali diet.

The People of Bangladesh

The great majority of the Bangladeshis speak Bengali, a language that forms the easternmost branch of the Indo-Aryan family. Some Bangladeshis speak Urdu, the primary language of what is now Pakistan Urdu is written in a different script from Bengali. Others, in the hill areas of the east and north, speak languages mostly of the Tibeto- Burman family.

The Bengali speakers, most of whom are Muslims, share a physical and cultural heritage with their Hindu neighbours in West Bengal. They are generally smaller physically than most of the people of the subcontinent, tend to be dark in complexion, and have the reputation of being successful in such professional pursuits as law, medicine, politics, and the arts. Until the struggle that won independence for their country, they did not have a material reputation. But, their long bitter struggle against a well armed modern army produced a new military image.

The Hindus among the Bengali-speaking population, who share the physical and cultural characteristics of their Bengali-speaking Muslim brothers, are estimated to have numbered about 17 million after the vast exodus of Hindus West Bengal in 1947. Many of these were among the 10 million people who fled to India before the Pakistan army in 1970 and 1971. Most these returned to their homes in Bangladesh after independence, protected by the assurances of a secular government.

The only overt difference between Muslim and Hindu Bengalis is in the way the men and some women dress. Muslim men wear the lungi, a colourful garment resembling a sarong that is tied around the waist. The men after have beards in the Muslim style. The Hindus wear the dhoti, a white pleated garment brought between the legs and tied in front. Hindu women wear the sari, while in public many Muslim women wear the burqa, a black or white garment that covers the body from head to toe, with a veil for the eyes.

Hindu and Muslim Bengalis are justifiably proud of the long and rich cultural heritage they share. It has produced many poets, such as the brilliant Rabindranath Tagore.

The Urdu speaking people of Bangladesh are mostly of the group loosely known as Biharis. Particularly during the partition in 1947, large groups of Muslim migrated to Bangladesh from the Indian state of Bihar. Other non-Bengali Muslims arrived to staff, manage, and operate the jute mills. There are also non-Bengali Muslim families who have lived in Bengal for generations and some even for centuries, tracing their ancestry not to Bengal but to the Islamic heartland to the west. These never absorbed Bengali culture. Some of this group was antagonistic to the freedom movement. But most of them chose to remain in Bangladesh after independence.

The Religion of Bangladesh

Hinduism was the primary religious and cultural force in Bengal until the 12th century, when Islam began to assert itself. Conversions, probably largely voluntary, were made to Islam from among the Hindus. But there were also conversions made from Islam to the form of Hinduism called Vaishnavism.

Thus there are four types of Bengalis in what is now Bangladesh:

1. Muslims whose ancestors were converted from Hinduism;
2. Muslims descended from Muslim invaders from the west, who traced their lineage to the Islamic heartland in the Arabian peninsula;
3. Hindus; and

4. people neither wholly Hindu nor wholly Muslim. The last category is interestingly exemplified by the widespread syncretistic cults, such as that of Satya-pir (as it is known by Hindus). Both communities engage in the rituals and festivals of their common deity.

Education in Bangladesh

Despite the fact that Bangladesh is one of the world's poorest and most overpopulated countries, the Bengali penchant for intellectual activity expresses itself in the continuing value placed on education. There is no way of estimating the extent of elementary education. Most villages have local schools, perhaps an Islamic madrassa or even a traditional Sanskrit tol.

The Economy of Bangladesh

The economy of Bangladesh is almost entirely agricultural. The primary crops are rice, the major food staple; jute, the major export crop; fish, used both as food and as an export commodity to the Indian state of West Bengal; and tea, second to jute as a potential earner of foreign exchange. Other agricultural resources are scarce.

Some vegetable, fruits and sugarcane are grown by peasants for home consumption, but except for jute and tea, nothing is grown in commercial quantity. Thus Bangladesh has not been able to earn foreign exchange through exports, and it has been unable to import those essential commodities that are lacking in its own economy, including food grains, cotton for cloth, industrial raw materials, and consumer goods.

The Rice in Bangladesh

Rice occupies about 80% of the cultivated land and is grown in three separate crops. Summer rice (*aus*) is harvested in July or August, at which time autumn rice (*amon*) is planted while water from the monsoon rains is still plentiful. Winter rice (*boro*) is planted and harvested during the drier season of December through April. It is less plentiful, accounting for only 10% of the total rice production.¹⁰

¹⁰ Ibid pp 161- 161a

Foreign relations

Foreign relations for Bangladesh focus primarily in three directions. Disputes over sharing water from the Ganges River have persistently been the main conflict with India, followed by long-festering insurrectionary movements among tribal groups on both sides of Bangladesh's southeast border, in which the two countries have continually accused each other of complicity. The Bangladesh government hopes that the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) will serve to alleviate some of its problems with India.

A second foreign policy concern has been dealing with international aid donors, led by the World Bank and the United States. The third major focus in foreign policy has been the Middle Eastern countries, chiefly Saudi Arabia, which also encouraging Islamic fundamentalism in Bangladesh.¹¹

¹¹ Ibid pp 71- 72

Map 1.4

Bhutan (Kingdom of Bhutan)



Source: “Worldatlas explore your world...,”<http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/bt.htm>, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

Kingdom of Bhutan¹²

Historically, Bhutan had a theocratic system of government similar to that in Tibet, dominated by the Druk (“dragon”) Buddhist sect of Mahayana Buddhism. The Druk leaders assiduously followed an isolationist policy toward all their neighbors, including Tibet. By the late nineteenth century the system had fallen apart, and it was replaced by a hereditary monarchy in 1907.

In the late 1980s by a broad range of new policies termed the *Drigham Namza*, or national culture principle, programme that had as its objective the preservation of Bhutan’s national identity and traditional Buddhist culture. All Bhutanese, whatever their ethnic and religious background, were ordered to wear only “Bhutanese dress” in public defined to mean the *glos* and *kiras* worn by officials in office but not, normally, by large segments of the public outside Thimphu. Dzongka, the official language, became the national language by decree, replacing the various Tibetan dialects in eastern Bhutan and Nepali spoken in southern Bhutan.¹³

Bhutan is a small kingdom in the eastern Himalayas, strategically located between India and China. By treaty it must seek Indian advice on foreign policy and defense. Thimbu (Thimphu) is the capital, but the Development Secretariat is at Paro. Bhutan has an area of about 18,000 square miles (46,620 sq.km).

The People of Bhutan

Bhutan’s population comprises of three ethnic groups. The majority are *Bhutias*, of Tibetan descent, who call themselves *Dukpas or Drukpas* (“dragon people”). About one fifth of the people are of Nepali descent, while some small communities in eastern Bhutan appear to be related to the hill tribes of Assam. Bhutia migration to Bhutan was heaviest from the 14th to 17th centuries, but some migrated much more recently. The Nepali settlements, in the southern *duar* (pass) areas on the Indian, border, date mostly from 1910 or later. Nepali migration has been limited to maintain the population ratio between Nepali and Bhutia communities.

¹² “Bhutan - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia,” <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhutan>, Accessed on 22nd June, 2012.

¹³ Leo E. Rose (1993) “Bhutan” *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* ed. Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph, Miles Kahler, Georges Nzongola- Ntalaja, Barbara B. Stalling, Margaret Weir, pp 78- 79.

There are four main languages spoken in Bhutan: *Dzongka*, the official language, in western and northern Bhutan; *Bumthangka*, a related Tibetan dialect, in central Bhutan; *Sarchapkkha* in eastern Bhutan; and *Nepali* in southern Bhutan. These languages are mutually unintelligible, but *Dzongka*, spoken by the largest number of people, is the main medium of communication.

The Bhutia and the ethnic groups in eastern Bhutia are adherents of the *Dukpa* sect of Tibetan Buddhism, which was superimposed on the primitive animism, called *Bon*, in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Hindu Nepalis are outside the official Buddhist religious system.

The Government of Bhutan

The first *Maharaja* (Duk Gyalpo, or “King of the Dukpas”) of Bhutan was *Ugyen Dorji Wangchuk*, who founded the present dynasty in 1907. He was succeeded by his son Jigme Wangchuk in 1952, and by his grandson Jigme Singye Wangchuk in 1972.

The king is, in theory, an absolute monarch, who rules with the assistance of a small Advisory Council. Legislation is enacted in consultation with the Tsongdu, a representative assembly that has 130 members, of who one fourth are nominated by the king and the rest elected by village headmen. The king also appoints all officials, including the governors (*ponlops*) of the two provinces and the distinct officers (*dzongpons*). The only political party the Bhutan and has its headquarters in India. The party’s leadership is entirely Nepali.

The Bhutan government has a trade agent in Kolkata (Calcutta) who handles commercial relations with India and other foreign countries. Political relations with India are conducted through the Indian political officer to Sikkim and Bhutan, who resides at Gangtok, Sikkim. There is also an Indian advises to the government of Bhutan who advises on both developmental and political matters. An Indian military mission militia into a modern army.

Economy of Bhutan

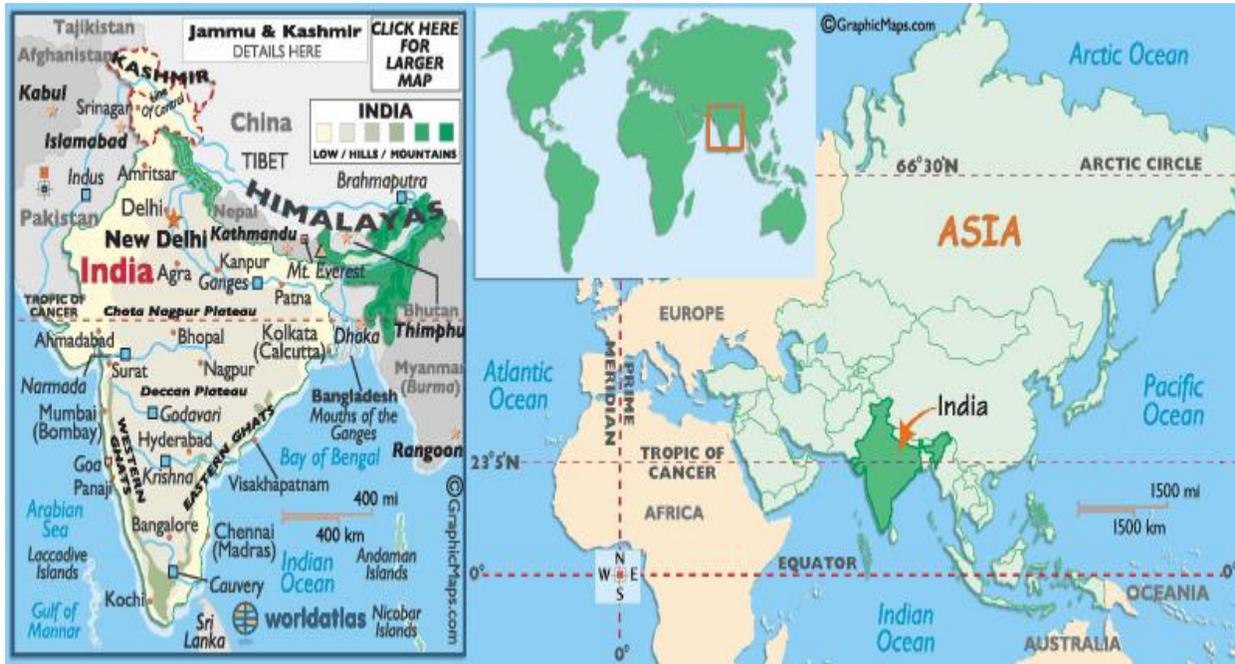
The chief crops are rice, corn, wheat, millet, barley, mustard, vegetables, walnuts, oranges, and the spice cardaman. Bhutan’s many small farms also raise yaks, cattle, sheep, and pigs, and their small, strong Tangun ponies are valued for mountain transportation. Silver copper, and iron have

long been mined in small quantities for craftsmen. Among other crafts are the weaving of cloth, mats and baskets; paper making; and handwork in wood, leather, and metal.¹⁴

¹⁴ Leo E. Rose, University of California, Berkeley, "Bhutan" (1984) *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 3, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 643- 644.

Map 1.5

India (Republic of India)



Source: "Worldatlas explore your world...", <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/in.htm>, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

Republic of India¹⁵

India is one of the oldest civilizations with a kaleidoscopic variety and rich cultural heritage. It covers an area of 32,87,263 sq. km. extending from the snow- covered Himalayan heights to tropical rain forests of the world, India is well- marked off from the rest of Asia by mountains and the sea, which give the country a distinct geographical entity. Bounded by the Great Himalayas in the north, it stretches southwards and at the Tropic of Cancer, tapers off into the Indian Ocean between the Bay of Bengal on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west.

Lying entirely in the northern hemisphere, the mainland extends between latitudes 8°4' and 37°6' north, longitudes 68°7' and 97°25' east and measures about 3,214 km from north to south between the extreme latitudes and about 2,933 km from east to west between the extreme longitudes.¹⁶

The Republic of India, the world's largest democracy, emerged from under British colonial rule. Its present Constitution, adopted on 26th January 1950, provides for a Westminster style parliamentary form of government in a federal union. The Constitution was a culmination of a process of evolution toward representative government that began under the British and that successively broadened the participation of Indians in elected legislatures.

The Constitution formally vests almost all executive powers of the government in the president, who is the head of state. The president, however, exercises power, with only rare exceptions, upon the advice of the prime minister and the Council of Ministers. Real power thus rests in the prime minister.

The president is elected for five year term by an electoral college consisting of elected members of both the bicameral Parliament and the state legislatures. The upper house of Parliament, the Rajya Sabha (House of the State), consists of members who are elected for six year terms by an electoral college made up of members of the state legislative assemblies. The lower house, the Lok Sabha (House of the People), is the supreme legislative body in India who are directly elected for five year term.

¹⁵ "India - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia," <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India>, Accessed on 22nd June, 2012.

¹⁶ Verinder Grover & Ranjana Aroraed (1996) "Land and the People" *Encyclopaedia of India* , Volume 1, Deep & Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Garden, New Delhi 110027, p 3.

The Constitution also provides for an independent judiciary. The powers of the Indian Supreme Court are comparable to those of the Supreme Court of the United States and include broad original and appellate jurisdiction and the right to judge the constitutional validity of the laws passed by Parliament.

Economy

India's economy record has been mixed. Since independence, it has pursued a development strategy aimed at self-reliance through import substitution and capital intensive industrialization. India has a mixed economy with the state sector dominating the industrial sector, both by direct ownership and by a system of controls regulating private enterprises.¹⁷

India, a republic of South Asia occupying the greater part of the Indian subcontinent, is the seventh largest and the second most populous country in the world.

India possesses a remarkably rich heritage from the past but is also burdened with staggering problems in the present. Some of these problems have long standing social and economic bases. Others come from the fact that the present nation of India was born of the partition of the former British Indian empire into the two new countries of India and Pakistan when independence was won in August 1947.

Until the partition of 1947, the name "India" (which is ultimately of Greek rather than Indian origin) was applied to the entire Indian subcontinent, a huge landmass including the peninsula that juts southward from the rest of Asia into the Indian Ocean. This historic area is cut off from the rest of Asia by deserts, mountains, and jungles in the north. These barrier isolated the peoples and the cultures of India, but did not prevent the movements of peoples some of them conquerors into the subcontinent.

Ancient Culture of India

India has one of the world's most ancient cultures. The earliest records of it are archaeological discoveries in the Indus Valley dating from the 3 millennium B.C. Unlike the cultures of early Greece and Egypt, it has survived the ravages of conquerors, although it is continually being

¹⁷ Bhanu Pratap Mehta and Atul Kohli (1993) "India" *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* ed Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph, Miles Kahler, Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, Barbara B. Stalling, Margaret Weir, p 416.

modified. India's size and its compartmentalization by mountains and deserts prevented the political unification that would have led to cultural uniformity. But, Hinduism has been marked by an amazing tolerance of varying metaphysical ideas. Over the ages it has not only permitted the penetration of many revolutionary religious ideas but has actually accepted most of them, even though in doing so it has harboured mutually contradictory dogmas. It is thus not a single creed but a vast assemblage of ideas and practices.

On the other hand, Hinduism established rigid rules for most of the practical aspects of life, perhaps ever as early as in the time of the Indus civilization. Some ancient Hindu institutions are today subjects of social reform.¹⁸

The People of India

India is a land of great diversity. Although its unique civilization has been a unifying factor and the intermixture of its peoples has produced a degree of uniformity, many differences originating in the distant past still exist. On the basis of characteristic physical, cultural, and linguistic features, the people of one region can be distinguished from those of another. Northern Indians have similarities that set them off from southern Indians; likewise, people of the eastern and western regions can be contrasted. In several parts of the country, tribal peoples from separate and easily distinguishable elements in the population.

The Racial Composition of the Modern Population in India

In *Racial Elements in the Population*, distinguished six major racial strains that have amalgamated in varying degrees to form the modern population of India. These are:

- 1., The Mediterranean strain,
2. a broad headed strain,
3. a long-headed, or "Nordic," strain,
4. the Mongoloid,
5. the Negrito, and
6. the proto- Australoid.¹⁹

¹⁸ W. Norman Brown, University of Pennsylvania (1984) "India" *Encyclopedia Americana* Volume 14, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 864- 866, 869.

The Religion and Philosophy of India

India has had one of the world's most creative religious and philosophical developments. Among the religious and originated in India are Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, a number of lesser-known faiths, and many reform movements, especially those allied to Hinduism. In addition, India has received two great religions of Semitic origin, Islam and Christianity, which have assumed distinctive forms there. An ancient but small Jewish community survives, and India has most of the world's practicing Zoroastrians (Parsis). India's religious creativity has been accompanied by a distinctive and subtle philosophy. Indeed, religion and philosophy have never maintained separate existences in India.²⁰

Political System of India

The Republic of India has a federal form of Government. Powers are divided between the Centre and the constituent states. There are 3 lists. The Union List, State List and the Concurrent List. The Government of India can make laws on the items enumerated in the Union List; the State make laws on the items in the State List and both the Central Government and the State Governments can make laws on the items in the Concurrent List with the proviso that the laws of the Central Government shall prevail over the laws of the state government.

Legislative power is vested in Parliament, consisting of the President and Bicameral Parliament. The Rajya Sabha (Council of States) consists of 245 members, elected indirectly by the state legislatures. Though some of them are nominated by the President. The members of the Rajya Sabha are elected for 6 years term, one-third retiring every two years. The lower house or the Lok Sabha (House of the People) has 542 members directly elected by universal adulthood suffrage for a period of 5 years. The President is the Executive head and elected for 5 years term by an Electoral College comprising of elected members of both Houses of Parliament and the state legislatures. The President exercises executive power is responsible to Parliament. The

¹⁹ Dorothy M. Spencer, University of Pennsylvania (1984) "People," *Encyclopedia Americana* Volume 14, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 864- 866, 869.

²⁰ W. Norman Brown, University of Pennsylvania (1984) "Religion and Philosophy," *Encyclopedia Americana* Volume 14, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., p 869.

President appoints the leader of the majority party in the Lok Sabha as the Prime Minister, and other ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister.

At the state level, the system is also based on the parliamentary type of government. The executive authority is vested in the Governor and the Legislative power is vested in the state legislature. The Chief Minister of the State is appointed by the Governor. In the case of failure of the constitutional machinery of the state, President's Rule can be imposed by the central government.

The Judicial system in India

All courts form a single hierarchy, with the Supreme Court at the head, which constitutes the highest court of appeal. Immediately below it are the High Courts and subordinate courts in each state. Every court in this chain administers the whole law of the country, whether made by Parliament or by the state legislatures.²¹

²¹ Pratapgiri Ramamurti (1997) "India: An Introduction", *Encyclopaedia of SAARC Nations*, Volume 1, (ed.) Verinder Grover, Deep & Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Garden, New Delhi 110027, pp 3-4.

Map 1.6

Maldives (Republic of Maldives)



Source: "Worldatlas explore your world..." <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/mv.htm>, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

Republic of Maldives²²

Maldives, an island country in the Indian Ocean lies in southwest of India and Sri Lanka. The islands extend about 550 miles (880km) north to south across the equator, from about 7° north latitude to about 1° south latitude.

The United Nations classifies the Republic of Maldives as one of the 25 least developed countries in the world. Since Maldives achieved independence from Britain in 1965, grants and loans from many nations and international agencies have been assisting in public health programmes, airport development, and the improvement of agriculture, fishing, and shipping.

Almost all Maldivians are Sunni Muslims, and Islamic tradition is reflected in the country's constitution and legal system. Politically, non-aligned, Maldives has rejected bids by foreign countries for bases on its territory.

The Land of Maldives

The Maldives Islands are an archipelago of more than 2,000 small coral formations, the northernmost of which lie about 275 miles (440km) southwest of India and 440 miles (705km) west of Sri Lanka. Most of the islands are grouped into 20 atolls, 14 of which have spacious deepwater lagoons suitable for ship anchorages. All the Maldives are low, averaging 5 to 6 feet (1.5- 1.8 meters) above sea level. Only about 220 are inhabited. No island covers even 5 square miles (13 sq km), and the capital island, Male, measures only 1 by 1.5 miles (1.6 by 2.4 km).

The Economy of Maldives

Agriculture is limited by the lack of land and suitable soils. Small plots produce maize (corn), millets, yams and sweet potatoes, manioc, other vegetables and a variety of tropical fruits, including mangoes, bananas, coconuts, and pineapples.

Fishing provides more employment than any other industry. Some of the catch is used to prepare dried fish. Sliced, boiled, and then smoked over coconut wood fires, Maldivian dried fish is

²² "Maldives - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia," <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maldives>, Accessed on 22nd June, 2012

considered a delicacy. Among other economic activities are boat construction, coconut processing for copra and coir, sail and net weaving, and the handcrafting of lace, woven mats, and lacquer wares.

The People of Maldives

The Maldivians represent a mixture of people; many of which migrated in centuries past from Sri Lanka and western India. Also part of this mixture is the descendants of Arab traders and of black slaves imported from Africa. Divehi, the Maldivian language, is related to Sinhalese, the language of Sri Lanka.²³

The Maldives has been a traditionally insular state in the Indian Ocean with a fragmented geography and an independent polity. In the 1970s, however, the Maldives dramatically increased its diplomatic contacts and active participation in international and regional forums. Such a significant expansion in Maldivian foreign relations underscores the imperatives of socioeconomic development and trade for a country that is among the least developed countries in the world. Additionally, it emphasizes the Maldives' need for establishing a politico-cultural identity as a modern, Islamic nation-state.

The Republic of Maldives is a geostrategic location in the Indian Ocean region has given it the impetus to pursue a nonaligned policy and to support the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. As a member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, the Maldives, under the guidance of President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom (reelected to a third term in 1988), has gained considerable political visibility and regional recognition.

Virtually independent throughout its history, the Maldives emerged as a sovereign nation in 1965, marking the end of its 1887 protectorate pact with the British.

The present system of governance is highly centralized and has its roots in the oligarchic structure of the sultanate. For the most part, Maldivian politics is dominated by elite drawn from few influential families who frequently command considerable support.

²³ Robert C. Kingsbury, Indiana University (1984) "Maldives" *Encyclopedia Americana* Volume 18, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 168- 169.

The Gayoom administration follows the institutional framework outlined in the 1968 constitution, which calls for the functional separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. The political infrastructure is a unique blend of traditional modes of governance and modern concepts of state, based primarily on Islamic principles. For instance, in the Maldivian criminal justice system, banishment, a customary form of punishment, continues to prevail along with imprisonment.

The president is the chief executive and, in the absence of political parties, is nominated by the members of the Citizens' Majlis the unicameral legislature and confirmed in a nationwide referendum. Forty eight members serve five years terms in the Majlis two representatives from each of the nineteen administrative atolls, two from Male (the capital), and eight appointed by the president. The cabinet ministers and presidential appointees, directly responsible to the president of the functioning of the ministries and departments under their control. Local atoll administrations have a hierarchical structure headed by the *atol veriya* (atoll chief), who is aided by the *khatib* (island headman), and the latter's deputy, the *kuda khatib*.²⁴

²⁴ Guy Martin (1993) "Maldives" *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (ed.) Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph, Miles Kahler, Georges Nzongola- Ntalaja, Barbara B. Stalling, Margaret Weir, p 558.

Map 1.7

Nepal (Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal)

Source: "Worldatlas explore your world..." <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/np.htm>, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal.²⁵

Nepal, is an independent kingdom situated south of the Great Himalayas range between latitudes 26°25'N and 30° 17'N and longitudes 80°6'E and 88 14'E, and bordered by Tibet to the north, India to the west and south, and Sikkim to the east. Nepal's total area is 54,362 square miles (140,797 sq km).

The flag of Nepal consists of two red triangles outlined in blue, with a white symbolic representation of the moon on the upper triangles and of the sun on the lower.

The People of Nepal

The ethnic make up of Nepal has been determined largely by its location between central Asia and India, and the Nepali population is mainly the result of largely scale migrations from these areas. Mongolians, who migrated to Nepal by way of Tibet, Sikkim, and the tribal areas of Assam and Bengal, and Indo- Aryan from the Indian plains form the basic ethnic groups within Nepal.

Tribal, caste, and topographical factors have encouraged communal exclusiveness, and these divisions still play an important role in Nepal's social and political life. The most prestigious and powerful social groups in much of the country are the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaisya castes, of India origin. Other important ethnic communities are the Magars and Gurungs of the Western Hills; the Newars of Katmandu Valley; the Kirantis and Limbus of the Eastern Hills; and the Bhotias, or Tibetans (including the famous Sherpas), along the northern border.

The Language of Nepal

The national, Nepali, stems from the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo- European family. It is a derivative of Sanskrit and is similar to Hindi in basic form and vocabulary. Several Hindi dialects- Maithili, Bhajpuri, and Kumaoni are spoken by considerable sections of the population in the Tarai. A second category of languages in Nepal is the Tibeto- Burman languages, of which

²⁵ "Nepal - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia," <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepal>, Accessed on 22nd June, 2012.

the most important are Newari, Magarkura, Gurungkura, Kiranti, Limbuani, and some of the Tibetan dialects.

The Religion of Nepal

Hinduism, blended with older religious practices in certain areas, is the predominant religion of Nepal. About 10% of the population located mostly in Katmandu Valley and along the northern border are Buddhists.

The Government of Nepal

Nepal is a Hindu monarchy in which theoretically, full sovereign powers reside in the king. Between 1846 and 1951, however, these powers were exercised by the prime minister, a post given in perpetuity to the Rana family.

On 12th February, 1959, a constitution was promulgated by King Mahendra Bir Bikram, and general election was held. The constitution provided for a bicameral legislature and a responsible cabinet system. The king retained broad powers, however, which he used in December 1960 to dissolve the cabinet and parliament and suspend the constitution.

Representative Government of Nepal

The attainment of independence by India in 1947 changed the entire political situation in Nepal, since the Rana family had depended on British support. Moreover, many Nepalis had participated in or were influenced by the nationalist movement in India and were making increasingly persistent demands that the autocratic Rana regime be overthrown.²⁶

Nepal is situated between China on the north and India on the south, Nepal is a landlocked country. Its topography is dominated by the Himalayas, except for a narrow area along its southern flank. Thus, geography has made Nepal dependent on India in economic, cultural, and various other ways.

Nepal's modern history has been shaped by geography, the colonial legacies of South Asia, and its own quest for national identity. Such a quest became intense following the conquest of

²⁶ Leo E. Rose, Author of "Nepal; Strategy for Survival," "Nepal" (1984) *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 20, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 100- 101.

Kathmandu valley by the Gorkhali king Prithvi Narayan Shah generally considered to be the founder of modern Nepal in 1768. Taking note of Nepal's difficult geo-political location between China and India, Prithvi Narayan advised his successors not to get too closed to either one in order to avoid domination. Internally his rule was inspired by a Hindu religious ethos and a brand of military chivalry that together would come to dominate the political culture of Nepal. A rigid caste hierarchy characterized the post- Shah political structure and social relations.²⁷

²⁷ Lok Raj Baral (1993) "Nepal" *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (ed.) Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph, Miles Kahler, Georges Nzongola- Ntalaja, Barbara B. Stalling, Margaret Weir, p 623.

Map 1.8

Pakistan (Islamic Republic of Pakistan)



Source: "Worldatlas explore your world...", <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/pk.htm>, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

Islamic Republic of Pakistan²⁸

Pakistan a country in South Asia that geographically and historically is associated with India but culturally has strong attachments to the Middle East. When Pakistan was established in 1947, its territory was carved from Muslim majority areas of the British Indian Empire; the western Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, the North West Frontier Province, and eastern Bengal. The first five of these areas formed a territorial unit, but East Bengal was separated from the western part of the country by 1,000 miles (1,600km) of land belonging to the newly independent state of India. Islamic solidarity was expected to make a nation out of what some people called a geographical monstrosity. But too many problems arose from the physical separation of East and West Pakistan and from the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural differences between them. These problems could not be dealt with either adequately or justly by the central government, which was dominated by a bureaucracy and an army drawn mostly from larger but less populous West Pakistan.

Pakistan as constituted today still is plagued by ethnic and cultural conflicts, which divide Punjabis, Pathans (Pakhtuns), Sindhis, and Baluchis. The Punjabis, who make up more than 69% of the population, dominate the civil and military institutions and the economy. Conflicts over the allocation of resources among the provinces compound the division arising from cultural and ethnic differences. The Islamization of some of Pakistan's laws and institutions initiated by the government of President Zia- ul- Hq after 1977, is unlikely to overcome the country's many problems in the near future.

Ever since attaining independence in 1947, India and Pakistan have regarded each other with deep suspicion and intense hostility.²⁹

The Land of Pakistan

Pakistan extends about 975 miles (1,570km) on a northeast- southwest axis from the Chinese border to the Arabian Sea. It reaches its great width of some 725 miles (1,165km) from north-west

²⁸ "Pakistan - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia," <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan>, Accessed on 22nd June, 2012.

²⁹ Khalid Bin Sayeed, Author of "Politics in Pakistan" "Pakistan" (1984) *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 21, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 273-277, 280.

southeast between the Iranian and Indian frontiers, narrowing to 135 miles (215km) between the Afghan boundary and the Kashmir cease-fire line.

Most of the eastern half of the country is flat alluvial lowland less than 600 feet (180 meters) in elevation, drained by the Indus River and its major tributaries, the Sutlej, Ravi, Chenab, and Jhelum. This low land also includes the western part of the Thar (Great Indian) Desert along the Indian border.

The fertile alluvial soils of the eastern lowland constitute Pakistan' major land resource. Much of their plain, however, is very dry, and agriculture would be impossible without irrigation from the Indus and its tributaries.³⁰

The People of Pakistan

Pakistan represents a variety of ethnic groups and elements, mostly a Caucasoid stock and quite distinct from the aboriginal peoples of this area of the Indian subcontinent. In the 2nd millennium B.C. groups of nomads, with their horses and cattle, moved in waves out of the steppes of Central Asia. These were the Aryans, some of whom settled in the valley of the Indus River.

The Ethnic Groups and Languages of Pakistan

The people of Pakistan tribal nomads, settled farmers, and townfolk how great diversity in their ways of life and occupations. But they show an even greater diversity in their ethnic origins and languages.

Baluchi tribes occupy the barren and rugged southwest. This region, which extends westward into Iran, has long been known as Baluchistan. The inhabitants speak Baluchi, an Indo- Aryan language. Banditry was a normal way of life for them well into the 20th century.

The Brahuis of Baluchistan speak Brahui, a Dravidian tongue similar to those of that they are descended from a pre-Aryan population, yet they are not Dravidian in physical characteristics. They engage in seasonal farming and raising flocks.

³⁰ Robert C. Kingsbury, Indiana University (1984) "The Land," *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 21, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., p 274.

Panjabi, still another Indo- Aryan language. The Punjabis fall into three major caste Rajputs, Jats, and Arains and five minor ones. Most prominent socially are the Rajputs, traditionally local provinces, warrior and landowners. They make excellent soldiers, and many of them serve as officers in the Paksitani army. The Jats are landowing cultivators, as are the less prosperous Arians.

The Religion of Pakistan

Muslims in Pakistan adhere to several sects. Possibly 90% follow the Sunni sect, while most of the remainder is Shia Muslims. The latter sect is strongest in Sind. In addition are small minorities of Ismailis, who spiritual leader is the Agha Khan, and of Ahmadiyas. The Ahmadiya sect was founded in 1901 by a local religious reformer. The more orthodox Muslim leaders have branded it a heretical movement.

The Social Pattern of Pakistan

Traditional Muslim society in Pakistan is divided roughly into two classes: the ashraf, or highborn, descendants of Arab, Afghan, and Turkic invaders of India; and the alaf, or lowborn, descendants of the indigenous peoples who had been converted from Hinduism. Although the concept of caste is anathema to Islam, the indigenous caste system did not disappear among the converts to Islam, and it affected the social organization of the invaders. The Muslim castes tend to correspond to occupations. But the Islamic members of castes are not frozen in status, as in the case in Hinduism.³¹

The Economy of Pakistan

The economy of Pakistan, like that of other developing nations, is a mixture of the traditional and modern in agriculture, transportation, commerce, and manufacturing. Traditional, often primitive, forms of production are slowly being replaced by modern, more efficient ones.

Agriculture dominates the economy. While farming directly employs 56% of the labour force (including rural service, trade and processing workers), more than three fourths of the people are dependent on the land far their main source of livelihood. Much of Pakistan's small factory

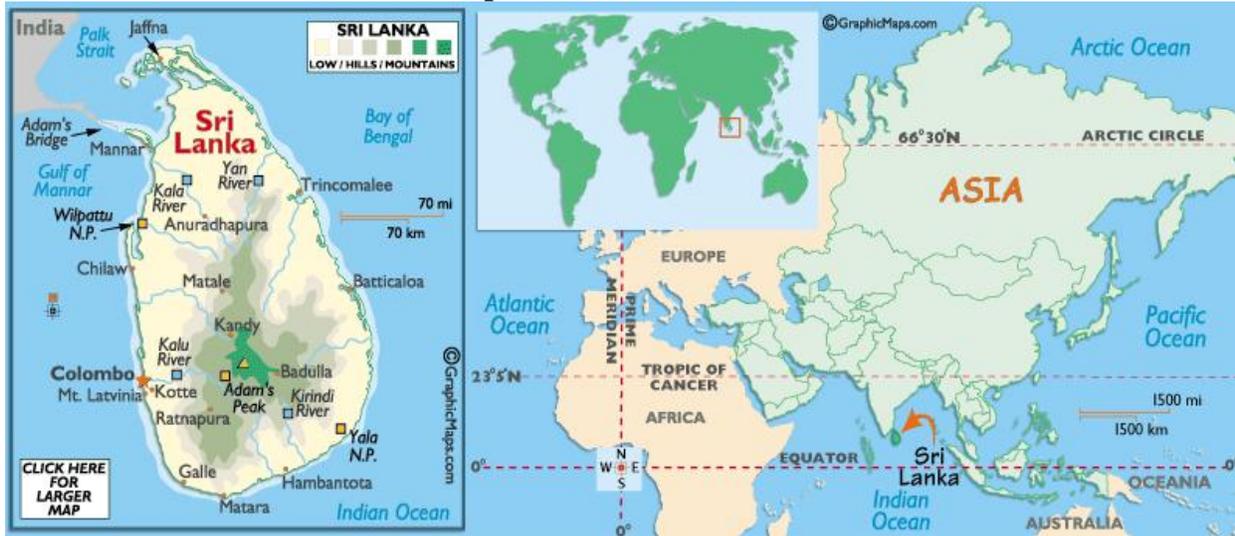
³¹ Donald N. Wilber, Author of "Pakistan Yesterday and Today," (1984) "The People," *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 21, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., p 275.

industry is based on agricultural raw materials and its exports are chiefly farm products and then manufactures, such as yarn and textiles.³²

³² Robert C. Kingsbury, Indiana University, (1984) "The Economy," *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 21, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., p 280.

Map 1.9

Sri Lanka (Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka)



Source: "Worldatlas explore your world...", <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/lk.htm>, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka³³

Sri Lanka, is an island nation situated in the Indian Ocean southeast of India. It was known as Ceylon until 1972, when it changed its name to Sri Lanka the island's ancient Sinhalese name, meaning "*the resplendent land.*" The total area is 25,332 sq miles (65,610 sq km).

The 24th largest island in the world, Sri Lanka is shaped like a pearl or leardrop- or, less romantically, like a mango or pear. Lying only a few degrees north of the equator, it has a tropical climate, warm and humid at sea level but cooler and more pleasant in the south central highlands.

The island was well known as Serendib or Taprobane to ancient navigators and was important as a source of gems and spices. It is one of the world's most beautiful countries, famed for its fine tea, its gemstones, its colourful landscapes, the underwater flora and fauna off its reef- protected beaches, and the pageantry of its religious festivals.

Sri Lanka's mixed population, variety of religions, language problems, economic difficulties, and shifting political balance between left and right make it resemble Asia in miniature, illustrating both the charms and the troubles of that continent.

The Land and Natural Resources of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, structurally an extension of the south Indian plateau, is separated from India by the Palk Strait (20 miles, or 32 km, wide at its narrowest part) and by the Gulf of Mannar. Mannar Island, off Sri Lanka's northwest coast, and nearby shallows known as Adam's Bridge virtually connect Sri Lanka with the mainland. The island's greatest length is 270 miles (435 km), from Point Pedro in the north to Dondra Head in the south. Its greatest width is 140 miles (225 km), from Colombo in the west to Sangamankanda in the east.

The Natural Resources of Sri Lanka

The rocks forming the island are among the oldest in the world. The decomposition of these rocks has formed the red soils of Sri Lanka, known as laterites.

³³ "Sri Lanka - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Lanka, Accessed on 22nd June, 2012.

Quartz, feldspar, and mica and minerals found in Sri Lanka, as are ilmenite, monazite, thorianite, and kaolin (China clay). Sri Lanka is renowned for its sapphires, rubies, aquamarines, and other gemstones, both precious and semiprecious. Another mineral product, exported in modest quantities, is graphite (locally called plumbago). Small amounts of gold are found in the rivers, and there are excellent iron ore deposits in the south central area.

The Ethnic Group of Sri Lanka

The Moors (with other Muslims, forming about 7% of the population) are descendants of Arab merchants who took over the spice trade after the 8th century A.D. and held it for 800 years. Sinhalese areas, and profess the Muslim faith: Though they have no caste distinctions, they segregate their women, some of whom are kept in *purdah* (seclusion). Among other Muslims are the Malays, brought in as mercenaries by the Dutch and now almost absorbed as a group, and the “Afghans,” Baluchis from Pakistan, whose big, colourfully costumed men are often money-lenders.

The Burghers (0.6% of the population) claim to be descendants of the Dutch and other European employees of the Dutch East India Company who intermarried with Sinhalese. Among them are counted others of mixed ancestry. They consider themselves Europeans in culture and background, speak English and wear western clothing, and generally keep apart from other groups. Most Burghers are Protestant Christians; some are Catholic.

The Veddas (Veddas) are the nearly extinct Sri Lankan aborigines. The few surviving Veddas live primitively in the jungles of eastern Sri Lanka. They are animists in religion.

Other small communities are the Europeans, Parsis, Goanese, a few Chinese, some Indians, and some Telegu-speaking gypsies known as Kuravans.

The Economy of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, exploited for centuries by countries greedy for its riches, today has serious economic problems. The economy is based primarily, on three basic agricultural commodities: tea, rubber, and coconuts. Two thirds of the cultivated land and two thirds of the population are involved in the production and distribution of these products.

The Government of Sri Lanka

With the adoption of a new constitution on 22nd May, 1972, the self-governing dominion of Ceylon, in which the British monarch was, represented the independent Republic of Sri Lanka. This constitution was amended in 1977 and replaced by another in 1978 that changed the country's name to Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.

Under the 1978 constitution, the head of state is the president elected for a six-year term and limited to two terms. The president appoints a member of the National State Assembly as prime minister.

The unicameral National State Assembly has 196 members who hold office for six years unless that body is dissolved sooner. The judiciary consists of a supreme court, a court of appeals, and a number of subordinate courts. The president must appoint a constitutional court to test the validity of acts of the Assembly.

For administrative purposes Sri Lanka is divided into 22 districts, each appointed by the central government.³⁴

³⁴ Argus John Tresidder, Author of "Ceylon, an Introduction to the Resplendent Land," "Sri Lanka" (1984) *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 25, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 550, 550a, 550c, 550g.

For the purpose of present study, China and Myanmar have been included as India's relations with them have great bearing on North East and more importantly, the people and region of northeast share many commonalities with these two neighbours.

Map 1.10

China (People's Republic of China)

Source: "Worldatlas explore your world...", <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/cn.htm>, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

People's Republic of China (PRC)³⁵

The People's Republic of China (Communist China) was formally proclaimed on 1st October, 1949. Its first constitution was adopted in 1954, its second in 1975, and its third in 1978. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), with its own constitution and administrative system, continued to exercise complete control over the government.³⁶

China occupying one of the pivotal geographical regions of the earth, is the most populous country in the world, containing almost one fourth of the human race. Since 1949 the country has been divided in fact into two separate entities, each of which claims legal jurisdiction over all of China: Communist China (the People's Republic of China), in control of the mainland, and Nationalist China (the Republic of China), in the control of Taiwan.

An Introduction of China

For some 3,000 years, China has been one of the main centres of the world. Rivalled for sheer power and sophisticated living only by the Roman imperial colossus China's civilization exerted political and cultural influence throughout one of the few heavily populated regions of the world at the beginning of the Christian era. In subsequent centuries new empires rose and fell in many parts of the globe, while the nature of civilization underwent successive changes. Despite many vicissitudes, however, China continued to endure a political entity, and in our own times it has once again surged to the forefront of international affairs.

China the Oldest Contemporary Civilisation

As the world's "oldest contemporary civilization," China has inherited a complex legacy of cultural patterns from the past. In many instances the Chinese sought to preserve their cultural heritage intact and to transmit it to their descendants with a minimum of modification. But, as any Chinese were not completely averse to innovation when circumstances seemed so to warrant it. Nor were the Chinese entirely reluctant to discard institutions and values which seemed no longer to fulfill social and cultural needs.

³⁵ "Names of China - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Names_of_China, Accessed on 22nd June, 2012.

³⁶ Hyman Kublin, Brooklyn College, The City University, New York, 1984) "Introduction" (*Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 6, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., p 492.

Furthermore, China's way of life did not serve the purposes of the inhabitants of China alone. The institutions, ideas, manners, and customs of the Chinese posed a perennial lure for peoples in neighbouring lands in Korea, Japan, the northern and western border regions, and the areas along the long southern frontier. Their cultures were given the lasting impress of things Chinese. It is noteworthy too that the "West" did not escape China's cultural influences. During the 18th century western Europe was swept by a fad for Chinese ways and fashions, the vestiges of which are still apparent.

The Apogee of Chinese Power

Traditional Chinese civilization reached its apogee of power and splendor for the fourth time the Chou (about 1027- 256 B.C.), Han (202 B.C.- 220 A.D.), and T'ang (618- 906) dynastic periods were the first three during the 15th of mid 18th centuries. By almost all relevant criteria, China under the Ming (1368- 1644) and the Ch'ing (1644- 1912) was during these centuries indisputably one of the greatest states in the world. In effective command of their domains, the Ming and Ch'ing emperors justifiably took for granted foreign respect for their authority. But thereafter the Chinese empire entered into a steady decline. After much buffeting from foes at home and abroad, the last of China's imperial ruling houses and the imperial order itself collapsed in revolution.

The People of China

Nearly one fourth of all the people in the world live in China. The "men of Han" referring to the world live in China. The "men of Han" referring to the dynasty 202 B.C.- 220 A.D. are usually called "the Chinese" by Westerner; they have a common history, culture, and written language.

The Language of China

Han Chinese speak Sinitic languages of the Sino- Tibetan language family. All of these languages are not mutually intelligible. Mandarin is China's official language and the one most extensively used. It originated in North China and spread with the migrations of the people to east- central and southwest China. Different local varieties of Mandarin are mutually understandable.

Sinitic dialect that are not mutually intelligible and those that do not resemble Mandarin are found primarily in Taiwan and in southeastern China.

Some of the languages spoken by minority groups belong to the Sino- Tibetan language family, although they are not Chinese languages. Included in this group is Thai. Thai is spoken in different forms by ethnic groups such as the Chuang of the Kuangsi region and the Paiyi of Yünnan province.

Other groups who speak non-Chinese Sino- Tibetan languages are the Miao of southeastern Kweichow and western Human provinces, and the Yao of Kwangsi, Human, Kwangtung, and Yünnan province.

The Lolo tribesmen, who speak a Tibeto- Burman language and live in the mountains, have strongly and successfully resisted the Chinese.

The languages of several large minority groups in China belong to the Altaic language family. Three main branches are represented the Mongolian, Turkic, and Turgusic.³⁷

The Economy of China

To a man such as Marco Polo, the seven centuries ago appeared to be a land of great wealth. In comparison with Europe during the Middle Ages, China's cities were larger and its upper classes were richer. But, this apparent prosperity was only a superficial veneer, which was supported by the toil of tens of millions of peasant farmers. By modern standards China was a poor, underdeveloped country in Marco Polo's time.

Throughout recorded history, agriculture has been the key sector in China's economy. Farmers provided the surplus that supported Chinese art and scholarship in the past.³⁸

The Government of China

The People's Republic of China (Communist China) was formally proclaimed on 1st October, 1949. Its first constitution was adopted in 1954, its second in 1975, and its third in 1978. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), with its own constitution and administrative system, continued to exercise complete control over the government.

³⁷ Bernard Gallin, Michigan State University, "China" (1984) *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 6, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 492- 494, 497-498, 515-516.

³⁸ Dwight H. Perkins, Harvard University (1984) "Economy", *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 6, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., p 515.

The Chinese Communist claims to be the true representative of Marxism- Leninism, and the network of political organizations penetrating all sectors of society is based on Marx's "theory of contradiction." Simply stated, it is the belief that tensions and conflicts of interest are inherent in all situations. According to Mao Tse- tung, there are two types of contradictions, those that are two types of contradictions, those that can be settled by violence ("antagonistic contradiction") and those can be settled peacefully through appeal to reason ("non-antagonistic contradictions"). Since resolving these tensions moves history forward, animosity between groups and class struggle must be fostered rather than dampened.

The Religion of China

The major religious practices in China are Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity.³⁹

China approaches the twenty first century in much the same way it entered the twentieth: on the precipice of a political crisis that portends epochal change for the Chinese state and the Chinese people. Many of the dilemmas that fueled China's crisis at the end of the last century also shape its contemporary predicament: a frustrated quest for national wealth and power; an uneasy relationship with the West and a deep ambivalence about China's role in the international system; the crumbling legitimacy of the country's rulers; the pressure to incorporate new social forces into the nation's political life; an alienated intelligentsia who question the validity of Chinese cultural norms in a rapidly changing world. In many ways, these issues are as relevant to understanding China in the 1990s as they were in the 1890s.

The country has been through a century not only of terrible trauma but also modern, unified, and sovereign nation than it was hundered years ago. China's tragedy is that its leaders have largely squandered the promise of these achievements amid internecine power struggles that have once again brought China to the brink of crisis.

In terms of area, the People's Republic of China (PRC) is slightly bigger than the United States, making it the world's third largest nation,. After the Soviet Union and Canada.

The PRC is made up of twenty two provinces, five autonomous regions, and three centrally administrated municipalities (including Beijing, the capital of the country). The autonomous regions, are areas of the country with high concentrations of non- Chinese ethnic minorities (they

³⁹ Harry J. Lamley, University of Hawaii (1984) "Government," *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 6, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., p 515.

constitute approximately six percent of the total population). These regions are example, Tibet are, according to the constitution, entitled to some measure of self-government in order cultural identities, in reality, such autonomy is externally superficial.

The PRC is a *unitary* state in which the subnational levels are subordinate in all important matters to the centre. Growing regional economic differentiation, ethnic assertiveness, and the complexity of modern administration in a continental sized nation may increase centrifugal pressures on the PRC in the years ahead; movement toward a federal system with more power sharing between the centre and its constituent units might ease some of these tensions, but such a trend would run against the grain of age-old patterns formed when China was a highly centralized empire.⁴⁰

Map 1.11

⁴⁰William A. Joseph (1993) "China" *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* ed Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph, Miles Kahler, Georges Nzongola- Ntalaja, Barbara B. Stalling, Margaret Weir, p 128.

Myanmar (Republic of the Union of Myanmar)



Source: "Worldatlas explore your world..."

<http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/mm.htm>, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

Republic of the Union of Myanmar

The official English name was changed by the country's government from the "Union of Burma" to the "Union of Myanmar" in 1989, and still later to the "Republic of the Union of Myanmar."⁴¹

Myanmar is in Southeast Asia and is located west of China, Laos, and Thailand and east of Bangladesh and India. The two thirds are Burmans, the remainder consist of Shah, Karen, Arakanese, Kachins, Chin, Mon, Palanug, Wa, Lisu, Lahu, Akha. The languages fall into two families, Tibeto- Burman and Mon- Khmer.⁴²

Myanmar (Burma), a country in South east Asia sharing land boundaries with India, Bangladesh, China, Laos, and Thailand, seemed to be destined by location for a critical role in the ideological power struggle underway in Asia in the latter half of the 20th century. Instead, character of its political administration has prevented Myanmar's playing an active part in the world political arena and has made it a country isolated and quiescent.

Myanmar, like Italy or Spain, is a natural geographical entity. The horse-shoe shaped arc of mountains and hills that encircles Myanmar on the west, north, and east encloses the plains where most of the people dwell and cuts the country off from its neighbours. Migrations have from time to time changed Burma's culture and the composition of its population, but for nearly a thousand years these has been a continuous , history of Myanmese state, drawing its main cultural inspiration from Theravada Buddhism.

Throughout its history, Myanmar has been inward- looking. Traditionally, the capital was ward-looking. Traditionally, the capital was known as "the Centre of the Universe." Then for a hundred years Myanmar was forcibly drawn into a wider political system the British Empire.

The People of Myanmar (Burma)

⁴¹ "Names of Burma - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Names_of_Burma, Accessed on 22nd June, 2012.

⁴² John H. Badgley (1993) "Burma", *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* ed. Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph, Miles Kahler, Georges Nzongola- Ntalaja, Barbara B. Stalling, Margaret Weir, pp 100- 101.

While “Burmese” is a term sometimes loosely employed for all the people of Burma, it is (except as a definition of citizenship) usually applied to those 68% of the population who speak the Burmese language. This principal group is also known as Burmans. The Karens are the next most prominent group, forming about 10% of the total population. The shans, with approximately 8%, are the third most numerous group in Myanmar (Burma). The Burmans are short and slender with brown skin, whereas the Karens are stockier and often lighter in skin colour. Among other prominent ethnic groups are the Kachins, Chins, Mons, Arakanese, and Lao. Tribes in the northern hills are frequently rather tall and rosy cheeked and occasionally have wavy hair. Some hold that the aboriginal inhabitants are the Wa of the eastern borderland, who are dark-skinned and short. Burma’s various peoples have intermarried in many areas.

The Religion of Myanmar

Even after half a century of steady life. Reliable figures are not to be had, but the best estimates put the total number of monks at about 110,000 of whom about 33,000 are novices (koyin) and the remainder is adult monks.

The Economy of Myanmar

Before World War II, Burma enjoyed a favourable export trade with India, Europe and Japan. Roughly half of Burma’s exports in terms of money value were made up of rice; about one quarter was the products of the oil refineries; minerals accounted for 12% to 14% and timber yielded about 7%. Burma led the world in the rice trade. Nearly 54% of the net rice exports of Asia came from Burma, which supplied 90% of India’s rice imports, with large quantities also going to Ceylon and Malaya.

The return that Myanmar received for its exports was composed largely of consumer goods, for Myanmar produced few manufactures apart from textiles, sugar, and cement. The main industries were the Burmah Oil Company, with its oilfields in middle Myanmar and its refinery at Syriam, outside Rangoon, and the Burma Corporation, which worked the great Bawdwin mines, producing tungsten and tin.

Burma's (Myanmar's) Education

In old Burma, almost all education was based on religion. The village monasteries provided teaching for boys between the ages of 6 and 12. The language of instruction was *Pali*, the sacred of Buddhism, and most of the lesson time was devoted to the reading and expounding of the scriptures. Some of the larger monasteries had the character of universities, with famous scholars and sizable libraries.

The British Period in Myanmar (Burma)

During the British period, there was a long attempt to preserve the monastic schools as the foundation of a secular educational system. However, the monks insisted on maintaining a distinction between religious and secular education, and so during the early 20th century the British administration had to seek other foundations for secular primary education. Government schools run by Christian missionaries or by individual Burmese headmasters.

The Government

From independence until March 1962, the Burmese government functioned under a constitution hastily drafted in 1947. This provided for a parliamentary democracy on British lines.

The Constitutional Government

The executive functions of government were exercised by a prime minister and a cabinet, while the president was the titular head of state. A judiciary had a Supreme Court as its apex. The constitution provided for general elections to be held every 5 years (or more often if necessary) to elect the parliament, the legislative branch. This consisted of two houses, the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Nationalities.⁴³

A military junta, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), seized power on 18th September, 1988 in Burma (Myanmar). The junta consists of senior military officers chaired by the commanding general of the army and includes commanders of the navy, air force, and the chief of intelligence, who functions as secretary of the SLORC. The People's

⁴³ Hugh Tinker, University of London, "Burma" (1984) *Encyclopedia Americana*, Volume 5, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., pp 1-2, 4, 6-8.

Assembly was disbanded at the time of the coup de'etat, and the SLORC governs under martial law based on the 1974 constitution. An election for representatives to design a new constitution was held on 27th May, 1990, and an opposition party, the National League for Democracy (NLD) won eighty percent of the seats; however, the SLORC refused to accept the election as legitimate and his not allowed the representatives to meet.

Chapter II

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH ASIA: AN OVERVIEW

Chapter II

India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia: An Overview

“Whatever policy we may lay down, the art of conducting foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country. We may talk about international goodwill and mean what we say. We may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what we say. But in the ultimate analysis, Government functions for the good of a country it governs and no Government dare do anything which in the short or long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of the country.” Jawaharlal Nehru¹

India's policy has not been some sudden bright inspiration of an individual but a gradual growth evolving from even before independence. The inevitable line that we took subsequently has followed that thinking as a matter of course.²

The Indian National Congress, the main organization embodying that movement, showed interest in matters relating to foreign policy right from its birth in 1885. At first quite limited, this interest gradually became wider in line with the corresponding widening of its general political outlook, till a time arrived when there was hardly an international issue on which the Congress did not express its views. Thus by the time India achieved independence there had developed a distinct, Indian outlook on world affairs, and this became the foundation of India's foreign policy. Needless to add, in the growth of this Indian outlook Jawaharlal Nehru himself played the most notable role, particularly during the last and the most creative phase of its evolution, from 1927 to 1947.³

¹ Bimal Prasad (1979) *“An Overview,”* India's Foreign Policy Studies in Continuity and Change, ed. Bimal Prasad, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 26- A Mayapuri, New Delhi 110064, p 484

² Ibid, p 481.

³ Ibid, p 482.

Meaning of Foreign Policy

Foreign Policy: A policy regulating a particular country's relations with other states and people in the international arena.⁴

The foreign policy is the sum total of the principles, the interests and objectives which a state formulates in conducting its relations with other states.⁵

The foreign policy, principles mean the codes of right conduct, which are considered desirable in themselves, such as adherence to treaties and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. Like interests are what a state considers, in general terms, essential for its survival and development: such as territorial integrity, improvement of living standards, and maintenance of a free way of life. The objectives are more or less precisely delimited interests, formulated in the circumstances in which the relations with another state are conducted.⁶

Foreign Relations: The external relations of a country, part of the general complex of international relations.⁷

Foreign relations are the actions that a state resorts to in pursuance of the foreign policy formulated, such as declaration of war, conclusion of peace, the signing of a treaty, giving or accepting aid, recognition of a state, establishment of diplomatic relations, and carrying on negotiations.⁸

The Glimpse of India's Foreign Policy

The art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country. It may talk about international goodwill and mean what it says. It

⁴ T.R. Nanda (1996) "*Dictionary of Political Science*," Amol Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi- 110002, p 220.

⁵ A. Appadorai, (1981) *Domestic Roots of India's Foreign Policy*, published by R. Dayal, Oxford University Press 2/11 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110002

⁶ Ibid, pp 6-7.

⁷ Ibid, p 220

⁸ Ibid, p 7.

may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what it says. But in the ultimate analysis, a government functions for the good of the country it governs and no government dare do anything which in the short or long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of that country.

The interest of peace is more important, because if war comes everyone suffers, so that in the long-distance view, self-interest may itself demand a policy of cooperation with other nations, goodwill for other nations, as indeed it does demand.

India's interests lie in the context of world cooperation and world peace, in as far as world peace can be preserved.⁹

At the present moment no country, including the big powers, with their long traditions in foreign affairs, has anything which could be called a precise and definite foreign policy, because the world itself is in a fluid condition?¹⁰

In criticizing the foreign policy of the Government of India, this House for an instant to turn its mind to any country today and think of its foreign policy whether it is the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., China or France. The foreign policy of any one of these countries has succeeded from any point of view, from the point of view of moving towards world peace or preventing world war, or succeeded even from the mere opportunist and individual point view of that country.

This question from this point of view, it will find that there has been a miserable failure in the foreign policy of every great power and country. It is in that context that it has to view these matters. It is not really the failure of the foreign policy of any particular power, though perhaps two or three major powers do influence foreign policy greatly.¹¹

⁹ Jawaharlal Nehru (1961) "*Non-Alignment*," India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946- April 1961, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi- 6, p 24.

¹⁰ Ibid, p 29.

¹¹ Jawaharlal Nehru (1961) "*We Lead Ourselves*," India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946- April 1961, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi- 6, p 29.

There are bigger and deeper causes affecting the world, like the strongest of nations, are pulled hither and thither by these forces. That is one fact that likes the House to bear in mind.¹²

Nehru wants to tell the world on behalf of India that not frightened of the military might of this power or that. India's policy is not a passive policy or a negative policy.¹³

It is certainly true that the instructions to the delegates have always been to consider each question first in terms of India's interest and secondly on its merits, it means to say if it did not affect India, naturally, on its merits, and not merely to do something or give a vote just to please this power or that power, though, of course, it is perfectly natural that in desire to have friendship with other powers that India avoid doing anything which might irritate.¹⁴

Nehru thinks that not only in the long run, but also in the short run, independence of opinion and independence of action will count. He hopes that the House realizes that nothing is more important in the opinion of this Government than to make India strong economically and militarily, not strong in the big power sense, because that is beyond the capacity, but as strong as India can to defend themselves if anybody attacks.

Therefore, purely from the point of view of opportunism, if one likes, a straightforward, honest policy, an independent policy is the best.¹⁵

India being friendly to all countries and not becoming entangled in any alliances, military or other, that might drag to the country into any possible conflict. That does not, on the other hand, involve any lack of close relationships with other countries.¹⁶

Nehru affirmed that changing circumstances have to be understood and interpreted in different ways, but the broad lines of India's policy have been laid down and they are:

¹² Jawaharlal Nehru (1961) "*We Lead Ourselves*," India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946- April 1961, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi-6, p 30.

¹³ Ibid, p 32.

¹⁴ Ibid, p 33.

¹⁵ Ibid. p 35

¹⁶ Jawaharlal Nehru (1961) "*Friendly Cooperation*," India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946- April 1961, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi- 6, p 37.

- a. That India is an Independent Republic; and
- b. That in the external, internal or domestic policy, in the political policy, or in the economic policy, India do not propose to accept anything that involves in the slightest degree dependence on any other authority.¹⁷

Other forms of association which do not bind in this manner, but which help in bringing together nations for the purpose of consolidation and, where necessary, of cooperation, are, therefore, far more desirable than any form of alliance which does bind.

Cooperation can only be the cooperation of independent nations without the least commitment of one to the other. That is for India to consider together and to decide what is more feasible, but in any event two facts have to be borne in mind. *One* is that whatever structure of cooperation that the nation may build up will be entirely within the scope of the Charter of the United Nations. *Secondly*, there will be no binding covenant in it, and this will largely be an organization for the consultation and cooperation that naturally flow from common interests.¹⁸

The main stake in world affairs is peace, to see that there is racial equality and that people who are still subjugated should be free. For the rest that India do not desire to interfere in world affairs and the country (India) do not desire that other people should interfere in her affairs. If, however, there is interference, whether military, political or economic, India shall resist it. It is with this friendly approach that the country looks at the world.¹⁹

A special interest in one another and India must, inevitably, think in terms of her relations with the countries bordering her by land and sea. What are these countries? If start from the left, Pakistan; India would also include Afghanistan, although it does not touch India's borders; Tibet and China, Nepal, Burma (newly Myanmar), Malaya (newly Malaysia), Indonesia and Ceylon (newly Sri Lanka).²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid, pp 37-38.

¹⁸ Ibid, p 38.

¹⁹ Ibid pp 39-40.

²⁰ Jawaharlal Nehru (1961) "*An Evolving Policy*," India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946- April 1961, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi- 6, p 42.

As far as the other countries are concerned, India's relations with others are quite friendly. Take, for instance, Afghanistan. India relations with Afghanistan are exceedingly friendly and her relations with Tibet, Nepal and all the neighbouring countries are also very friendly. Nehru thinks that he justified in saying that there is no country in this wide world today with which her relations may be said to be inimical or hostile. Naturally, India will be attracted more towards some or her trade or economic interests might link to the country more with some countries and less with others, but there can be no doubt about it that India is friendly with all that is a good thing and some achievement.²¹

India is very curiously placed in Asia and her history has been governed a great deal by the geographical factor plus other factors. Whichever problem in Asia may take up, somehow or other India comes into the picture. Whether think in terms of China or the Middle East or South – East Asia, India immediately comes into the picture. It is so situated that because of past history, traditions, etc., in regard to any major problem of a country or a group of countries of Asia, India has to be considered. Whether it is a problem of defence or trade or industry or economic policy, India cannot be ignored. She cannot be ignored, because, as Nehru said, her geographical position is a compelling reason. She cannot be ignored also, because of her actual or potential power and resources.

India by virtue of her practical position and other reasons, India is bound to play an important part in Asia, in all parts of Asia, whether it is Western Asia or the Far East or South-East Asia. It so happens, of course, that even culturally speaking, that the bonds are very great with all these parts of Asia, whether it is Western Asia or the Far East or South- East Asia and these bonds are very old and very persistent.²²

The desire to confer together and cooperate closely, and a certain looking in the direction of India on the part of all these countries, the feeling that India might possible play a fairly important part in bringing Asian countries together.²³

²¹ Ibid, pp 42-43.

²² Ibid, p 43.

²³ Ibid, p 44.

Foreign policy is normally something which develops gradually. Apart from certain theoretical propositions it may lay down, it is a thing which, if it is real, has some relation to actuality and not merely to pure theory. Therefore, it cannot precisely lay down the general outlook or general approach, but gradually it develops to become very friendly with some and hostile to others. That is the normal foreign policy of a country, very friendly with close relations with some, with the consequence that hostile to others. It may be very friendly with all countries. Naturally, if make more friendly with those with whom have closer relations, but, that great friendliness, if it is active friendliness, is good, if it merely reflects hostility to some other country, then it is something different. And ultimately the hostility provokes other people's hostility and that is the way of conflict and leads to no solution. Fortunately, India has inherited no past hostility to any country. Why should then start this train of hostility now with any country? Of course, if circumstances compel it, cannot be helped, but it is far better for to try the utmost to keep clear of these hostile backgrounds. Naturally, again, it is likely to be more friendly to some countries than to others, because this may be to more friendly to some countries than to others, because this may be to mutual advantage. That is a different matter, but even so, friendship with other countries should not, as far as possible, be such as brings inevitably into conflict with some other country. Now, some people may think that this is a policy of hedging or just avoiding pitfalls, a middle-of-the-road policy.²⁴

India's foreign policy, naturally, has to do with world affairs but any hon. Member thinks that the Government of India moulds world affairs he is very much mistaken. Jawaharlal Nehru says that India cannot or have not affected the world to some extent. But, obviously, it affects or influences it in a very small measure. If the world goes wrong, then it may, of course, be due to some error of it but surely it would be the resultant of a large number of policies, in particular the policies of the powerful and influential countries that dominate the policies of the smaller and weaker countries.²⁵

²⁴ Ibid, pp 44-45.

²⁵ Jawaharlal Nehru (1961) "*Need for Realism*," India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946- April 1961, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi- 6, p 50.

It is a spirit of realism that Nehru wants to approach the question of India's foreign policy. It has to deal with a positive situation that to issue orders and have to decide what is to be done or not done. It cannot afford to talk of vague theoretical things and waste its time with *idealistic* or *moral* approaches to the situation.

Idealism is the realism of tomorrow. It is the capacity to know what is good for the day after tomorrow or for the next year and to fashion itself accordingly. The practical person, the realist, looks at the tip of his nose and sees little beyond; the result is that he is stumbling all the time.²⁶

The Enrichment of India's Foreign Policy

The security of a country is the most fundamental demand upon foreign policy. Every country's foreign policy is first of all geared to the objective of ensuring the maximum possible security in a given situation. It includes situation in and relations with neighbouring countries, the relations of neighbours with other significant actors in the international arena and your own relations with those actors, the country's place and role in international politics, whether it is a quite or an unquiet state of affairs on the frontiers, and if unquiet how unquiet, and not the least significant internal strength and health of the country which, again, includes economic development and social cohesion, the level of industrialization and modernization of economy and the level of involvement of different sections and groups and regions in a country in the perception that the unity and the integrity of the country was of prime importance.

Security, however, remained a primary and continuing concern of India's foreign policy. Whenever occasion demanded there was a flexible approach keeping in view the country's national interests. The security aspect shall be considered in great depth in a subsequent chapter, but its importance as a determining factor in foreign policy can on no account be ignored.²⁷

Foreign policy is the "system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. "It is a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interest." Hartman

²⁶ Ibid. p 51

²⁷ V.P. Dutt (1997) "*The Parameters*," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, pp 25-26.

The objectives of a nation's foreign policy are:

1. maintaining the integrity of the state,
2. promoting economic interest,
3. providing for national security,
4. protecting national prestige and developing national power, and
5. maintaining world order.²⁸

Foreign policy of any country is the product of a complex interplay of history, geography, past experience, present requirements, perceptions of the ruling elite of national interests and ideological consensus, if one exists in the country, and if not of the leaders of government. It is also shaped and moulded by the domestic balance of forces, the regional balance of forces and the international balance of forces.

Geography could not fail to determine the thrust and focus of India's foreign policy. Jawaharlal Nehru himself pointed out the geographic parameters of India's foreign policy. India, Nehru said, was at the gateway to both South-east Asia as well as the Middle East. Anything happening in South Asia as well as South-east Asia, the Gulf region, West Asia and the Indian Ocean region affected India, and India could not close her eyes to it.²⁹

The security and economic prosperity are core components, the national interest of a country. The maintenance of international peace, the promotion of international law, or the establishment of global organization also be one of the objectives of foreign policy like the great power.³⁰

The foreign policy of a nation is conceived in the minds of men who subscribe to certain fundamental beliefs relating to the distribution of power in society, the proper function of

²⁸ Prakash Chandra (1993) *Foreign Policy and its Determinants*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi 110014, p 73.

²⁹ Ibid, pp 2-3.

³⁰ Ibid, p 75.

government and a particular way of life. Policy is expressed in terms of these beliefs and behaviour, though custom and tradition is conditioned thereby.³¹

According to James Rosenau foreign policy determines on size, geography, economic development, culture and history, great power structure, alliance, technology, social structure, moods of opinion, political accountability, governmental structure, situational factors (both external and internal).

India's security, vital interests, and well-being was intimately tied up with the fate and future of this region. Similarly, India was vitally concerned with developments in South-east Asia, on our doorsteps, the Gulf and West Asian countries, equally our immediate neighbours, and the Indian Ocean area, whose very name testifies to its importance for India.

The compulsions of history, geography and past experience thus were important formative influences on the formulation of India's foreign policy. In addition, it can hardly be overlooked that India's size, potential and perceptions of her elite postulated an intense interest in world affairs and an effort to carve out a place for India's role, certainly a determination not to ignored and cast aside. Potentially, India was a major power, a fact of which at least the vocal opinion in the country was highly conscious.³²

The Spirit and the Development of India's Foreign Policy

The India's Foreign Policy spirit developed before her independence of in 1947. In fact, the foreign policy was shaped in the 20s and 30s where anti-imperialist was the mood of the Indian national movement. Jawaharlal Nehru who was the head of Interim Government in 1946 laid the essential principles of foreign policy and in his famous broadcast in Delhi on September 7. Nehru expressed that the determination of his government to keep away from the power blocs or groups aligned against one another which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale.

³¹ Ibid, p 79.

³² Ibid, pp 2-3.

Nehru's broadcast from London on 12th January, 1950 describes war and peace in his view as: What we need is a passion for peace and civilized behaviour in international affairs... If we desire peace, we must develop the temper of peace and try to win even those who may be suspicious of us or who think they are against us... We cannot seek peace in the language of war or of threats.³³

Moreover, India also maintains traditional values like an understanding of International Relations through an ideal of tolerance and peaceful reconciliation. India has an essence of approach in such negotiations that neither party should suffer a significant loss and to utilize for a common cause and one which is favourable for reconciliation. Nehru's philosophy follows the principles of Gandhi like non-violence to foreign policy that essentially meant fostering reconciliation and peaceful approach in the situation of vengeance and hatred. In 1951 Nehru observed: Unhappily the world of today finds that it cannot do without force. We have to meet aggression and evil... To surrender to evil is always bad. But in resisting evil, we must not allow ourselves to be swept away by our own passions and fears and act in manner which is itself evil. India's leaders approach is friendly with neighbouring nations to achieve security. Indira Gandhi, on 31st August, 1970 in a seminar in New Delhi said: It is possible through friendship to outmaneuver hostility. With the same motto India focuses to develop multilateral international collaboration and friendly relations through different social system with other countries. The United States bombing in 1945 at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a tragic fate in the history of the world. Gandhi argued: The moral to be legitimately drawn from the supreme tragedy of the bomb is that it will not be destroyed by counter-bombs, even as violence cannot be by counter-violence.³⁴

The world accepted various proposals and principles of Nehru in India's foreign policy in the matter of halting the arm race in the year 1953-54, 1957-58 and 1962. The United Nations General Assembly adopted an Indian resolution which affirmed the world body's "earnest desire for the elimination and prohibition of atomic, hydrogen, bacterial, chemical and other weapons of war and mass destruction and for the attainment of these ends through effective means" in the

³³ Jan Filipky (1990) "*Traditional Values and the Nehruvian Line in the Foreign Policy*" Jawaharlal Nehru and The Foreign policy of India, Centenary Commemoration Volume, edited by Miloslav Krasa, p 3.

³⁴ Ibid, pp 4-5.

year 1953. India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, reacted to the American hydrogen bomb test on Bikini atoll with an urgent appeal to stop nuclear testing and start negotiations immediately on an agreement which would end the production and stockpiling of such weapons in 1954. This was the first clue movement of non-alignment. Nehru also appealed for immediate suspension of nuclear weapon tests to ensure to prevent humanity from sliding to the brink of the precipice. India was one of the eight representatives of the Non-Alignment Movement in the Eighteen Nations Disarmament Committee in 1962. In 1963 India was one of the first states to sign the Moscow partial test ban treaty-outlawing surface, atmospheric and subterranean nuclear tests. Independence and development is like oxygen and living things similar with peace and disarmament. Nehru observes, without peace all dreams of development inevitably turn to ashes, so as today India is the leading force in the Non-Alignment Movement, India is in the forefront of the struggle for peace, averting the threat of nuclear destruction and halting the arms race. Indira Gandhi's words of Non-Alignment Movement has become "history's biggest peace movement". In 1978 India took initiative during the first special session of the UN General Assembly to discuss on disarmament. India took a sincere calling upon member-countries of the Non-Alignment Movement and the international community to outlaw the threat of nuclear weapons, also to negotiate a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, to restrict the production of nuclear weapons and fissionable materials for military purpose, and to prevent the development, production and dissemination of all kinds of weapons of mass destructions. In the year 1983 Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi voiced for a summit conference of the non-aligned countries. During the 38th session of the UN General Assembly, she reaffirmed her dedication to the ideas of détente and peaceful solution of disputes through negotiations.³⁵

India as a country makes effort to mobilize the world opinion for disarmament and halting of the arm race by issuing an appeal on 22nd May 1984, together with Argentina, Mexico, Greece, Sweden and Tanzania to the five nuclear powers. The proposal was successfully adopted at a meeting in Delhi Six the capital of India on 28th January 1985. The general secretary of CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev noted: "The proposals expressed in the documents adopted by the six

³⁵ Ibid, pp 5- 7.

countries and the Soviet proposals point in the same direction.” The ultimate goal was to rid the world of all nuclear weapons.³⁶

India and Soviet Union expressed its concerns about the continuity of arms race, particularly in the nuclear field and its mounting danger to the outer space. On 27th November, 1986 Delhi's Declaration on the principles of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence was adopted during Gorbachev's official visit to India, it paved the “new political thinking” which made the emergence of the response to the needs of an age free of nuclear and cosmic violence. It shows the inviolability of the sovereignty of states where the democratic spirit rule the international community in peaceful coexistence based on mutual tolerance of various socio- economic systems. Further, it also declares that the balance of nuclear terror must be replaced by a comprehensive system of global security and, as a matter of urgency, called for the substitution of trust and mutual understanding for fear and suspicion. In fact, the Delhi Declaration creates the ethic of new development for international relations.³⁷

The Delhi Declaration was a restructuring of international relations and a world free of nuclear weapons committed to non-violence and the assurance of the Action Plan specified to eliminate the nuclear armouries by 2010. The Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi expressed his country's belief that humanity have a chance to survive into the third millennium when an idea of abundance of a “peace which rests on the search for parity of power” in favour of a course “signposted by the doctrine of peaceful co-existence”. The theories like “a balance of power” and nuclear deterrence involves an increasing danger of human self-destruction. This is how Rajiv Gandhi appealed the international community to negotiate a binding commitment to general and complete disarmament.³⁸

India's Action Plan is to eliminate all forms of nuclear weapons in three stages by 2010. In the first stage, liquidation of short and medium range rocket systems is to be followed by a 50 per cent cut in Soviet and U.S. strategic arsenals. All the production of nuclear weapons and weapons-grade fissionable material must cease immediately. A moratorium on the testing of

³⁶ Ibid, p 7.

³⁷ Ibid, pp 7.

³⁸ Ibid, p 8.

nuclear weapons is to be agreed, with immediate effect, it is on to the set of negotiation of a comprehensive test ban treaty. The nuclear weapons should be divested of its legitimacy by the negotiation of an international convention, which outlaws the threat, or use of such weapons. A moratorium would be imposed on developing, testing and deploying space weapons systems, and the United Nations would evolve a new strategic doctrine of non-provocative defence. India's diplomacy has become a new structure of international relations sustaining a world without nuclear weapons based on the principle of co-existence, non-use of force, non-intervention in the internal affairs of others countries. Besides, it is also non-first use where to maintain its security from deterrence from others. Nehru maintained, The alternative to co-existence is co-destruction.

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Struggle for peace, disarmament, development and independence is indivisible in the perspective of India. Economic and politically power strives for stronger and greater power in the nuclear age with development and progress. Again, disarmament also channels substantial resources and development in particular. ⁴⁰

India had no traditional rivalries with other countries and could look at the world free from complexes and prejudices. The foreign policy determines and influences, at times, by circumstances over which the national Government has no control. Indeed, the factors which govern the foreign policy of a country are numerous. However, the most important of these are historical, geographical, political, strategic and economic. It is to say, national interest self-interest should be India's first concern.

Traditions and Values of India's Foreign Policy

Foreign policy reflects and forms from human behaviour, social life and attitude of every individual and state in general. The social values, beliefs, norms, attitudes, and practices transmitted through successive generations could be regarded as esteemed and adopted.

The first Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru an architect of independent India's foreign policy said:

³⁹ Ibid, p 8.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p 9.

*Though... the long ages have accumulated and covered up the ancient Indian culture with a heap of "dust" and sometimes "filth", yet the old Indian civilization is the basis of Indian life even today.... In a sense, we in India are heirs to these thousands of years.*⁴¹

The foreign affairs of India where Jawaharlal Nehru remarks, on some occasions, "looking back", "India's policy has not been some sudden bright inspiration of an individual but a gradual growth evolving from even before independence. The inevitable line that we took subsequently has followed that thinking as a matter of course". In the view of Nehru, India's foreign policy has two aspects, viz the "positive aspect of peace" and desire to promote "a larger degree of cooperation among nations", this could indirectly and directly impact India's past reflection to the formulation of foreign policy.⁴²

India's Perspective on Religion in the Trend of Foreign Policy

There is no specific religion or ethic sanctioned for uniformity and regimentation of thinking and behaviour. The Buddhist literature highlights a state *ruled* by one person, but such a rule has to be established by love rather than force. In the concept of rules which means through love as a king of righteousness (dharma raja) who promotes non- violence and enforces non- stealing and conquers the whole earth by his spiritual influence. The Buddha conceived of himself similar to the principle of *chakravartin*. Similarly, Jesus Christ himself is the king of peace and goodwill.⁴³

Christianity has a unique principle and it differs from Buddhism and Hinduism in spreading the message of love and peace and to serve humanity even in the time of violence and war. Like St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Francis of Assisi encouraged the crusades. The ethical core of a Christian state is to fight against the heathens and the infidels.

⁴¹ Nalini Kant Jha (2006) "Traditional Foundations of Nehru's Foreign Policy in Contemporary Context", *India Quarterly*, Vol. LXII, No January- March. pp 81-82

⁴² Ibid p 83.

⁴³ Ibid, p 104.

India's foreign policy follows the trend of friendly relations to all neighbouring countries and to all states. Every religion is based on love and compassion where India's foreign policy stands for self-defence, keeping away from deterrence through national capability like nuclear power.⁴⁴

The traditional values and religious perspectives on India's foreign policy reflect the Indian constitution. Article 51 describes, "promotion of international peace and security. The State shall endeavour to:

- a. promote international peace and security;
- b. maintain just and honourable relations between nations;
- c. foster respect for international law treaty obligations in the dealings of organised people with one another; and
- d. encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration."⁴⁵

Preamble of the constitution of India, Fundamental Rights and Fundamental Duties enshrines the people of the global state and the citizen of India in particular. The spirit of fundamental rights is the natural rights that strengthens and enforces Human Rights in the enlightenment era of the world.

Changing Dimensions of India's Foreign Policy: From Cold War to the Present

During the Cold War period India's foreign policy has been governed by a persistent belief in nonalignment with two blocs, although it has always been somewhat closer to the Soviet Union; with the collapse of superpower rivalry, its foreign policy is in increasing disarray. Relations with the United States have varied from strained to warm but have never been overly warm. Since partition, relations between India and Pakistan have been especially strained and embittered, principally over the long standing territorial dispute over Jammu and Kashmir. Armed conflict over that region in 1947- 1948 resulted in the division of Kashmir into Pakistan held and Indian held sectors. There was renewed armed conflict in 1965 and again in 1971 when, following a political crisis in East Pakistan, Indian intervention led to the creation of Bangladesh.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p 105.

⁴⁵ P.M. Bakshi (2005), "*The Constitution of India*", Universal Law Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd. C-FF-1A, Ansal's Dilkhush Industrial Estate, G.T. Karnal Road, Delhi- 110033., p 91.

Despite periodic efforts to improve relations, tensions persist. India also has an outstanding territorial dispute with China involving 37,500 square kilometers (14,500 sq. mi.) of territory in the Aksai Chin area of Kashmir and 93,250 square kilometers (36,000 sq. mi.) of territory in Arunachal Pradesh. The dispute escalated into a military conflict in 1962, and relations have been strained ever since. During the 1980s, India emerged as a major actor in South Asia. It intervened in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and is trying to bring about multilateral cooperation in South Asia under the auspices of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.⁴⁶

The Trend of Non- Alignment as India's Foreign Policy

“Non-alignment has never been defined precisely, authoritatively and comprehensively,” M. S. Rajan

Non- alignment became the logical framework of India's foreign policy. An independent foreign policy responded to the conscious and sub- conscious urges of the people, imparted a sense of pride and belonging and helped cement the unity of the country, for this foreign policy secured a consensus and was taken out of the ambit of day-to-day politicking. The intrusion of foreign policy into domestic policy would have vitiated the domestic situation, divided the people and created new tensions in the country. Through the adoption of a policy of independence, support to the anti-imperialist struggles elsewhere and through a policy of promoting peace in the world, Jawaharlal Nehru took foreign policy out of the vortex of domestic politics and made it subserve the cause of unification and stability in the country.

The non- aligned movement historically grew out of the immediate need after World War II to avoid bloc division and resist pressures by big powers for alignment; and undoubtedly this remained a powerful motivating force for the non-aligned countries, but the non-aligned movement spawned an entire historical epoch and went far beyond a mere staying out of military blocs. It was not a search for equidistance or neutrality, although individual countries might have thought only in those terms. The non-aligned movement came to stand for a struggle for

⁴⁶ Pratap Mehta, Atul Kohli (1993) “Foreign Policy”, *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* ed. Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph, Miles Kahler, Georges Nzongola- Ntalaja, Barbara B. Stalling, Margaret Weir, p 418.

strengthening the independence of the newly emerging countries and against colonialism and imperialism. Militarism blocs were also a manifestation of colonialism in a new garb. Military blocs were apart, the non-aligned movement's struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, racialism and for peaceful co-existence and the right of small countries to determine and shape their own future defined the parameters of India's foreign policy.⁴⁷

Nehru also felt that as a non-aligned country India would be able to secure assistance from both sides in the Cold War and at the same time maintain its self-respect, which was vital for securing its long-term interests. Nehru remarks, even in accepting economic help, or in getting political help, it is not a wise policy to put all our eggs in one basket. Nor should we get help at the cost of our self-respect.⁴⁸

While sticking to certain fundamentals like non-alignment with any Power blocs, opposition to imperialism and racialism, and active interest in issues involving world peace and freedom, Nehru was all the time watching the changing international situation and adapting India's foreign policy to it so as best to serve both India's interests and the cause of world peace and freedom in which he passionately believed. While the fundamentals of his foreign policy are generally well understood, few have noticed the changes in that policy, which had imperceptibly been taking place without, of course, any change in the fundamentals.

Non-alignment's aim was to strengthen international peace, not through division of the world, but through the expansion of the areas of freedom, independence and cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.⁴⁹

India's trilateral relationship rested firmly on the foundation of non-alignment. Non-alignment gave sum and substance to India's foreign policy and enhanced India's leverage in the international community dominated by the two big powers. It also provided a useful shield in relations with the two big powers. India's own experience had demonstrated the soundness of

⁴⁷ Ibid, pp 4-5.

⁴⁸ Bimal Prasad (1979) "*An Overview*," India's Foreign Policy, ed. Bimal Prasad, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 26- A Mayapuri, New Delhi 110064, p 485.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p 493.

this policy as well as mutual need of India and the non-aligned for each other. This was again highlighted at the time of the meeting of the Seventh Non-aligned Summit.

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) had expanded phenomenally. From a handful in 1950-51 it had taken on the shape of an Afro-Asian conclave in the sixties, and had gone on to become a global movement in the eighties straddling across the four continents. It now gathered within its folds a hundred countries from virtually every geographical region.⁵⁰

Foreign policy being a dependable variable is conditioned by a large number of factors. Among such mixed determinants of foreign policy, domestic factors are particularly important. A State's external behaviour is, of course, conditioned by the international system. The range of choices and emphases within these limits is however, wide. Accordingly, the goals, content and conduct of that behavior are to a significant extent shaped by the domestic context out of which it arises. The domestic sources of foreign policy are so numerous that the task of tracing the way in which they guide that policy constitutes a profound theoretical challenge. It requires nothing less than the application of a comprehensive multi-disciplinary approach to know how the domestic physical, socio-cultural and politico-economic environment of a country moulds its foreign policy.

It is remarkable that experts on foreign policy analysis have been unable to arrive at a consensus on what foreign policy is. Hugh Gibson defines as, "A well rounded comprehensive *plan* based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of Government with rest of the world." On the other hand, George Modelski defines foreign policy as the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other States and for adjusting their own *activities* to the international environment. Joseph Frankel writes that foreign policy "consists of *decisions and actions*, which involve to some appreciable extent relations between one State and other."

Three conceptions in the sequence or phases of foreign policy behaviour through which foreign policy elites link their States to events and situations abroad are:

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp 60- 61.

- (i) their general attitudes, conceptions and orientations;
- (ii) content, that is, concrete plans and commitments regarding foreign policy; and
- (iii) implementation of those plans. It is this sense, that foreign policy represents the external aspect of a country's public policy.

Foreign policy objectives are supposed to be tailored by elites of a country in a manner that may protect and further interests of that country, one often finds a reference to a general and ambiguous term such as national interest in any study of foreign policy. It is the national interest defines this concept that some critics have declared it as not only a vague and meaningless formula, but also a pseudo theory.

Foreign policy, on the other hand, is usually executed through persuasion, negotiations and compromise or in some cases coercion; and foreign States or international organizations have no obligation to collaborate except as their own interests or rules dictate. Foreign policy may be addressed principally to domestic interest groups, but so long as it carries some minimum intention and recognition of external orientation, it may be considered foreign policy.

The intimacy of relationship between a country's domestic situation and foreign policy has received scholars' attention to some extent since ancient time. Plato in his writings in as early as 400 B.C. visualized the linkage between production of too much wealth within a country and that country's involvement in foreign wars.⁵¹

Three aspects of the Indian geography merit: its location and frontiers, size and climate, and natural resources. India's strategic location at the centre of the great Asian arch and on the⁵² Indian Ocean has made it inevitable from ancient times that she should play a vital role in the history of Asia and the World. Jawaharlal Nehru told the members of the Constituent Assembly on 8th March 1949: "If you have to consider any question concerning South-East Asia, you

⁵¹ Nalini Kant Jha (2002), "*Domestic Imperatives in Foreign Policy: Theoretical Framework*," Domestic Imperatives in India's Foreign Policy, South Asian Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 50 Sidharth Enclave, P.O. Jangpura, New Delhi 110014, pp 1- 5.

⁵² Nalini Kant Jha (2002), "*Domestic Imperatives in India's Foreign Policy: An Overview*," Domestic Imperatives in India's Foreign Policy, South Asian Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 50 Sidharth Enclave, P.O. Jangpura, New Delhi 110014, pp 30- 31.

cannot do so without India. So also with the Far East. While the Middle East may not be directly connected with South- East Asia, both are connected with India.” Further, Nehru also observed: “Whichever problem in Asia you make take up, somehow to other India comes into the picture... She cannot be ignored, because as I said, her geographical position is a compelling reason....”⁵³

India's strategic location on the Indian Ocean and its peninsular character with extensive and open coastline make it dependent on the Indian Ocean. It will be a very long time before air power, whether commercial or military, can make a major difference in this basic situation. The rise of any hostile power with access to the Indian Ocean would not only disrupt our foreign trade which depends upon freedom of the Indian Ocean but also undermine our global importance and jeopardize our security. The logic of strategic location, therefore, inevitably makes India a sea- fearing nation. In view of the importance of the Indian Ocean for India, it is not surprising that it has raised voice against the American presence in this area and it has been demanding that this area should be converted into a zone of peace.⁵⁴

Apart from India's strategic location, the fact that India is the seventh largest state in the world having the total area of 1,232,060 sq miles extending some 2,000 miles from north to south and about 1,850 miles from east to west is not without considerable geo-political significance.⁵⁵

India's enormous and fast increasing population has tended to reduce rather than strengthen its foreign policy capabilities by retarding the rate of its economic growth and contributing to scarcity of resources for investment, military equipment, food, etc., and thereby making India upon foreign sources.⁵⁶

The water resources of India are also immense for development of irrigation and hydroelectric energy. India is also one of the world's largest growers of cotton and sugarcane. She ranks high in the production of lac, hides and skins, tea and a number of other raw materials.⁵⁷

⁵³ Ibid. p 31

⁵⁴ Ibid, p 31.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 32.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p 33.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

India's Foreign Policy Tends on Social Structure

A vast country with an equally large population, India is almost a world in miniature. It has a large variety of social, religious, linguistic, regional groups and a great amount of diversity in political opinions and economic interests. Prior to the advent of the British rule in India, various regions had different historical experiences. Although the subcontinent came less than one umbrella during the British rule, yet even at that time, diversities in terms of regional development and in terms of benefits enjoyed by the English-knowing elite and non-English-knowing peoples continued.

For a variety of geographical, cultural and communication reasons, peoples in different regions of India look at the nation in peculiar ways. For instance, peoples in the north, especially in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir identify themselves with those from the Central Asian culture. Their styles of dress, food habits and artistic and cultural heritage reinforce their believes In some ways, they have more in common with adjoining foreign nations than with their own countrymen from such areas as Bengal and Tamil Nadu. This compliment is more or less returned by the peoples of Bengal and Tamil Nadu in their attitude towards the peoples of the northern states.

India's foreign policy (as also domestic policy), must, therefore, be fully geared to the complex task of integrating the diverse socio-cultural fringes of its population. The recruitment of foreign policy to this task of nation building demands that foreign policy must be based on a broad consensus. This compulsion, along with the earlier discussed traits of Indian culture, explains why Indian leaders tried to refrain from embarking on radical shifts in not only domestic but in foreign policy as well. In other words, India's domestic diversity, when projected into foreign affairs, inevitably led to a policy which could neither be pro-US nor pro-Communist.⁵⁸

India and Afghanistan

The Afghanistan policy got caught up for a short while in the confusion of the political transition in India. Mrs Gandhi's Government had just been back into power after nearly there years in the

⁵⁸ Ibid. pp 46- 47.

political wilderness and was swamped by a host of problems, internal and external. The first immediate responses were not necessarily the best thought-out. The first statement of the new Government at the UN Security Council created some flutters and tended to give the impression that India had no particular objection to the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan. Much of the misunderstanding was due to confusion in the changeover and soon enough the contours of the policy towards this region came into clearer focus.

A considerable segment of opinion believed that it was not in India's interests to work for a situation in which the Kabul Government was just to be replaced by a fundamentalist regime or by fanatical, communalist elements supported by Pakistan. The substitution of a pro-Pakistan, pro-US, pro- China regime could not be considered an advance. The alliance of the landlord, the mullah and *qazi* in power was not a very attractive alternative.

India's approach to the problem of Afghanistan encompassed the following premises. India was generally opposed to foreign troops going into other countries. India acknowledged the Soviet assertion that Moscow had been requested by the Kabul Government to send Soviet troops for assistance to the revolutionary forces in power in Kabul and the right of a country to invite such assistance. However, India's position on the undesirability of Soviet troops remaining in Afghanistan was made repeatedly clear. In a statement to the Lok Sabha on 12th June, 1980, the External Affairs Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao said that India's position regarding Afghanistan is well-known. We do not approve the presence of foreign troops or bases in another country. As such we felt that Afghanistan should maintain its sovereign, independent and non-aligned status. Afghanistan should also be assured of cessation and non-continuance of external intervention or interference against it.⁵⁹

India and Bangladesh

The Ganges is an international river. Originating in the womb of the great Himalayas system, the Ganges flows successively across the territories of Nepal, India and Bangladesh and finally

⁵⁹ V.P. Dutt (1997) "*The Setting and India's Trilateral Relationship*," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, pp56- 58.

enters into the Bay of Bengal. A long-standing dispute over the allocation of the Ganges dry season flow between India and Bangladesh has been going on since 1951. In international river basin system, upstream states are, by virtue of their geographical location, in an advantageous position to control the supplies of common waters. They usually, but not always, claim complete territorial dominion over the water of an international river while flowing across their territories. Downstream states, which by reason of their location are placed in a disadvantageous position, assert their rightful share to the same water system. They invoke that riparians have only a limited territorial jurisdiction over common waters. This has precisely happened in case of the Ganges.

The Ganges water dispute involves, *inter alia*, the international legal question of the territorial supremacy of riparians on an international river while flowing through their national boundaries. The crux of the problem is whether riparians have absolute or limited sovereignty over the sections of an international river under their territorial control.

The absolute territorial sovereignty of a state implies that there is no legally organized human authority except and above that state which is competent to regulate its affairs. This omnipotence of a state allows it to exercise supreme power over all components of its territory. The legal regime governing its territory cannot be based other than on full ownership.

The freedom of action of the riparians over the Ganges within their territories is also limited by the principles of integrity, reciprocity and good neighbourliness. Article 2 (4) and 74 of the UN charter respectively recognize the principle of territorial integrity of a state and of good neighbourliness. One of the sanctions that ensure the observance of these principles is rule of reciprocity. Max Huber points out that in addition to the principle of territorial sovereignty emphasized by Harmon, it is imperative to reckon with another equally worthy principle, that of territorial integrity.

The concept of state sovereignty from the national frontier point of view, as it is commonly understood and applied, is no longer absolute. States recognize their interdependence and realize

that the theoretical notion of unfettered sovereignty is in practice qualified by numerous socio-economic, political and cultural factors. Yet, in the course of diplomatic negotiations in the event of international river disputes, riparians, particularly the upstream riparians, still make extreme claims for legality of their liberty to act as they please with the section of common waters in their territory irrespective of the effects of such use on downstream, riparians. But, upstream riparians have not behaved in accordance with the principle they profess and have eventually settled their common water disputes in a moderate's way on the basis of shared enjoyment and mutual accommodation. The physical unity of the Ganges and the dependence of the riparians on the river and its resources create a regime of mutual interdependence and reciprocal obligations among the riparians in exploiting the river. Consequently, the exercise of absolute territorial sovereignty over the Ganges is neither possible nor desirable. Since the Ganges is essentially an international river of common interest, international law imposes certain restrictions upon the freedom of action of the riparians with the segments of the Ganges within their territories.⁶⁰

The most critical and the most dangerous challenge to India came with the Bangladesh crisis. After the partition of India, Pakistan was comprised of two regions, in the north, West Punjab, Singh, Baluchistan and the North Western Frontier Province, and the east, East Bengal which came to be known as East Pakistan. There was no common border and movement between them could either depend on a long circuitous sea or airway between hundreds of miles of Indian territory. The only thing common was religious faith among the majority population. This was a highly unnatural phenomenon.

The people in East Bengal were roused in revolt against the effort to suppress their cultural moorings and their language, Bengali, and to impose upon them the Urdu-dominated culture of West Pakistan. This combined with economic discrimination and the lack of development was producing a highly explosive situation. The increasing bitterness can be understood if it is recalled that the majority of Pakistan's population lived in East Pakistan. A major political party, the Awami League, emerged to articulate the aspirations of the people of East Bengal and the

⁶⁰ M. Rafiqul Islam (1997) "The Territorial Sovereignty of India and Bangladesh over the Ganges," *Encyclopaedia of SAARC Nations*," Volume 4, ed. Verinder Grover, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 543-544, 558- 559, 563- 564.

demand for autonomy became widespread among the people there and came to be the official plank of the Awami League.

The ominous portents for India were already visible on the horizon. Within eight weeks, three and half million people came in an endless trek day and night. They came from all social classes and communities, peasants, labourers, middle class, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, men, women and *children victims of terror across the frontier*. A most serious situation was arising for India. There appeared to be a deliberate policy pursued by the West Pakistani rulers not only to stamp out all dissidence but also to drive it out and away into India in an indiscriminate swoop down on the people of East Bengal. As Mrs Gandhi said in a statement in the Lok Sabha that there could be no military solution and that must be created for their safe return to their homes and lands.

The gravest threat to independent India's security, stability, polity and foreign policy had been posed. It becomes a question of survival as a secular, democratic country, in fact even as a going concern. India sounded the alarm signals appealed to world opinion to exercise pressure on the military rulers of Pakistan, but the world response was tardy and inadequate.⁶¹

A new situation was emerging in South Asia. A US-China-Pakistan relationship was beginning to emerge, while in East Bengal an elemental resistance of West Punjab dominance was brewing which was to draw the Soviet Union and India much closer, establishing a new relationship of trust and confidence and awareness of the identity of interests of the two. The Bangladesh events created a new crisis in Indo-US relationship too, it came at a time when the American administration was set on a new course of developing a new balance of relationship in Asia, with a relationship with China at the centre of the new strategic concept.⁶²

The most critical crisis in Indo-Pak relations came over the upsurge in East Pakistan and the emergence of Bangladesh. The background to the crisis, however, had little to do with India but its maturing and consequences become intimately involved with Indo-Pak relations.

⁶¹ Ibid pp 42- 44

⁶² V.P. Dutt (1997) "*The Big Powers: India and the United States*," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, p100.

Psychologically, emotionally and even physically, East Bengal's participation in the Muslim League's concepts and politics even before partition and in the emergence of Pakistan was minimal. The Muslims of East Bengal were the least identified with the struggle for Pakistan, notwithstanding the communal riots on the eve of independence.⁶³

The emergence of Bangladesh was an event of major importance in the subcontinent. For the people of Bangladesh it was the end of a nightmare of terror and torture, a reassertion of their individuality and personality, and an opportunity to decide their own future development. For India it was a major victory of democratic secularism. The politics of hate and violence had been rejected and one more country in the region had opted for democracy and secularism. India and Bangladesh in friendship and on the basis of mutuality of interests and equality of relationship could help create conditions of peace and security in the subcontinent, promote the development and welfare of the people of these two countries, concentrate their resources on fighting poverty, disease and ignorance which were the real enemies, set an example for Pakistan and invite the people of that country too to join in this endeavour. The rise of Bangladesh was seen as a critical catalyst in the process of establishing new relationships and turning back from the path of religious fanaticism, obscurantist politics and ruinous local conflicts and wars.⁶⁴

India and Bhutan

Indians have been settled in Bhutan along the foot of the Bhutan hills since the early eighteenth century, not always by choice but mostly for political and administrative reasons. Some of them appear to have migrated far inside the Bhutan hills for protection from invaders. It is because all the eighteen Duars of Assam and Bengal plains suffered repeated Muslim invasions since the thirteenth century and for some time the entire territory was forcefully occupied by Bhutan also, though the inhabitants were non- Bhutanese, i.e., Toto, Mech. Coch, Rajbansi, immigrant Bengalis and Assamese having no ethnic affinity with the Bhutanese. This situation has been modified by the Indo- Bhutan Friendship. Treaty of 1949 and Indian government but it was also encouraged for diverse reasons. The more India economically supported Bhutan since 1961 the

⁶³ V.P. Dutt (1997) "*The Neighbours: Pakistan- A Historical Struggle*," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, p 200.

⁶⁴ V.P. Dutt (1997) "*The Neighbours: Bangladesh and Nepal*," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, p 233.

more the presence of Indian technical personal was felt in the Bhutan proper. What follows in this study is to examine their history, change of nationality and their problems.⁶⁵

Over the past many years, Indo- Bhutanese relations have been extremely cordial. They are now getting even firmer.

Bhutan has remained in isolation in order to keep the sanctity of its tradition and culture free from outside influences. The desire to zealously guard the virginity of the land was aided by the topography of the region. But, if it gained something from the self- imposed isolation, it also lost as it remained in a state of stagnation for centuries. Before 1960 it was almost unknown to the outside world.

During Bhutan's period of isolation, the winds of progress were shunned. The life style of the people remained outdated. Hospitals and schools were of a conventional nature. And yaks and ponies were the modes of travel. The barter system was common as the kingdom had had no monetary system. The entire economy was based on agriculture.

Bhutan slowly realized that it was being left far behind in the development race. The close existence was out of tune with the changing times.⁶⁶

The legend of Sindhu Raja of Bumthang and his battiest with Na'u- che (Big Nose), a neighbouring Indian ruler, warns "that if Mon (Bhutan) succeeds all to India will be conquered, if India succeeds all of Mon will be conquered." The warning was really an exhortation to peace; it persuaded the two princes to meet under Gutu Padma Sambhava's benign aegis and swear everlasting amity at the oath stone pillar which was thereafter known as Powerless since the

⁶⁵ Tapas K. Roy Choudhury (1997) "Indian Immigration in Bhutan," *Encyclopaedia of SAARC Nations*," Volume 6, ed. Verinder Grover, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 473- 474.

kings relinquished their own power for the sake of external friendship between the two countries.⁶⁷

India and Maldives

Mr Zaki sees no menace to any one from India's nuclear test. As he said at his banquet to Mrs Gandhi, "I do not for a moment believe that the possession of nuclear power by India means any threat to any one." On the contrary, India can be a great help to the whole of Asia in the effort to accelerate economic development. He, therefore, conveyed to Mrs Gandhi his "sincere congratulations for India having become a nuclear power."

India's assistance may prove useful in transport and communications. Indian engineers have already set up a radio telegraphic link between Male and Mumbai (formerly Bombay). Along with the commercial circuit with Colombo in operation since October 1974, this links the republic with the international communications network thus providing immediate benefits to the shipping and tourist industries. New Delhi has also undertaken to have the feasibility of a regular air link between Trivandrum and Male examined by the Indian Airlines (IA). Again, India is among the countries bidding for a contract for the expansion of the Hulule airport which is to be financed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

These marked the beginnings of a new and closer relationship between India and the Maldives.⁶⁸

India and Nepal

India's policy towards Nepal has been largely influenced by the consideration of its security interest. The former has for long explicitly included Nepal within its frontier security system. As

⁶⁷ Sunanda K. Datta-Ray (1997) "India's Closest Friend: Ancient Oath on Ties with Bhutan," *Encyclopaedia of SAARC Nations*, Volume 6, ed. Verinder Grover, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 518.

⁶⁸ Dilip Mukerjee (1997) "India and Maldives: A New and Closer Relationship," *Encyclopaedia of SAARC Nations*, Volume 7, ed. Verinder Grover, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 184, 189.

early as March 1950, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, held that India's security has linked with Nepal's, when he stated in Parliament:

It is not necessary for us to have a military alliance with Nepal.... But apart from any pact on alliance, the fact remains that we sub- continent. Any possible invasion of Nepal would inevitably involve the safety of India.

Nehru further explained the indivisibility of Indo- Nepali security in a speech in Parliament on 6th December:

From time immemorial the Himalayas have provides us a magnificent frontier. Of course, they are no longer as impassable as they used to be but they are still fairly effective. We cannot allow the barrier to be penetrated, for it is also the principal barrier to India. Much as we stand for the independence of Nepal we cannot allow anything to go wrong in Nepal or permit that barrier to be crossed or weakened, because that would be a risk to our own security.

The Treaty of Peace and Friendship which was signed between India and Nepal in July 1950 and the "letters of exchange" that accompanied the treaty make the two countries, to all intends and purposes, quasi- aligned. According to Article 2 of the treaty, both India and Nepal would engage "to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with neighbouring state likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two governments."

The letters exchanged along with the treaty further stipulated: "Neither Government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor. To deal with any such threat, the two Governments shall consult with each other and devise effective counter measures." Besides, the 1950 also enjoins close cooperation between the two countries in the field of their economic and industrial development. According to Article 6, each country undertakes to give to the nationals of the other preferential treatment in "the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development."⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Kapilleshwar Labh (1997) "India and Nepal's Zone of Peace Proposal," *Encyclopaedia of SAARC Nations*," Volume 5, ed. Verinder Grover, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 342-343.

India and Nepal to whom the analogy about the lips and the teeth applies so demonstrably and aptly. One look at the map brings home the inevitable intimacy of their relationship. The two countries have been bound together by history, geography, kinship, religion, faith, cultural legacy and linguistic affinity. It is as if when *God* created India *he* worked upto Saturday and then resting on Sunday began creating again thinking *he* had not finished *his* work on Saturday, but by then *he* had created Nepal and was undecided whether to leave them as two countries or join them together as one. India does not naturally end where Nepal begins. The natural frontier is the Himalayas that surround Nepal on three sides, leaving the only outlet the continuous territory with India. The two have shared their mythology of the Himalayas and their reverence for those tall forbidding mountains.

Indo- Nepalese relations assumed even greater significance from the point of view of India's defence and security. In the post-War and post-Independence era, Indo-Nepalese relations were essentially based on the Treaty of Peace and Friendship concluded on 31st July, 1950. The treaty also provided that Nepal would consult India before importing any war equipment from any country other than India but gave the right to Nepal after such consultation to import from or through the territory of India arms, ammunition, or warlike material and equipment necessary for the security of Nepal.

Jawaharlal was very clear in his mind that, although it was a buffer state, Nepal must enjoy all the attributes of sovereignty and independence. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship itself began with the acknowledgement of the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Nepal.⁷⁰

India and Pakistan

India and Pakistan did come into conflict quite early as independent countries and this had a visible impact on Indian foreign policy. Subsequently, China too fell out with India and Indo-Pak relationship became a part of the Sino-Indian syndrome. Inevitably, these hostilities affected virtually every aspect of our foreign policy with long-term consequences, and even more long-

⁷⁰ V.P. Dutt (1997) "*The Neighbours: Bangladesh and Nepal*," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, pp 252- 255.

term images in our minds which almost became a part of a fairly common and general Indian outlook, even though sometimes certain important sections differed from them. And of course their impingement on our relations with our other neighbours was very considerable.

The Indo-Pakistan relationship is a complex mix of national prejudices, inflated psyche, injured ego and plain rivalry. This was rooted in the history of partition and the manner in which the subcontinent was divided into two separate countries in which major roles were played by the imperialist policy of divide and rule of the British, the growing awakening of the Muslim middle class and the fear of the Muslim landlords of Hindu dominance, the spread of petty middle-class Hindu chauvinism symbolized by the Hindu Sabha and the RSS, and the diffidence of the Congress leadership in the face of these challenges to seriously struggle for the support of the Muslim masses.

The impulse and much of the enthusiasm for partition was provided by the Muslim elite of UP and Punjab (Some from UP migrated to Pakistan subsequently). In fact very soon after partition West Punjab came to provide largely the ruling class of Pakistan and came to consider it almost its natural right to rule Pakistan. West Punjab consequently came to dominate the other regions of Pakistan. The most anomalous feature of Pakistan was its composition: two parts, East and West, separated by a thousand-mile territory of another country, India. Their language was different, their sub- culture, if use that term, divergent. In addition there were other important linguistic and regional groups in West Pakistan, Sindhis, Baluchis and Pathans.

Its inception Pakistan's paramount problem has been that of identity and integration. Religion provided the impulse for separation and formation of the State, but by itself could not resolve the problem of identity or of development and to keep the country emotionally integrated. The Bengali Muslim had little in common except religion with his counterpart in West Punjab and the Pathan and the Baluchi and even the Sindhi Muslim increasingly chaffed at the Panjabi Muslim's dominance.

The Indo-Pak situation was the conviction of the West Punjab ruling elite that it was superior, certainly, in no way inferior, to the *Hindu* ruling elite of India and must match its will and resolve with that of India. The urge for parity with India was deep and compulsive. The enmities

and jealousies that the Indo-Pak relationship witnessed were an investable part of the psychology of separation and division.

India was the chief antagonist almost in the act of birth of the two states. Here was nothing that India did that Pakistan could not and should do better. The question of accepting to lay a smaller country's role in relation to India did not arise. No sacrifice was too small; every effort was but towards achieving equality with India. Security considerations were overlaid with a strong sense of rivalry and competition.

In Pakistan the State was founded on religion and it became its *raison d'être*. India moved forward towards a parliamentary democracy; Pakistan towards initially bureaucratic and subsequently military dictatorship. Noisy and often chaotic Indian democracy stood in contrast with the discipline and order of Pakistan. But above all the sense of rivalry, the fears, and the anxieties dominated Indo-Pak relationship.

All the problems were symbolized in the Kashmir tangle which plagued the relations between the two since Pakistan-trained tribesmen invaded the State in 1948, followed by large elements of Pakistan's armed forces and occupied a part of it, but were frustrated in their effort to take the entire valley by storm by the Indian troops which were hastily airlifted to Srinagar, the capital, just before it could be run over by the invading forces.

Pakistan's search for security and for parity with India has also led to divergent foreign policy perceptions and equally divergent goals in foreign policy. If India tried to block foreign intervention in the region, Pakistan invited it to get even with India.

India and Pakistan were set upon opposite directions. India towards non-alignment, Pakistan towards alignment India towards minimizing foreign intervention, Pakistan towards maximizing it. Pakistan's urge for standing on the same mountain top as India and its continuing crisis of identity lent a particularly explosive dimension to the two neighbours' mutual dealings. It is in this setting that relations in the period under study have to be surveyed.⁷¹

⁷¹ V.P. Dutt (1997) "*The Neighbours: Pakistan- A Historic Struggle*," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, pp182-187.

India and Sri Lanka

The Indo- Ceylon question, the issue has been a colonial legacy; its beginning can be traced back to the 1820's. As an issue Indo- Ceylonese relations, however, it assumed significance in 1920's, when the number of non- official members began to increase in the legislatures of both the countries. With the growth of the elective elements in the political life in India and Ceylon, popular national interests began to emerge as major determinants in national politics. The nationalist leaders of both the countries were prone to define their attitude towards this question in terms which tended to diverge and conflict.⁷²

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka can be explained by the historical perceptions of the two communities in regard to each other. But, it was only after its independence that the conflict was exacerbated due to certain alienation policies pursued by the governments in power. Most of these policies created a feeling of alienation amongst the minority communities and created a wide gulf between the two communities. The issues of contention between the two communities need not be spelt out in detail here. Tensions were generated over the language issue, policy of land colonization, inadequate access to university admissions, consequent deteriorating employment prospects, and constitutional guarantee to Buddhism.

These policies led the Tamils to demand greater autonomy within a federal system. However, the demands for affirmative discrimination and autonomy later took the form of a demand for secession, due to the reluctance of the state to concede to the legitimate aspirations of the Tamils. Further, State repression resulted in the formation of organized militant groups who took over from the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) leadership of the Tamil people.

Ethnic conflict in any country in South Asia is bound to have a spillover effect on India due to the Indo- centric nature of the region. Therefore, ethnic tensions in any part of South Asia have

⁷² Urmila Phadnis (1997) "The 1964 Indo- Ceylonese Pact and the 'Stateless' Persons in Ceylon," *Encyclopaedia of SAARC Nations*," Volume 3, ed. Verinder Grover, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 501- 502.

always been viewed with concern by India. Developments in Sri Lanka after 1983 turned out to be of grave concern for India.⁷³

India's ties with Sri Lanka (erstwhile Ceylon) are rooted deep in history and mythology. The very characters Lanka, the legendary abode of one of the great mythological characters in Indian folklore and Hindu religion, Ravana, who was an erudite scholarling but under provocation abducted the great Rama's wife Sita during their exile in pursuit of the demands of duty and filial piety. The story is immortalized in *Ramayana*; one of the two most popular and most deeply-believed Indian epics; the other most popular *Mahabharata*, evokes immediate memories. The island just across the southern coast of India and forms part of what we generally refer to as South Asia. Like the northern Hindus and the Muslims of Western Pakistan, the Sinhalese and the Tamilians of the south are hardly distinguishable in their appearance.

The links are close and strong. That does not imply by any means that there have been no problems. Thus persons of Indian origin saw their fate and future oscillate between hope and fear, hope about an honourable existence and secure future and fear of being sacrificed at the alter of Sinhalese chauvinism. There were the Tamilians, who have now proliferated into nearly a million people, who went to Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) in ancient times, some believe even before the Sinhalese inhabited it, now known as Sri Lanka Tamils.⁷⁴

India and China

India and China are the two giants of Asia. In population, human resources, and potential they far outstrip any other country of Asia or even many of them combined. They are the two most populous countries of the world. They carry the weight of proud history stretching into mythology and appear to be both ageless and timeless. They are also neighbours whose inaccessible Himalayan frontiers have been made less forbidding and impenetrable by modern

⁷³ Ajay Darshan Behera (1997) "Mediation to Intervention: India's Role in the Sri Lanka Ethnic Conflict," *Encyclopaedia of SAARC Nations*, Volume 3, ed. Verinder Grover, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F-159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 551.

⁷⁴ V.P. Dutt (1997) "*The Neighbours: China, Sri Lanka and Burma*," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, pp 299- 300.

technology and means of communication and who have been drawn into the maelstrom of world politics in times that have made short shrift of distances and created a more unified world than would have been conceivable at any earlier age.

Geopolitically China enjoyed a certain natural advantage. It virtually looked down upon the hills and plains of India from its higher mountain tops in Tibet and Sinkiang. It put a greater effort from the beginning in fortifying its position in both the Western and Eastern sectors of the boundary, in building roads and network of communications, establishing checkpoints and strengthening its military position in many areas on the borders claimed by it but under dispute with India.

Learning from the lessons of history, Nehru advocated a policy of befriending the Chinese revolution, bring new China into the mainstream of the world community, encouraging contacts, lessening hostiles and suspicions, so that a more normal relationship and more normal world order could be established. This way Nehru hoped to avoid conflict China, to preserve security and peace at the northern borders, to obviate the Chinese revolution going extremes, to end the isolation of China and to prevent a persecution complex from gripping the Chinese leadership and the sowing of the dragon's teeth.

Jawaharlal compromised on some bilateral issues too in the interests of world peace. Very early after independence Tibet cast a cloud over India-China relations. The acceptance of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet and the maintenance of Tibetan autonomy. Once the Chinese were in Tibet, there was no way of ensuring autonomy. It might have been far better for India to offer full acceptance of Chinese sovereignty in return for concessions on the border alignment. If China had declined the proposal, India would have been better prepared for the subsequent conflict.

The cooling of India-China relations was greatly abetted by the developments in Tibet, the Khampa revolt, the flight of the Dalai Lama and the large-scale exodus of Tibetan refugees to India, and the consequent embitterment of relations. In its wake came the border dispute and the 1962 war. Nehru's policy towards China lay in shambles, even though the postulates on which it was founded were not wrong and are still valid. Nehru had not realized the full extent of the change in Chinese foreign policy and its implications, and public opinion in India had been left

totally uneducated by the mass media in this regard; in fact the newspapers made their contribution to the irrational and unrealistic approach on the border conflict at the time.

India believed that China wanted to dominate Asia. As Lal Bahadur Shastri said in Parliament, *To justify its aggressive attitude, China is pretending to be a guardian of Asian countries, who, according to China, are being bullied by India. The basic objective of China is to claim for itself a position of dominance in Asia, which no self-respecting nation in Asia prepared to recognize.* And he added, *We reject the Chinese claim to tell us anything about what we should do or should not do about Kashmir, which is an integral part of India.* In the Indian view, a strong and independent India was probably the *best guarantor of stability in South-east Asia*, Shastri told James Reston of the *New York Times*.⁷⁵

India and China were not only on opposite sides, but conducted themselves almost like the actual adversaries. Chinese commitment to Pakistan was revealed as more fundamental and long-term. Peking carried on a vigorous campaign against India and it was a vocal spokesman of the Pakistan case at the UN.⁷⁶

The Chinese reaction was sharp and angry. It blamed India for the trouble, accused her (not for the first time) of *expansionism* and charged that New Delhi was bullying its neighbours. India was gobbling up Sikkim, had divided Pakistan, was encouraging *anti-national* elements in Nepal and giving protection and succour to Tibetan rebels. It was a *black record* against neighbours. India was warned that the expansionists had never come to any good and that she was dropping a rock only to crush her own toes.

Its reaction was quite critical, yet while all this was going on, a quiet process of probing for the establishment of a more normal relationship was also going on, along with some public exercise on the part of Peking of people- to people diplomacy, and India and China had their own version of the ping pong diplomacy.

⁷⁵Ibid, pp 277- 281.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p 285.

India and Myanmar (formerly Burma)

India has had a peculiar relationship: close and cordial but most unobtrusive and almost untouched, despite the existence of a number of troublesome issues between the two and external danger and internal threat of subversion faced by both, though much more intensely by Myanmar. Essential because Myanmar gradually took a conscious decision to opt out of world politics, ignore even regional pulls and groupings and have as little to do with the world outside as possible. Confronted by the awesome power of China and torn by internal insurgency partially sustained with Chinese support, the Myanmar leaders perhaps came to believe that isolation was the only way to ensure their sovereignty, integrity and stability.⁷⁷

The geographical importance for India of a friendly, independent state of Myanmar is too patent to need restatement. The rest of the world might look upon Myanmar as a South-east Asian state, but for India that country was as much of a South Asian neighbour as the other neighbouring states.⁷⁸

Non-alignment and independence of mind, anti-colonial and anti-racial convictions moulded their policies. Myanmar and India worked together in considerable harmony in international forums, in the non-aligned movement and at Bandung. The philosophy of Buddha in a modern context became a cementing force. Despite many mundane problems (Indians in Myanmar, trade difficulties, boundary differences, etc.) larger interests were to be more decisive determinants.⁷⁹

The profile would hold for a long time and there was no question of any major or demonstrative change. There was hardly any serious national, outstanding issue or problem and the nature of relations between the two was well-understood on both sides and would broadly confirm to the pattern delineated here.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ V.P. Dutt (1997) "*The Neighbours: China, Sri Lanka and Burma*," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, p 336.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p 337.

⁷⁹ Ibid. pp 336- 337

⁸⁰ Partha S. Ghosh (2003) "*Challenges and Opportunities: India Foreign Policy in the 1990s*", South Asia After the Cold War International Perspectives, Ed. by Kanti P.Bajpai and Stephen P. Cohen, Westview Press Boulder San Francisco Oxford, p 105.

The Challenges and opportunities of India's Foreign Policy

India being a large nation, her foreign policy is not easy. It faces international politics as well as strong pressure within the country to demand a drastic reorientation of its external posture. After the Cold War India has to pull and pressure the domestic economic and political setting, in the light of global domestic settings to articulate India's national interest by the dominant elites.⁸¹

The virulent form of terrorism has made the state machinery ineffective in the border states of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and different parts of the country. Moreover, caste conflicts, left-extremism, and student unrest have afflicted a large part of north India and Andhra Pradesh. Again, in the northeastern region bordering Bangladesh, China, and Myanmar, several insurgent and terrorist groups are demanding more and more of the national cake if not total independence.⁸²

In the case of Kashmir, the Indian state is fighting a total alienation of the Muslims in the Valley that, in spite of the best efforts at both the military and political levels, much success has not been achieved. In fact, Pakistan's moral support to the Valley Muslims and its assistance to the extremist groups in terms of arms and money exacerbate the problem. It is a violation of human rights norms, a situation that tends to attract the notice of international civil rights groups to the embarrassment of India.⁸³

North East India is an evolving problem as well as a challenge to national integration. Several insurgent and extremist groups such as the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), the People's Liberation Army (PLA) of Manipur, and the Tripura National Volunteers (TNV), to mention only the most important, are a source of constant worry for the state government and security forces, moreover, it cannot simply ignore local citizen who faces extreme extortion and taxes from insurgents. The problem

⁸¹ Ibid. p 105

⁸² Ibid, p 112.

⁸³ Ibid. p 112

is compounded by the fact that most of these groups have transborder linkages in Bangladesh, China, and Myanmar, either with or without direct patronage from these states.⁸⁴

The beam of economic ties

Among the Third World countries India is a champion of solidarity more in the political sphere, while real economic contacts have always been with the developed world.⁸⁵

In the capacity of Prime Minister of India, P.V. Narasimha Rao who took the opportunity to address the World Economic Forum at Davos in Switzerland with the ostensible idea of luring foreign investors to invest in India. “The liberalization process, Rao said, is irreversible because it’s evolutionary....We are a successful democracy and an outward-looking economy.... I request you to believe a man with twenty-five years of experience in government and a half-century in public service that India’s reforms will not only be carried out but accelerated.”⁸⁶

Political Perspectives

India being a republic democratic state intends and wishes to have friendly relations with all the nation-states and to live in peaceful coexistence. India’s diplomacy and foreign affairs look forward for political strength, economy growth and development among the states. India’s political scenario is to merge with the global moral rights and to fight against anti social elements in the world.

India’s agenda with the world is a security component. International terrorism, democracy, and human rights, secular, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, military strategic cooperation, and so forth are encompassed in the agenda.⁸⁷

India and South East Asia

India’s links with South-east Asia reach back into history and legend. All over South-east Asia one finds numerous symbols of these ancient ties. Indian philosophy, culture, religion,

⁸⁴ Ibid. p 112

⁸⁵ Ibid, p 113.

⁸⁶ Ibid. p 113

⁸⁷ Ibid. p 113

Buddhism, art and architecture, languages, all these left an abiding impact on many countries of South South-east Asia. Indeed, Indian and Chinese cultural influences met in the outer reaches of South-east Asia and you have the interesting phenomenon of Vietnam falling under the sway of Chinese cultural influence in its political institutions, code of ethics and language, but Cambodia coming wholly under India's cultural influence. This influence was also evident in Thailand, Malaysia and parts of Indonesia. These ancient bonds became alive and were reinforced by the emergence of these countries as modern nations.

India's relations with South-east Asia are of abiding importance to her. Next to South Asia, India has vital stakes in South-east Asia whose independence and security are bound up with her own. As Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out, India was the gateway to both West and South-east Asia and, therefore, inevitable came into picture. The independence and security of South-east Asia served to strengthen India's own independence and security and any serious setback there constituted a potential threat to India too.

India's approach towards South-east Asia was marked by two basic postulates. One, that colonialism must go and that all vestiges of imperial rule must be liquidated. Second, that no big or medium power should try to or be allowed to dominate the area in the name of filling the vacuum. Pandit Nehru had once described the vacuum theory as a cloak for imperialism. It was, in fact, an aspect of neocolonialism. The resurgence in Asia was a revolt against Western colonial dominance and an assertion of the urge for independence and development. Strengthening their independence and promoting their economic development was the surest way of warding off external dominance.⁸⁸

A major critical problem India faced during this period was the Bangladesh crisis and the attitude of Malaysia was of importance to her, both because of the close links and because it was a Muslim country. Pakistan made much of the Islamic connection. The complicating aspect of the Bangladesh problem was the fear of secession that haunted most countries with diverse ethnic, linguistic or religious population compositions. It was not easy to carry home the clarification

⁸⁸ V.P. Dutt (1997) "*India and South-east Asia: Duality of Interests*," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, pp 345-346.

that here it was not a simple case of secession, but that of an imposed regime lacking popular sanction, defying the popular verdict and denying the majority of the population of right to rule. It was that majority that had arisen in revolt and was being ruthlessly put down by an illegitimate government.

India's Foreign Policy in Continuity

Foreign policy of any country is formulated in view of the national interest: economic, political, social, military, environmental, demographical etc. and circumstances prevailing inside and outside the country.

The national interest of a country can never be permanent, therefore, the foreign policy of a country is best to be in a state of continuity and change according to the circumstances. Apart from that any nation cannot afford to ignore the past currents like sociological, spiritual and cultural. Nehru remarked in the foreign policy's statement in the Lok Sabha on March 11, 1950 that, it is a policy which flows from our past, from recent history and from our national movement and its development and from various ideals we have proclaimed.

In all ages of foreign policy one cannot keep aside the natural objectives like maintenance of freedom of policy, the promotion of international peace, the emancipation of colonial and dependent territories and the promotion of racial equality. The hidden agenda of the foreign policy of a democratic state cannot achieve the maximum rights of every individual. Freedom and liberty enjoyment is the core of social life's meaning. Every individual can develop into the maximum standard when freedom and liberty empower without harming others. In the absence of international peace the nation cannot develop. Peace is the source of development. Development can take place when peace and tranquility prevails in the country. Universal rights and human dignity is the essence of natural law. Racial discrimination is a stumble for development and peace in the country. Fundamental rights itself is the spirit to develop and bring up the foreign policy of the country. The freedom from want was a fundamental need, naturally a significant foreign policy could be developed on the basis of a vital internal policy.

In the year 1947 Nehru declared that, Ultimately, foreign policy is the outcome of economic policy and until India has properly evolved her economic policy, her foreign policy will be rather

vague, rather inchoate, and will be groping. Nehru makes it clear in his speech in the Constituent Assembly in 1947 said, Whatever policy we may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country. We may talk about international goodwill and mean what we say. We may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what we say. But, in the ultimate analysis, a Government functions for the good of the country it governs.

India's foreign policy emerged prior to Independence. The principles of ideology and relations towards the other nations particularly the British colonial nation India took strong opinion for her stand for friendship, neutrality, goodwill, good faith, disarmament and collective security in the sovereign democratic spirit.

The continuity of India's foreign policy may be summed up based on the following principles:

- i. Non-alignment even if the world divides into many groups;
- ii. India wants friendly relations with neighbouring nations like South- East Asian countries for mutual economic and other interests;
- iii. Article 51 of the Indian constitution, "promotion of international peace and security". It contributes to world peace wherever and whenever possible;
- iv. Championing the cause of the weak, even at the risk of enstranging vested interests; and
- v. Making the best use of the United Nations for the purpose for which it was created;
- vi. Diplomatic contacts to all corners of the world in the absence of reservation to any nations.⁸⁹

Foreign Policy of India towards of South Asia and Neighbouring Nations

Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar and China are the countries which directly touch the external boundary lines of India. Though India has no direct boundary line with Sri Lanka and Maldives, their religions, cultures, languages and aspirations are much similar to that of

⁸⁹ Ibid, p 354.

India. That is why these people look at India's foreign policy hopefully. All the states of South Asia are very much prone for the development of commercial relationships. But, no sincere efforts have been applied to develop commercial, religious, cultural and political affiliation so far. India's cordial and friendly relations with these nations are essential for external security of the country. All these factors are pertinent for the India to take the step to develop cordial relations with them and broaden trade and commerce in South Asia.

India's Foreign Policy originated on non-alignment, a phenomenon distinct from isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, neutralization, unilateralism and non-involvement is a course of foreign policy arising from the attitude of non-acquiescence in the bi-polarisation of the world politics. Strategically, India's Foreign Policy is for National Security in the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threat.

In view of its economic/military strength, India has been offering economic/technical assistance to all them (exception Pakistan which does not need them.), even training of their military personnel. Some of them (Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives) are largely dependent on India's assistance. Except Pakistan's large armed forces are readily available for ensuring their security (when they need and ask for it) against external threats or efforts at internal subversion.

The emergence of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985 has posed both opportunities as well challenges before India's Foreign Policy in South Asia. India's foreign policy during the last 61 years of its independent existence has changed on the demands of global, regional and domestic balance of forces.

Various governments in India have to readjust India's foreign policy within the overall framework of continuity. The most fundamental goal of foreign policy is to protect India's autonomy in international politics, which, remained the chief guiding factor in the framing of New Delhi's external behaviour in the post Pokhran and the post Kargil era.

In the continent of Asia, Republic of Red China and India are two big countries, but, the relations between these two nations have not been cordial. China doubts India's growing strength and takes it as potent danger to its monopoly of power in Asia. However, both countries need peace and stability. Both need cooperation. The small states of South Asia as well as South East Asia

are watching the activities of these two powers very curiously and sensitively for leadership. It is sad to note that two neighbouring countries India and Pakistan, which had been one before India's partition in 1947, need regional cooperation and mutual trust. But, the scenario is that these two nations have been doubtful and inimical to each other since the day of their independence. They have gone for the war more than two times, which caused them enough damage of lives and properties. India should tend its own relationship with Pakistan with care, patience and perseverance.

Bangladesh's antagonistic posture receives encouragement from both Pakistan and China. India deals firmly with its provocations on the border, its sheltering and nurturing of Indian insurgents undeclared policy of encouraging in surplus population to infiltrate and settle down in neighbouring state. This policy poses a serious security threat to the future of our sensitive Northeastern region. Therefore, it should be a parallel conciliatory approach. Bangladesh is a functioning two-party democracy. In matters of trade and development India has to be a good deal more accommodative of Bangladesh's needs.

The progress of the SAARC has been obstructed by Pakistan's support for *jehad* in Kashmir and moral and military support to the military organizations of North East. Bangladesh including Myanmar and Bhutan has been the strong organisational base and hideouts of the militant organisations working in the North East region of India.

India's Foreign Policy and diplomacy must increasingly look at the world beyond South Asia and a working relationship with the US appears to be a good bet. There is a convergence of their political, economic and security interests in the regions surrounding India. The states is expected to maintain its supremacy in the foreseeable future, and that rules out the viability of "China-India-Russia Strategic Triangle", for in varying degrees each country is dependent on different technologies, trade and support.

The neglect of South-East Asia since independence has allowed China's dominance in the economy and politics. The region's countries look to India for diversification in their political, cultural, economic links, but, India's "Look East" policy has yet to acquire substance. The region can be an important source of energy supply and can vastly expand trade for India.

In a globalised world, India's Foreign Policy will have to focus increasingly on economic objectives enhancement and attracting foreign investment and advanced technologies to enable the countries achieve a steady growth of eight to 10 per cent of the GDP per annum. But, diplomacy has to be reinforced at home to liberalise the economy. Reform and rationalized laws, and remove bureaucratic corruption and hurdles to pave way.

This is how India argues not to leave her technology to the mercy of market forces who are enthusiastic about research and development, but, the state must also guide and supplement technological strategy to realize the dream of the nation's leaders of freedom struggle to struggle to transform India into a great power.

The strategic design can only evolve if the interests of internal and external security and diplomacy are fulfilled. The decision-making process has to be integrated on the basis of the activity to be saving resources improving the output. Indian Foreign Policy and diplomacy are used with the premise that regional and global cooperation can be achieved with strengthening of strategic alliances.

Chapter III

SAARC: ITS EVOLUTION, OBJECTIVES, CONSTRAINTS/CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

Chapter III

SAARC: Its Evolution, Objectives, Constraints/Challenges and Prospects

Evolution of SAARC

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation was formed under Article 52 of the United Nations' Charter providing existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters, relating to the maintenance of international peace and security with the purpose and principles of UN charter.¹

It was established on 8th December, 1985 after about four and half years of its preparation. The basic aim of the Association is to accelerate the process of economic and social development in member countries through joint action in the agreed areas of cooperation. The region of SAARC lies in the South Himalayas surrounded by Hindu Kush mountains.² The idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was first initiated by late President Zia- Ur- Rehman of Bangladesh who visited Nepal, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka during 1977- 78 to explore the possibilities of regional economic cooperation among the SAARC Countries. He proposed for the collective self- reliance in a common quest for peace and development of all these countries. In May 1980, he issued a formal call for SAARC Regional Cooperation. His call received a positive response from all the SAARC countries. Hence, consultations at official level were carried out for the proposed cooperation. These preliminary exchanges brought out clearly that regional cooperation should on the hand, reflect the spirit of mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic appreciation of the political inspiration existing among the countries of the region, and on the other hand, such cooperation should be based in respect of the principles of sovereignty equality, territorial integrity, non- interference in internal affairs of other nations and mutual benefit.³

¹ Charter of the United Nations (December, 2006) "*Regional Arrangements*," Published by the United Nations Department of Public Information, DPI/511, New York- 10017, p 34.

² Davinder Kumar Madaan (1997) "SAARC: Origin and Development," *Encyclopaedia of SAARC Nations*, Volume 1, ed. Verinder Grover, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 634- 636.

³ Ibid. pp 634- 636.

The first meeting of the foreign secretaries of the seven countries, viz., Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka was held in Colombo (Sri Lanka) in April 1981 for regional cooperation. It was agreed that regional cooperation should be based on mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic appreciation of the national aspirations of all the countries of the SAARC region. It led to the identification of five broad areas, for regional cooperation viz., Agriculture, Rural Development, Telecommunications, Meteorology, and Health and population activities.⁴

India since her freedom from foreign rule has always been keenly interested and deeply committed to regional cooperation for the solution of common problems in various fields viz. the cultural, economic political ones. Jawaharlal Nehru the great leader and first prime minister of India stresses for unity and solidarity of Asia in his speeches and writing repeatedly. On 7th September, 1946 in his very first ever broadcast to the nation, Jawaharlal Nehru said, “We are of Asia and the people of Asia are nearer and closer to us than other. India is so situated that she is pivot of Western, Southern and South-East Asia”. Similarly, on another occasion Nehru reiterated the same “When we talk of Asia, remember that India, not because of any ambition of hers, but because of the force of circumstances, because of geography, because of history and because of many other things, inevitably has to play a very important part in Asia... Even if you think in terms of regional organizations in Asia... you have to keep in touch with the other regions. And whatever regions you may in mind, the importance of India cannot be ignored.

Further, Nehru for the maintenance of an atmosphere of cordiality and cooperation in Asian relations conference in New Delhi emphasized the fact that countries of Asia have to meet together on an equal basis in a common task and endeavour. He said that “It is fitting that India should play her part in this new phase of Asian Development”. Nehru had an opinion and hoped that some permanent Asian Institute for the study of common problems and to bring about closer relations emerging perhaps as a school of Asian studies. While leaving the conference he said

⁴ Ibid. pp 634- 636

“I shall not venture to enumerate all the subjects; for it is for you to discuss them and arrive at decisions.”⁵

The idea of South Asian Regional Cooperation was first mooted in May 1980. It was followed by Foreign Secretaries of seven countries meeting for the first time in Colombo in April 1981 namely India, Pakistan, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Maldives. The formal formation of regional cooperation took place on December 8, 1985.⁶

The SAARC member countries include Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Afghanistan is the eighth member of the SAARC. The region is of strategic importance between the east and west with respect to defence, trade, transport population growth and economic development particular for India directly and indirectly. The Indian Ocean plays a vital role in defence, trade and water transport is in the proximity of the majority of South Asia countries.⁷

The SAARC region is a landmass of 3.3 percent of the world and has one-fifth of the population. All the SAARC countries can be categorized into different groups. Firstly, there are two land-locked countries namely Bhutan and Nepal. Secondly, there are two Islands such as Sri Lanka and Maldives and thirdly, the three countries, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh which have the Indian Ocean in the South and South West and the Indo-Gangatic plains stretching along these countries.⁸

Majority of the people in SAARC countries depend on agriculture and have poor education, lack in science and technology as well as suffer from over-population. Most of the countries depend on the developed countries for aid and trade.⁹

⁵ Saroj Pathak (2006), “*India and SAARC: Challenges and Opportunities*”, Challenges to India Foreign Policy in the New Era, ed. Dr (Mrs) Annapurna Nautiyal, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi- 110002, pp162- 163.

⁶ Kanti Bajpai (1999) “*Security and SAARC*”, The Dynamics of South Asia Regional Cooperation and SAARC ed. Eric Gonslaves and Nancy Jetly, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

⁷ S.D. Chamola (2006), “*Economic Co-operation in the SAARC Region: Potential, Constraints and Policies*”, Challenges to India Foreign Policy in the New Era, ed. Dr (Mrs) Annapurna Nautiyal, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi- 110002, p 144.

⁸ Ibid, pp 145- 146.

⁹ Ibid, p 146.

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation was formed on 8th December 1985 as the first step towards regional corporation. In 1995 a decade after the formation of SAARC, the South Asian Free Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA) was launched at the end of year. The year 2001 was declared as the deadline to finalise a treaty for the South Asian Free Trade Association (SAFTA). The SAARC seven countries signed a treaty that would lead to free trade and movement of goods paving the way for South Asian Economic Union along the lines of EU in future.¹⁰

The South Asian Free Trade Association (SAFTA), in the treaty seeks to remove trade barriers, phased elimination of tariffs and establishment of a ministerial level mechanism for administering the treaty and dispute settlement among members. This treaty was to come into operation by January 1, 2006. In fact, the exchange of mutual experience among the countries is more relevant, cheap and cost effective and provides a vast scope for mutual cooperation in various areas. Mostly agriculture will continue to dominate these economies for many years to come. The economy development such as food for growing population, fodder for livestock, raw material and market for industries are the main market goods.¹¹

Principles

- a. Cooperation within the framework of the Association is based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and mutual benefit.
- b. Such cooperation is to complement and not to substitute bilateral or multilateral cooperation.
- c. Such cooperation should be consistent with bilateral and multilateral obligations of the member states.
- d. Decisions at all levels in SAARC are taken on the basis of unanimity.
- e. Bilateral and contentious issues are excluded from its deliberations.¹²

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid, pp 146- 147.

¹² “*South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)*,” <http://actrav.itcilo.org/actrav-english/telearn/global/ilo/blokit/saarc.htm#OBJECTIVES>,

Objectives

The objectives, principles and general provisions, as mentioned in the SAARC Charter, are as follows:

- i. To promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;
- ii. To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realise their full potentials;
- iii. To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia;
- iv. To contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
- v. To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;
- vi. To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries;
- vii. To strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interests; and
- viii. To cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.¹³

Development of SAARC

The First SAARC Summit

The First SAARC Summit was held in Dhaka, Bangladesh, on 7th -8th December 1985. In the First Summit it was approved that the Standing Committee should set up a Study Group to examine the problem of terrorism as it affects the security and stability of Member States of SAARC. Further, it also approved that a similar exercise be carried out with regard to the problem of drug trafficking and abuse.¹⁴

The Second SAARC Summit

The Second SAARC summit met in Bangalore, India, on 16th – 17th November, 1986. The second SAARC summit agreed for South Asian Broadcasting Programme covering both radio

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ "1st Saarc Summit," <http://www.saarctourism.org/first-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

and television to be launched. The Heads of State and Government laid emphasis on people-to-people contacts and for taking concrete steps to facilitate tourism in the region, including facilities for limited convertibility of national currencies for tourists from SAARC countries.¹⁵

Again, the Heads of State and Government emphasized the importance they attach to students, scholars and researchers in their countries having ready access to reliable and up-to-date information on technical, scientific and developmental matters. This need could be best met by a SAARC Documentation Centre as the repository of such information.¹⁶

The Third SAARC Summit

The Third Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held in Kathmandu, Nepal, on 2nd -4th November, 1987.

The Kathmandu Declaration provided for a renewed thrust and direction to the future course of regional cooperation in South Asia.¹⁷

The SAARC summit also declared on the intention to initiate the process of dealing with the causes and consequences of natural disasters and decided to commission a study on natural disasters and the protection and preservation of the environment in a well planned and comprehensive framework.¹⁸

The Fourth SAARC Summit

The Fourth Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation was held at Islamabad, Pakistan, from 29th -31st December, 1988.

The member states decided to declare 1989 as the *SAARC Year Against Drug Abuse* in order to focus attention on drug-related problems facing the region. They called upon member states to

¹⁵ "2nd Saarc Summit," <http://www.saarctourism.org/second-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "3rd Saarc Summit," <http://www.saarctourism.org/third-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

¹⁸ Ibid.

prepare and implement national programmes in this regard. It also decided to declare 1990 as the *SAARC Year of the Girl Child*.¹⁹

The Fifth SAARC Summit

The Fifth Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation took place at Male, Maldives, from 21st -23rd November, 1990.

The SAARC Summit launched the Scheme for the Promotion of Organised Tourism during the first half of 1991. The members also welcomed the proposal for institutionalised cooperation among the tourist industries of the Member States with a view to attracting more tourists from outside the region.²⁰

The Heads of State and Government emphasized the importance of cooperation among the SAARC Member States in the field of mass media and directed the Secretary General to facilitate, under the auspices of SAARC, increased interaction among federations/associations of journalists, news agencies and mass media of the region.²¹

The years 1991 to 2000 AD would be observed as the *SAARC Decade of the Girl Child*. They were deeply moved by the SAARC Girl Child's appeal for love and care for them and their right to childhood. They reiterated their resolve that the welfare of the child in general and the girl child in particular, would figure at the top of their list of priorities.²²

The Summit also declared 1991 was observed as the *SAARC Year of Shelter*. They decided to observe 1992 as the "*SAARC Year of the Environment*".

¹⁹ "4th Saarc Summit," <http://www.saarctourism.org/forth-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

²⁰ "5th Saarc Summit," <http://www.saarctourism.org/fifth-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Besides, the SAARC summit also decided to observe 1993 as the *SAARC Year of Disabled Persons*.²³

The SAARC summit members also decided that appropriate programmes should be worked out for observing the SAARC Year of the Shelter in 1991, the SAARC Year of the Environment in 1992 and the SAARC Year of Disabled Persons in 1993.²⁴

The Sixth SAARC Summit

The Sixth SAARC Summit was held on the Colombo Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of the Member Countries of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation issued on 21st December, 1991.

The member states of SAARC also recalled the decision of the Malé Summit to institutionalise cooperation in the field of biotechnology. They welcomed the proposal for the establishment of a networking arrangement between Research and Development Centres in the Member States as an important step in advancing such cooperation. They also welcomed the emphasis on organised study tours, workshops and seminars proposed in the identified areas of cooperation in the field of science and technology.²⁵

The Seventh SAARC Summit

The Seventh Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held at Dhaka, Bangladesh, on 10th - 11th April, 1993. The Member States reiterated once again to strengthen and enrich SAARC as an instrument endowing it with a clear set of forward looking goals and objectives as well as all the requisite institutional capacities, so that it can continue to work to enrich not only the lives of its own members but also promote peace, progress and stability in South Asia in a larger context.²⁶

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ “6th Saarc Summit,” <http://www.saarctourism.org/sixth-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

²⁶ “7th Saarc Summit,” <http://www.saarctourism.org/seventh-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

The Eighth SAARC Summit

The Eighth Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) took place at New Delhi, India, on 2nd -4th May, 1995.

The Member States reiterated the need to fulfil the internationally agreed aid targets for the developing countries and the Least Developed Countries. They emphasised on the need for exceptional finance to facilitate implementation of economic reform programmes in SAARC Countries.²⁷

The Ninth SAARC Summit

The Ninth Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) was held at Malé, Maldives, on 12th -14th May, 1997.

The SAARC Member States agreed to review the criteria for the determination of LDC status for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly on the current year, must take into account the special significance of the extent and magnitude of incidence of poverty in the poorest countries and the special vulnerabilities of small island states.²⁸

The Tenth SAARC Summit

The Tenth Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held at Colombo from 29th -31st July, 1998, in the year of the Golden Jubilee of the Independence of Sri Lanka.

The SAARC Member States made re-affirmed Middle East their support for the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace based on Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) and Resolution 338 (1973) to restore the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.²⁹

²⁷ "8th Saarc Summit," <http://www.saarctourism.org/eighth-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

²⁸ "9th Saarc Summit," <http://www.saarctourism.org/ninth-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

²⁹ <http://www.saarctourism.org/tenth-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

The Eleventh SAARC Summit

The Eleventh Summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held in Kathmandu, Nepal, from 4th – 6th January, 2002.

The Heads of State and Government were unanimous in recognizing the need for further promoting a sense of regional identity amongst the peoples of the region. The leaders lauded the roles played by intellectuals, professionals and eminent persons in promoting people-to-people contacts within the region and agreed to encourage such endeavours as a healthy sign of regional cohesion and fraternity.³⁰

The Twelfth SAARC Summit

The Twelfth Summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held in Islamabad, Pakistan, on 4th -6th January 2004. The Twelfth Summit was guided by the vision of a peaceful and prosperous South Asia and was proud of its rich culture and traditions.³¹

The Member States were desirous of promoting peace, stability, amity and progress in the region through strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter and Non-Alignment, particularly respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, national independence, non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of the states and peaceful settlement of all disputes.³²

The Thirteenth SAARC Summit

The Thirteenth Summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held in Dhaka, Bangladesh, on 12th - 13th November, 2005.

The Heads of State and Government decided to declare the decade of 2006-2015 as the SAARC Decade of Poverty Alleviation. During the Decade, endeavours both at the national and regional

³⁰ "11th Saarc Summit," <http://www.saarctourism.org/eleventh-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

³¹ "12th Saarc Summit," <http://www.saarctourism.org/twelth-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

³² "Ibid.

level will continue to be made with a sense of commitment and urgency to free South Asia from poverty.³³

The Heads of State and Government noted that the spirit of SAARC needed to be sustained by efforts to promote people-to-people contact and by a vibrant civil society throughout South Asia actively engaged in forging links across national boundaries.³⁴

The Fourteenth SAARC Summit

The Fourteenth Summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held in New Delhi, India, on 3rd - 4th April, 2007.

The SAARC States welcomed the entry of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan as a new member. The SAARC Car Rally, in the run-up to the Fourteenth SAARC Summit, had vividly symbolized this connectivity.³⁵

The Fifteenth SAARC Summit

The Fifteenth Summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, on 2nd -3rd August, 2008.

The SAARC members renewed their resolve for collective regional efforts to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development which would promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and improve their quality of life, thereby contributing to peace, stability, amity and progress in the region.³⁶

³³ "13th Saarc Summit," <http://www.saarctourism.org/thirteenth-saarc-summit.html>, Accessed on 20th July, 2011.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ "Ibid.

³⁶ Colombo Declaration of the 15th SAARC Summit," <http://www.slmission.com/statements/88-ministry-statements/109-colombo-declaration-of-the-15th-saarc-summit.html?start=2>, Accessed on 2nd August, 2011.

The SAARC mechanisms were to continue to embody in their programs and project a strong focus on better connectivity not only within South Asia, but also between the region and the rest of the world.³⁷

The Sixteenth SAARC Summit

The Sixteenth Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held at Thimphu, Bhutan, on 28th -29th April 2010 under the theme of *Towards a Green and Happy South Asia* to mark the silver jubilee celebration.

In this Silver Jubilee Year of SAARC, the Leaders emphasized the need to develop a Vision Statement.³⁸

In commemoration of the 25th anniversary, the SAARC members laid emphasis on effective communications and public diplomacy. It also endorsed the recommendation to declare 2010-2020 as the Decade of Intra-regional Connectivity in SAARC. Further, it was agreed on the need to expedite negotiations with a view to finalizing the two agreements on Motor Vehicles and Railways.³⁹

The Seventeenth SAARC Summit

The 17th South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Summit was held on 10th-11th November at Addu City, Maldives.⁴⁰

Maldivian President Mohamed Nasheed in the inaugural address commented the economic stagnation in one member nation causes insecurity in another. Nasheed also appealed to integrate economically and create a political environment that creates security.⁴¹

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ "SAARC/SUMMIT.16/15 SIXTEENTH SAARC SUMMIT 28-29 April 2010 Thimphu ...," <http://www.saarc-sec.org/userfiles/16thSummit-Declaration29April10.pdf>, Accessed on 2nd August, 2011.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ "17th SAARC summit reaches fruitful decisions: Maldivian president," http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/world/2011-11/11/c_122269087.htm, Accessed on 20th November, 2011.

Yousuf Raza Gilani Pakistani Prime Minister in the opening ceremony of the 17th SAARC Summit called for all SAARC countries to work together to eliminate terrorism.⁴²

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh pledged to promote fair trade in the region. Dr Singh also pointed out that many sectors including trade, transport, health and education have benefited from it.⁴³

South Asia has been able to maintain a respectable growth rate and this encouraging trend has resulted in the integration of SAARC and shows the region is on the right path, Singh said.⁴⁴

In the closing address Nasheed said the SAARC member countries agreed to direct the SAFTA (South Asian Free Trade Agreement) Ministerial Council to intensify efforts to reduce the sensitive list as well as reduce non-tariff barriers to trade.⁴⁵

Maldivian President Mohamed Nasheed has informed that the SAARC secretary general has been instructed to ensure the final preparations for the Indian Ocean Cargo and Passenger Ferry Service are completed this year.⁴⁶

Nasheed said the other efforts have also been made to promote communication between SAARC countries. The Summit has agreed to conclude the Regional Railways Agreement and convene the Expert Group Meeting on Motor Vehicles Agreement before the next Council of Ministers, he added. Further, the establishment of a South Asian Postal Union has also been agreed, said Nasheed.⁴⁷

The 17th SAARC Summit came into the conclusion on Friday 11th November, 2011 with the adoption of Addu Declaration adopted by the eight SAARC member countries, reaffirms their

⁴¹ *17th SAARC summit kicks off in Maldives*, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/world/2011-11/10/c_131239799.htm, Accessed on 19th November, 2011.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ *“17th SAARC summit reaches fruitful decisions: Maldivian president,”*

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/world/2011-11/11/c_122269087.htm, Accessed on 20th November, 2011

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

commitment to peace, confidence building, liberty, human dignity, democracy, mutual respect, good governance and human rights.⁴⁸

The chairman of 17th SAARC Summit and Maldivian President Mohamed Nasheed has formally announced that 18th SAARC Summit is to be held in Nepal.⁴⁹

Constraints/ Challenges of SAARC

The threats to India's peace and security environment have multiplied enormously, just as the threat to world peace is far more somber and sinister now. The regional and international balance of forces is menacingly hostile. The most ominous problem, the most agonizing issue, facing India today is the nuclear option.⁵⁰

On the multilateral level Indo-Pak cooperation became a part of the South Asian effort to generate coordinated and concerted momentum for mutual development. India played a low-key role in the beginning for fear of arousing suspicion among smaller neighbours, but Bangladesh and Nepal displayed greater initiative. The Foreign Secretaries of the seven South Asian nations (Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bhutan, Maldives and India) met in early 1981 in Colombo to promote mutual cooperation in areas which would benefit the entire region and set up working groups for studies for cooperation in the fields of agriculture, rural development, meteorology, health and population, and telecommunications. The working groups identified some 13 projects in these areas. The second meeting of the Foreign Secretaries in Kathmandu in November 1981 expanded the scope of regional cooperation by including for study three new projects, postal services, science and technology and transport. The Kathmandu meeting provided the much-needed spur and accelerated the process of finding common ground for cooperation.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ V.P. Dutt (1997) "Europe and Japan: Security and Conclusions," India's Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi- 110014, pp 503-504.

⁵¹ Ibid, pp 505- 506.

The South Asian region was beset by many political problems, besides the massive economic difficulties. The legacies of suspicion, often bitterness, loomed too large to be easily dismissed. Clearly regional cooperation could not take the form of political cooperation forthwith. Yet, the lesson of history was equally clear. Either cooperate and advance together or suffer separately and individually. South Asia had to find its road towards regional cooperation that would not ignore regional realities and would not, therefore, die premature death. Necessarily this road had to be the road of economic cooperation to begin with, so as to lay a stronger foundation for overcoming political problems. The process had just begun and it was too early to say whether political turbulence would swamp it or whether it would be able to control political vicissitudes. It was for the politicians, bureaucrats, intellectuals, in fact for the whole people in all these countries to safeguard, consolidate and carry forward the process regional cooperation.⁵²

The nexus between national interests and foreign policy is running thread in the evolution of foreign policy, whether of India or of any other country. This should not lead us to believe that ideas play no role. Ideas and even ideals have their place and there is no need to snigger at them. Unprincipled pursuit of what might be considered immediate, narrow national interests can often be counter-productive.⁵³

Foreign policy is not the enactment of a morality play. Generally, foreign policy stumbles through, and then is significantly influenced by a country's experience. Perhaps one can even generalize that foreign policy is the summation of experience in international relations of a certain country at a certain given period of time. Certainly, it is India's actual experience that has determined whether relations are better with one country and somewhat indifferent with another, more friendly with one power and less with another. The actual state of relations with various countries is largely the function and consequence of experience.⁵⁴

A big country like India should be able to retain some initiative in her hands and display a certain measure of dynamism in dealing with developments around her borders and in the world, and not just be doomed to a mere reactive foreign policy. Try to reduce existing hostilities and open new

⁵² Ibid, p 508.

⁵³ Ibid, p 509.

⁵⁴ Ibid, pp 509- 510.

options, without losing old friendships. To the extent India can pursue vigorously such a policy, with increased sophistication, she can more successfully meet the mounting challenges in a harsher and colder world.⁵⁵

The SAARC countries have historical reasons, and many other factors for non-cooperation. The differences in political as well as mutual suspicion and lack of trust are the greatest enemies of cooperation among the SAARC countries, the problem and issue of Kashmir between India and Pakistan, water and refugee disputes between India and Bangladesh, the intervention of India in Sri Lanka's military, trade and transit treaty between India and Nepal, the ethnic problem between Bhutan and Nepal etc. are some of the troubled spots in the SAARC region where all the countries have to come out open and join for cooperation whole heartedly.⁵⁶

There is also a compulsion and intra-competition among SAARC countries for political factors superseding the economic factors with each other. Some examples like competition between India and Sri Lanka for export of tea, jute market competition between India and Bangladesh, rice export competition between India and Pakistan, cotton textile between Pakistan and Sri Lanka, in the world market. The fear of the SAARC countries towards India is that India dominates in terms of area, population, technological advancement and military which may lead the basic factor for continuous and slow growth of cooperation among SAARC countries. The religious and cultural factors also hinder to some extent the growth of SAARC. Country like Pakistan prefers economic and cultural cooperation with Islamic nations; Nepal and Bhutan are religiously and culturally closer to India as these countries are dominated by the Hindu and Buddhist religions. In the economic perspectives also there are different apprehensions that India and Pakistan are more advanced and developed than Bhutan, Nepal and Maldives as more relatively developed partners would exploit them.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Ibid, pp 510 511.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p 153.

⁵⁷ Jyotirmoy Banerjee (2006) "*Growing Nuclear Danger in South Asia: Prospects for Cooperative Denuclearisation?*" , Challenges to India Foreign Policy in the New Era, ed. Dr (Mrs) Annupurna Nautiyal, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi- 110002. p153

Though there is lack of trust and suspicion irritating one another, yet, still there is vast scope for cooperation among SAARC countries. The SAARC countries must focus on agriculture. Agriculture is the only way to grow and progress is cooperation because these countries have core competence in this sector and their economies are dominated by agriculture too. There must be constant attempts made to remove the major irritants of mutual apprehension in the form of political and economic domination by India. The best way and the need of the hour is the sincerity of purpose and honesty in efforts. The SAARC countries must realize and learn a lesson that in cooperation we can swim across the turbulent river while individually we may be drowned even in the still waters.⁵⁸

Nuclearisation as Challenge for South Asia

In the month of May 1998 India's nuclear test provoked Pakistan to go for nuclear test which lead both to be counted as Nuclear-Weapons States (NWS). Again, the year 2001, the Indian armed forces dubbed Pakistan in Kargil war as the 'Operation Poorna Vijay' ('complete victory') that stimulated nuclear war environment.⁵⁹

Moreover, terrorism has introduced a fresh dimension to the nuclear question, which can be called as level two problems. Terrorist activists disturbed the peaceful coexistence in the country and surrounding neighbourhood states. Like on 26th November, 2008 terrorists' activity in Mumbai creates trauma and uncondusive environment in the country.⁶⁰

Pakistan is military-dominated with deep-rooted fundamentalism. The nuclear policy of Pakistan is keeping the option open, unlike New Delhi's policy of No-First-Use (NFU).⁶¹

India has nuclear doctrine of 'minimum credible deterrence.' Yet, many countries miscalculations and adventurism would cost both adversaries dearly.⁶²

⁵⁸ Ibid. p153

⁵⁹ Ibid p 171.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p 171

⁶¹ Ibid. p 171.

⁶² Ibid. p 174.

Great Potential for Cooperation

There is great potential area for regional cooperation among South Asian nations. Since the formation of the SAARC in the year 1985 discussion from time to time for future cooperation among them has taken place. The scope of regional cooperation had been identified in twelve areas:

- (i) agriculture; (ii) health and rural development; (iii) meteorology; (iv) telecommunication; (v) postal services; (vi) transport; (vii) scientific and technological development; (viii) sports; (ix) art and culture; (x) prevention of drug trafficking and abuse; (xi) women and development and (xii) education. ⁶³

The SAARC countries generally suffer from the common problems of poverty, unemployment, inflationary pressure, unfavourable trade balance, high budget deficits and low growth rates. Despite common problems, the policies that have been adopted are contradictory to one another. The policy issues were more competitively natured than complementary or cooperative. It originated from historical facts that solving their problems through competition among themselves was better. ⁶⁴

The countries of South Asian linked themselves in the matter of aid and trade with developed economic nations. Like foreign exchange, advance technology, foreign aid etc. dragged the SAARC countries to the western industrialized countries. In the early stages of economic development there was shortage of capital investment and technology aids from developed nations. ⁶⁵

The developed nations forces the Third World countries like SAARC to come together and increase their bargaining power with industrially advanced nations of the world in different forums such as WTO, World Bank, IMF, etc., where more concessions can be obtained by the

⁶³ Ibid. pp147.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p147

⁶⁵ Ibid. p 147

regional block rather than a single country. It has compelled South Asia to form SAARC for economic, social and political advancement.⁶⁶

The SAARC Nations has now realized that it would solve their problems of poverty, unemployment, inflation and low rate of growth, by cooperating among themselves. The mutual fear and apprehensions disappear, to better their economies. After assessing and analysing the solution to their problems becomes more apparent that there are more areas of cooperation than areas of conflict.⁶⁷

The best way for the SAARC countries to cooperate would be when intra-regional trade increases through providing facilities to one another. India and Bangladesh could make an example to consider signing a bilateral agreement for free movement of commercial vehicles, and use of southern Chittagong port as transit for ferrying goods to north eastern India to reduce the Indo-Bangladesh trade imbalance. Indo-Sri Lanka could also increase various commodities like tea and rubber.⁶⁸

There is a great scope for development within South Asian nations, telecommunication, roads, transport, energy and other infrastructural facilities can easily be developed through mutual cooperation. India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, Nepal and Bhutan can easily be developed through rail and road transport. In addition, Bhutan and Nepal have hydro electric power potentials which can easily be exported by India. Like the river valley projects on the river water flowing between India and Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, India and Nepal, Bhutan and India, Bhutan and Nepal can be developed in mutual interest as well as mutual benefit. Moreover, by proper management of water resources, floods and droughts can be minimized for the benefit of their agriculture. Development of common telecommunication services can help in monitoring weather reports, international market fluctuations in prices and products, exchange of scientific information and also regarding the spread of pests and diseases in particular.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Ibid, pp 147- 148.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p 148.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p148

⁶⁹ Ibid. p148

The Policy Measures to Promote Cooperation

The SAARC countries suggested promoting cooperation among the nations which are as follows:

- i. The information system has to be developed by the SAARC countries among themselves instead of depending on the information provided by developed countries to reduce the information gap. The information development would help out the exports and the importers to locate demand and supply position of various commodities in the SAARC region. This would be the first pre-requisite for any future cooperation.
- ii. There is need of complementarities instead of competition now. Conscious efforts are needed to develop the economic complementarities by reorienting the economies of the region towards each other. Again, expansion of market for each other's commodities, reduction in transportation cost and other trade concessions can go a long way.
- iii. The only possible way for expansion of trade is when there is cooperation in payments and financial transactions. There is also an urgent need of establishing a good network of banks and other financial institutions for liberal credit facilities.
- iv. There should be lowering of both tariff and non-tariff barriers which would be helpful in promoting trade relations. The SAARC countries can enter into bilateral and multilateral arrangements for such concessions.
- v. Conflicts in political and regional matters are natural. There is a great demand for Indian goods in Pakistan and Bangladesh but, due to political relations; a lot of smuggling and unreported trade is going on in these commodities across the border.
- vi. Fear of economic domination by India should be allayed. India shares 77 per cent of population, 72 per cent of area, 78 per cent of GDP, 88 per cent of exports and 81 per cent of imports in SAARC region. In this regards India have to be very careful in her dealings with the others partners.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Ibid, pp 149- 150.

Focus on Agricultural Sector

The SAARC countries major focus is on agriculture because their economies contribute the substantial share of GDP. There is a great potential of cooperation in the field of agriculture despite hostile, terrorism and highly unfavourable world environment. There is potential in the areas of production, marketing, finance, infrastructure, science and technology relating to agriculture.⁷¹

The green revolution in India was mainly from wheat and rice. Similarly, Pakistan in cotton, Bangladesh in rice, Maldives in fisheries, Sri Lanka in tea and coconut, Nepal and Bhutan in maize etc. which could be used for the benefit of others. There is much to learn in input management especially in fertilizers, soil and water management, farm mechanization, crop rotation etc.⁷²

It is important to create scope for marketing cooperation of produce both inside and outside the country. Firstly, there is the need for requisite information system and transport cost for both internal and external marketing. It was a great step setting up SAARC Agriculture, Information Centre at Dhaka that could put in the right direction as it is fulfilling the information needs of member countries. There is a need to keep in contact with agricultural organizations of member countries and work on a common platform for exchanging information regarding the pest diseases of various crops and technical know-how for its control. The SAIC could make a possible way of cooperation in the field of crop production, animal husbandry, fisheries, forestry, wild life preservation and marketing intelligence.⁷³

The SAARC countries must have good cooperation and coordination in the field of external marketing i.e. exports and imports. Firstly, a common approach like the developed countries must evolve within the member nations. There is a monopoly in tea, jute, spices, coconut and some fruits and vegetables from the SAARC countries.⁷⁴

⁷¹Ibid, p 150.

⁷² Ibid. p150

⁷³ Ibid, p151.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p 151

The World Trade Organisation accords provisions for Plant Breeders Rights, seeds, subsidies, opening of market for the import from developed countries, patenting etc., which is highly damaging for the smooth growth of the agricultural sector in SAARC countries that is directly and indirectly unfavourable for the region in particular. The role of WTO have already been articulated in farmers' agitations and political opposition.⁷⁵

The SAARC least developed countries could supply timber and timber products, natural gas, raw jute, raw cotton etc. to other members of SAARC. On the other hand there is enough scope for joint marketing in the agricultural valued-added products. Indeed, the developed countries such as India and Pakistan among the SAARC countries need to produce sufficient agricultural based products, which could be substituted in imports from industrially developed countries to the SAARC nations. The best example, Pakistan could meet Sri Lanka's requirement of cotton yarn and in turn, get tea, rubber and some consumer goods. It would find a large market in India for Sri Lanka's copra and coconut where there is shortage of vegetable oil. There is also a good scope for Pakistan to export surplus rice, cotton and textile to Bangladesh where these products fetch a good market and in turn Bangladesh could get good markets for jute and newsprint in Pakistan. Similarly, India could supply fruits and vegetables to Sri Lanka and Maldives. Moreover, many more mutual discussions can identify the needs of market commodities amongst the SAARC countries.⁷⁶

There is a bright scope for agricultural research and education in the most potent area for cooperation. The greatest advantage for SAARC is that India has one of the widest and best networks of agricultural education and research in the world. In fact, all SAARC countries could benefit from it by getting their students and scientists trained in Indian agricultural universities and research institutes. The SAARC countries also need to urgently develop a common syllabus and course catalogue in agricultural education, research and extension management.⁷⁷

The financial institutions need to be set up on the pattern of Asian Development Bank, FAO, UNDP and World Bank. There is a great example for the successful experiment of Gramin

⁷⁵ Ibid. p 151

⁷⁶ Ibid, p 152.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p 152

Banks in Bangladesh for the SAARC countries in particular. Like how India is launching rural development, public distribution system and government intervention in financial sector reform and so on.⁷⁸

Moreover, the SAARC countries have to study the international trade theory of comparative cost to be applied to these nations. There should also be a technique to look for producing each and every produce, it should concentrate on products, which can give them comparative cost advantage.⁷⁹

Denuclearisation Agenda for South Asia as the Tool of Peace

1. De-targeting and de-alerting nuclear missiles,
2. Establishing a UN register of nuclear arms for greater transparency,
3. Separating nukes from missiles (and other delivery vehicles like bombers),
4. Placing excess weapons-grade fissile materials from retired nukes and production facilities under international controls,
5. Making a firm commitment in multinational fora to the goal of nuclear disarmament and ultimate elimination of nukes, and
6. Assuring non-NWS states of banning use of nukes against them.⁸⁰

The Challenges on Environmental Security in South Asia

The late 1970s include rising poverty, rapid population growth, spread of infectious diseases, and environmental degradation all over the world and South Asia in particular. But true security was understood on the power of state secrecy, nuclear and military power.⁸¹

When discussing about national security it leads one the realm of human rights, and internal repressions. Political instability is also one of the main threats to national security.⁸²

⁷⁸ Ibid. p 152

⁷⁹ Ibid. p 152

⁸⁰ Ibid, p 189.

⁸¹ Narottam Gaan (2006), "*Environmental Security in South Asia*", Challenges to India Foreign Policy in the New Era, ed. Dr (Mrs) Annapurna Nautiyal, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi- 110002, p 327.

⁸² Ibid. p 327

In addition, other problems which plague the entire humanity in South Asia in particular are grinding poverty, burgeoning population growth, spread of diseases, scarcity of resources and environmental degradation.⁸³

The Perspective on Environmental Security

The end of the World Wars and Cold War did not fully free the problems. Global integration of national economies, erosion of national identities and cultures, shifts of priority from military rivalry to economic competition, and the diminishing role of state as the dominant actor in international politics have added new perspectives to environmental security.⁸⁴

Besides, the emergence of diverse non-traditional and new issues-ranging from poverty to refugee crises, information privacy to cyber-terrorism, environmental problems to natural disasters which require non- state and non- military policies and strategies, are now being considered a major component of what is christened as comprehensive security.⁸⁵

The problem of the East-West which threatens the world in ideological division, military aggression and struggle is replaced by global preponderance in the global environmental crisis. In the present age, the world faces problems in terms of global warming, sea level rise, acid rain, greenhouse effect, diminishing capacity of the agricultural system, depletion of earth's finite resources, punching holes in the ozone layer, and biodiversity loss. In fact, the time has come for the world to join hands together for a common agenda for solution of the problems.⁸⁶

The environmental question has become a worldwide security issue. The scope of environmental issues being debated in all-pervasive nature, cross-national and inter generational implications.⁸⁷

The environment or the resources issues seem to have little or no direct connection with past peace, conflict and war. At the same time, linking certain resource and environmental problems

⁸³ Ibid. p 327

⁸⁴ Ibid, p 328.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p 328

⁸⁶ Ibid. p 328

⁸⁷ Ibid, p 329.

causing political frictions and tensions to the whole world or international politics. In fact, ongoing debate is the assertion that resource scarcity and certain forms of environmental degradation are contributing to political instability or violent conflict at local, regional and interstate levels.⁸⁸

The General Secretary of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev in the year 1987 states:

[The World] is not secure in the direct meaning of the word when currents of poison flow along river channels, when poison rains pour down from the sky, when an atmosphere polluted with industrial and transport waste chokes cities and whole regions, when the development of atomic engineering is justified by unacceptable risks. The relationship between man and the environment has become menacing. Problems of ecological security affect all the rich and the poor.⁸⁹

The Secretary of State of the United States of America, Madeleine Korblová Albright in April 1997 says: Not so long ago, many believed that the pursuit of clean air, clean water, and healthy forests was a worthy goal, but not part of our national security. Today environmental issues are part of the mainstream of American foreign policy.⁹⁰

Studies and research institutions undertook works to determine how environmental factors could prove as future threats to the intra and inter-state conflict or violence that appeared to be surfacing around the globe. It analyzed and used in its terminology explanations suggesting that environmental stress, operating through a set of intervening variables, could contribute to violent conflicts, and thus constituted a threat to national and international security. Jeremy Rifkin describes: The environmental threats facing the planet are not simply the result of scientific miscalculation. Nor are they merely the consequences of ill-conceived management decisions. Ironically it is the notion of security upon which our entire modern worldview is based that has led us to the verge of ecocide...In less than a century the practice of geopolitics thus pushed the

⁸⁸ Ibid. p 329

⁸⁹ Ibid. p 329

⁹⁰ Ibid, p 330.

world to the brink of both nuclear Armageddon and environmental catastrophe forcing us to reconsider the basic assumption of security that animates the modern world view.⁹¹

Lodgaard states that the concept of environmental security challenges established frames of mind and political conflicts. It conveys a message that environmental problems have a legitimate claim for status as military problems have.

Again, another proponent opines about environmental security: national security is not just about fighting forces and weaponry. It relates to watersheds, croplands, forests, genetic resources, climatic and other factors that rarely figure in the minds of military experts and political leaders, but increasingly deserve in their collectively to rank along side military approaches as crucial to a nation's security.⁹²

The concerns for environmental security have grown in the domestic as well as international forum. In the year 1972, the United Nations Conference on Human Environment, Ottawa Conference on Conservation and Development in 1986. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. The year 1995 World Summit for social Development and UN symposium on the Global Environment in the 21st Century in 1997. Supplemented the environmental security in 1987 by Harking like The World Commission on Environmental Development (Brundtland Report) entitled "Our common Future", highlights the factor of environmental degradation causing the violent relationship between states: environmental stress is both a cause and effect of political tension and military conflict..nations have fought to assist or resist control over raw materials, energy supplies, land, river basin, sea passages and other key environmental resources.⁹³

According to the report, such conflicts are likely to increase as these resources became scarcer and competition for them will increase.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Ibid. p 330

⁹² Ibid, p 331.

⁹³ Ibid. p 331

⁹⁴ Ibid. p 331

The environmental security as a concept encompassing non-military aspects was officially mentioned for the first time by the UN General Assembly in New York from 24th August to 11th September 1987, International conference for the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. The final document was adopted by consensus states: The non-military threats Security have moved to the forefront of global concern. Underdevelopment and declining prospects for development as well as mismanagement and waste of resources, constitute challenges to security. Environment degradation is a threat to sustainable development...Mass poverty, illiteracy, diseases, squalor and malnutrition affecting a large proportion of world's population often becomes the cause of social strain, tension and strife.

The environmental security can be given in two distinct features:

Firstly, the environmental causes of conflict causing potentially violent conflicts;

Secondly, the impact of environmental degradation on political, economy, health and life of the people. Environmental degradation or deficiencies create the conditions that render conflicts, which act as multipliers that aggravate core causes of conflict or act as a catalyst factor in creating conflicts, then environmental degradation or scarcity of resources becomes a national security issue.⁹⁵

Stephan Libiszewski an authority from Swiss Peace Institute's Environment and Conflicts Project (ENCOP) distinguished between traditional resources wars and environmental causes of conflicts stated that "an environmental conflict caused by the environmental scarcity of resource, that means: caused by a human made disturbance of its normal regeneration rate. Environmental scarcity can result from the overuse of renewable resource or from the overstrain of the ecosystem's sink capacity, that is pollution. Both can reach the stage of destruction of space of living. Conflicts caused by physical, geographical or socio-economic resource scarcity are not

⁹⁵ Ibid, pp 331- 332.

environmental conflicts but traditional conflicts of resource distribution.” The Toronto Group’s research from ENCOP found that scarcity leads to rise of conflict.⁹⁶

The Environmental Issues in Different Aspects

The Degradation of Land

The resources vary from region to region. Soil suffers tragic degrees of degradation on account of rapid deforestation, poor irrigation and drainage practices, and overgrazing. Desertification leads to depletion of land and the loss of nutrient-rich topsoil through water and wind erosion threatens the livelihood of countless millions throughout the region. India suffers as much as 27 per cent of soil from severe erosion. Selected watersheds in the Himalayan regions of India and Nepal are among the worst affected. The greatest causes of land degradation common to the countries in the region is mining, which is typically unorganized and unscientific, without any defined environmental management and land reclamation plans.⁹⁷

The Deforestation

For industrial and agriculture developments as well as trade forestry products, deforestation remains a major concern in the world and South Asia in particular. Countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan have the highest rates of deforestation. Moreover, 75 per cent of population in Nepal depends on fuel wood for energy needs, which puts tremendous pressures on the country’s forest resources. In addition to landslides and soil erosion, deforestation causes sediment loads in rivers resulting in floods. Again, construction of road connectivity also plays a major role in deforestation in the region of South Asia.⁹⁸

The Marine Ecology

Improper monitoring of effluents from industries and cities in coastal regions has contaminated large areas of the Indian Ocean which has impacted marine life and fisheries. The major polluters of the marine environment are chemical, paper, and sugar industries. The agricultural run-off has

⁹⁶ Ibid, p 335.

⁹⁷ Ibid, pp 342- 343.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p343.

contributed to ocean pollution from pesticides. An estimated 1800 tons of pesticides enter the Bay of Bengal annually and increased use of pesticides in some areas has resulted in contamination of mollusks and fish species. The major depletion of mangroves in estuaries, lagoons, and bays, encouraged in part by shrimp breeding in coastal swamps, threatens such important natural processes as soil binding, nutrition recycling, and the prevention of soil erosion and silt accretion.⁹⁹

Another major threat to ocean resources is oil spills. In the Arabian Sea approximately 5 million tons of oil is deposited every year, and 4,00,000 tons is added to the Bay of Bengal. The Indian Ocean has a growth of tanker traffic and increased offshore exploration. Oil spills has increase tremendously causing threat to offshore development.¹⁰⁰

Threat on Biodiversity Loss

The loss of biodiversity within the region of Asia-Pacific has been the most acute in the Indian subcontinent. The international trade in timber is one of the root causes. Introduction of non-native species, improper use of agro-chemicals, excessive hunting and poaching, etc are some other causes.¹⁰¹

In Pakistan hunting is still pursued as a popular sport. The smuggle of falcons to the Middle East and the killing of lizards and snakes for their skins. The destruction of coral reefs along the Maldives coast which is vulnerable to tourism. Increasing of population in India and Pakistan also leads to pressure together with industrial activity that directly and indirectly causes the loss of diversity of both plant and animal species.¹⁰²

The Climate Change

The climate change is one of the most significant in tropical Asia which has impacted the ecosystem (both land and coastal) in water resources and agriculture that affects the human health. There is

⁹⁹ Ibid. p 343

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p 344.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p 344

¹⁰² Ibid. p 344

imbalance in climate. Heavy and less and unseasonable rainfall from region to region that affects both plants and animals in the planet. Drought, flood, acid rain are the other causes of climate change.¹⁰³

South Asia Cooperative Environment Programme (SACEP)

The South Asia Cooperative Environment Programme (SACEP) was established in 1982 under the aegis of the United Nations with nine members from SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation), Afghanistan, and Iran.¹⁰⁴

Though SACEP has no formal affiliation with SAARC that might limit its mobilization resource to implement regional actions. The SACEP strategy and programme in the period of 1992-96 incorporates some key features to implement:

- Capacity-building and raising awareness.
- Information exchange and technology transfer.
- Training in environmental management and institutional development.
- Cooperative management of mountain ecosystems.
- Conservation of wildlife and their habitat.¹⁰⁵

The SACEP made an action plan relating to environmental cooperation within the region. The proposals are:

1. assessment of the environment,
2. development and revision of national environmental plans
3. development of legal instruments, and
4. awareness building.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Ibid, pp 344- 345.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p345.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid ,pp 345- 346.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p 346.

Aims of SACEP

Apart from implementation process, the declaration aims at the following:

- Creating an air pollution.
- Raising regional awareness on acidification.
- Knowledge-sharing and improvements in pollution monitoring systems.
- Review of policy
- Preparation of national sub.¹⁰⁷

The Democratic Principles and Its Challenges in South Asia

The term democracy is used for the rule by the people, either directly (pure democracy) or through representatives (republicanism). Democracy considers the value and the fundamental equality of all individuals, although the precise meaning of this has been somewhat uncertain and has long been debated.

South Asia consists of a cultural diversity and geo-political dynamics making it a unique region similar to India.

India's sheer size, its economic potential has added to its ability to intervene. This is seen by its neighbourhood with apprehensions. Since India is a dominant power in the region, its apprehensions and security imperatives invariably bring the smaller neighbours within the parameter of its security calculation. This notion of security without the concurrence of the neighbours is perceived as hegemonic in design, rather than genuine considerations. The foreign policies of India's neighbours are based upon expectations that strive for greater accommodation by India.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p 346

¹⁰⁸ Sanjeev Kumar H.M. (2006), "*Democratic Paralysis in South Asia: Major Issues and India's Concern*", *India Quarterly*, A Journal of International Affairs, Vol.LXII, No 3, July- September, 2006, published by Indian Council of World Affairs, Sapru House, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi 110001, p128.

The conflicts within the nation and between the South Asian countries occurs due to a dominant population of an ethnic conflict configurations, which could acquire the form of an ethnic conflict and lead to domestic tension and instability in the region. Similarly, coexistence and cohabitant of multi-ethnic character of the Indian society creates the epicenter of ethnic tensions, steered and maneuvered by external forces having some affiliation with the communities involved in the conflict. Besides, lack of education and exposure result in narrow minded, ethnic psychosis, tension, conflict and civil war.¹⁰⁹

The geographical contiguity among the South Asian countries particularly with India paves a congenial atmosphere to the interconnection among the people of the region. The ethnic group also inclines to support its own ethnic identity. The geographical adjacent helps in facilitating the accessibility for their own fraternal ethnic groups across borders in times of crisis and during sensitive times. The geo-ethnic convergences in the region is not conducive for the smooth functioning of democracy in South Asia.¹¹⁰

SAARC has tried to institutionalize democracy which has already experienced disruptions in the smooth process of living as democratic states in the region. SAARC does not put a mechanism of regional cooperation for democracy affecting its summits, hence it does not weaken the spirit of multilateralism.

The South Asia region has been marked by its own internal conflicts in ethnic violence, communal tensions, and militant activities, misuse of political power, insecurity and criminality for several decades.¹¹¹

India is a democratic state and Pakistan has military administration which leads to difference in ideology and conception in the peace process of border issues and relations. Terrorism is also supported unofficially by Pakistan and India has its own principles of zero tolerance on anti-social activity within the country and outside the country. Terrorism which originated from Pakistan is disruptive to Indian society which is peace loving.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p129.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p129

¹¹¹ Ibid. p129

The history of South Asia has been thus a witness to varieties of domestic unrests within its states as well as the external ferment surrounding them. One common characteristic of the region is that most of the states are victims of ethnic tensions and Leftist insurgencies.¹¹²

The security problems in South Asia in different perspectives

The security problems in South Asia may be analysed in different perspectives.

i. *Cross-border terrorism:*

The most disturbing challenge for peace, security and democracy is terrorism. The cross-border terrorism can be described as *Terrorism, secessionism and ethnic conflict, particularly in multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic societies, have assumed new dimensions both in their sweep and intensity in the beginning of the 21st century.*

Strong militant aggressive postures and its capabilities pose serious threats to the peace and stability of South Asia.¹¹³

Terrorism has become more complex because of insurgent movements in north-eastern India. Moreover the Pakistani establishment for sponsoring insurgency using Bangladeshi soil in order to carry out subversive activities in the region is more harmful. Quoting *Now Bangladesh has become the main epicenter of the North Eastern region for propagating and promoting the ultra-Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism.* According to some scholars and geo-political analysts, the epicenter of the concept and practices of Islamist jihad has shifted from Pakistan to Bangladesh. This is how terrorist activist and suicide bomb blast becomes a moral life for some section of people of a particular religious practice.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Ibid. p129

¹¹³ Ibid, p136.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p137.

ii. ***Civil Wars***

Civil war is one of the common diseases of the Third World countries including South Asian Nations. Civil war may be compared with 'two crabs in the basin.' The nations are incapable to control and rule the world due to the economic backwardness and lack of political strength when there is domestic conflict and violence. The main factors for civil wars are ethnic cleansing and religious issues.

The ethno-religious conflict has been one of the most horrendous victims of violence and some of the bloodiest incidents in the history of South Asia. During the time of India's partition in the name of religion (Hindu-Muslim), mass migration was a compelled catastrophe. Adding to that *Communal riots in post independence India have recurred with a vicious frequency. The trajectory they have followed in almost every instance has rarely also varied.*¹¹⁵

The seed of communism was rooted by British rule in India. The 'divide and rule' policy, the representation of Muslim in the national movement caused sensitivity among the Muslims and the Hindus leading to communal separation resulting in the partition of India. Communalism itself is the cause of clashes between right wing Hindutva ideology and extremist Islamist groups. The communal violence persists right from the ignominy of the demolition of Babri Masjid in 1992 to the pathetic communal carnage in Gujarat in the year 2002.¹¹⁶

SAARC and North East India

SAARC plays a vital role in the development and stability of South Asia nations in general and North East India in particular. The relevance of SAARC to the North East India may be studied under the following points:

- i. The First SAARC Summit took an initiative to examine the problem of terrorism as it affects the security and stability of member states of SAARC. Further, a similar exercise be carried out with regard to the problem of drug trafficking and abuse.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p138.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, pp 138- 139.

The North East India is a gateway and strategically located which adjoining territories of Bangladesh, Myanmar and China. The relevance of SAARC could be analysed in the perspectives of security, drug and human trafficking and linkage with insurgency training and their neighbouring countries.

ii. The Second SAARC Summit laid emphasis on people-to-people contacts and for taking concrete steps to facilitate tourism in the region, including facilities for limited convertibility of national currencies for tourists from SAARC countries.

The people of North East India have a general conception that they were discriminated and alienated in social and political as well as economic fields with respect to other parts of the country. The ethnic tension and ethnic related separatist movements are plaguing the North East region of India. The policy of people-to-people contacts is a fundamental principle of human lives. People-to-people contacts pave way for confidence building, promoting trust, mutual understanding and development.

Launching of people-to-people contacts by SAARC countries is an opportunity for North East region for promoting of tourism, trade and commerce, and education. It also created an opportunity for making a better standard of living and higher quality life. This could help in achieving a dream of building friendly relations to all over the nation and world too. Moreover, the natural phenomenon of suspicion, prejudice and blunder tension from each other of the neighbouring nations and North East India in particular. In addition, human relations required for social affinity feeling which reflects directly or indirectly to foreign policy of India. The positive people-to-people contacts are the bloodstream of human development being a social animal. This is the dynamic role to prevent any negative eventuality amongst North East India towards South Asia.

iii. The Third SAARC Summit was to initiate the process of dealing with the protection and preservation of the environment.

The North East India is yet to implement environment preservation policy in an appropriate manner. Lack of public awareness, environment protection is harshly devastation. It is imbalance of ecology in the region that affects to the whole nation, South Asia and the globe in general. The protection and preservation of the environment is very relevant for the North East region in the study of Indian foreign policy.

iv. The Fourth SAARC Summit was decided to declare 1990 as the *SAARC Year of the Girl Child*.

The declaration Year of the Girl Child could facilitate better care and promote to the destitute and downtrodden child of the family. As many family of the North East India region are under the category of below average standard of living that could ensure to enjoy the privilege of dignity and rights in day to day life. Above all, the evil about discrimination of female could wash away from the mind and heart of the people. The declaration could enlighten towards girl child in ever generation to go.

v. The Fifth SAARC Summit had the proposal for institutionalised cooperation among the tourist industries of the Member States with a view to attracting more tourists from outside the region.

The North East people have rich cultural heritage. The topography has a bounty natural beauty with an enormous gift of fauna and flora. There is a great potential for tourism when peaceful atmosphere is created with good connectivity to all region states.

vi. The Sixth SAARC Summit focused on institutionalising cooperation in the field of biotechnology.

The region of North East India has great scope in biotechnology as rich reservoir of unexplored of natural resources exists in the region. With full utilization and exploitation could promote economy the region of North East, India and South Asia.

vii. The Seventh SAARC Summit promotes peace, progress and stability in South Asia in a larger context.

The region of North East suffered a trauma of ethnic tension. The region also has a chronic of terrorism, insurgency and inconclusive political problem. Peace, progress and stability are the basic and common morality in human society.

In the SAARC Summit to promote peace, progress and stability in South Asia was the policy that could benefit to the people of North East India and to the whole South Asia at large. In brief, what happen in North East India happens in South Asia. Indeed, North East is the heartland of South Asia in peace and tension, development and destruction, stability and instability, security and insecurity. This is how progress and prosperity of the North East India could project by the SAARC's policy and programme for the global arena.

viii. The Eighth SAARC Summit the need to fulfil the internationally agreed aid targets for the developing countries and the Least Developed Countries. They emphasised on the need for exceptional finance to facilitate implementation of economic reform programmes.

The North East is in the category of developing countries and the Least Developed Countries. The proper initiative and implementation could much befitted to the North East states. The question would pose for between peace and development, violence and for development. Development and creation of employment avenue could solve all-round solution and sow a seed of peace to the whole North East and South Asia as a whole.

ix. The Ninth SAARC Summit also agreed to review of the criteria for the determination of LDC status for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly on the current year, must take into account the special significance of the extent and magnitude of incidence of poverty in the poorest countries and the special vulnerabilities of small island states.

The North East India states are to take into account LDC status for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly. The regions which are the poorest affect the whole states and neighbouring countries as a whole. The programme and policy of eradication of poverty could be very essential and relevant in the social life of the North East region.

x. The Tenth SAARC Summit, member states re-affirmed Middle East their support for the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace based on Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) and Resolution 338 (1973) to restore the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

SAARC is an objective of peace and harmony amongst the member states and to the whole world. North East India requires permanent peace for peaceful coexistence and development. Wisely says 'no peace no development, no development no peace.

xi. The Eleventh SAARC Summit, the need for further promoting a sense of regional identity amongst the peoples of the region.

The North East region people are indispensable feeling of regional and ethnic identity. In promoting a sense of regional identity could serve a purpose of thirst and psychological satisfaction. The culture, social, religion, ethnic and land inheritance are a unique practice from other parts of India and South Asia at large.

xii. The Twelfth SAARC Summit, guided by the vision of a peaceful and prosperous South Asia and proud of its rich culture and traditions.

The ideology and principles of *unity in diversity* is the essence to South Asia. Being rich cultural heritage and traditions in North East and India's nation have a moral upright proud. Through preservation and honour of culture and traditions would attain the vision of a peaceful and prosperous South Asia and specifically to the North East.

xiii. The Thirteenth SAARC Summit, Heads of State and Government decided to declare the decade of 2006-2015 as the SAARC Decade of Poverty Alleviation. During the Decade, endeavours both at the national and regional level will continue to be made with a sense of commitment and urgency to free South Asia from poverty.

The Heads of State and Government noted that the spirit of SAARC needed to be sustained by efforts to promote people-to-people contact and by a vibrant civil society throughout South Asia actively engaged in forging links across national boundaries.

It is observed that due to poverty and lack of people-to-people contact, the region of North East India could not grow as the expectation of a vibrant civil society.

xiv. The Fourteenth SAARC Summit, states welcomed the entry of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan as a new member. The SAARC Car Rally, in the run-up to the Fourteenth SAARC Summit, had vividly symbolized this connectivity.

SAARC wants friendly relations to member states and create a confidence building in the greater extent. SAARC connectivity symbolizes to all regions where North East India would directly or indirectly benefit out of it.

xv. The Fifteenth SAARC Summit, members renewed their resolve for collective regional efforts to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development which would promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and improve their quality of life, thereby contributing to peace, stability, amity and progress in the region.

SAARC accelerates on economic growth, social progress and cultural development is the essence of North East India progress and development. This would eliminate the poverty and improve the standard of living.

xvi. The Sixteenth SAARC Summit, Thimphu Silver Jubilee Declaration laid emphasis on effective communications and public diplomacy.

Further, it was agreed on the need to expedite negotiations with a view to finalizing the two agreements on Motor Vehicles and Railways.

The better connectivity of motor vehicles and railways would directly benefit to the people of North East India. This would generate economy, more opportunity for people-to-people contacts which is the way to erase evil hearts and mind like prejudice, suspicion and cynic attitude towards each other. The fraternal feeling and commonality sense could create for oneness to North East and South Asia as a whole.

xvii. The Seventeenth SAARC Summit, Addu Declaration adopted by the eight SAARC member countries, reaffirms their commitment to peace, confidence building, liberty, human dignity, democracy, mutual respect, good governance and human rights.

SAARC adoption of peace, confidence building, liberty, human dignity, democracy, mutual respect, good governance and human rights would enlighten North East India. Like peace, human dignity, good governance and human rights in need of the region as well free from corruption.

Conclusion

The SAARC strength and progress is determined by the member states. Cooperation and friendly relations would bring a change develop the region. It is very interesting that international politics is always awake for SAARC blends.

The expectation and dream would progress and fulfill the needs of the people and region in particular through mutual respect and understanding. Prejudice, suspicion, hatred and discrimination in its role would destroy and defeat all objectives. Technology sharing, facilitation of trade amongst the nation states for economic and political development will enhance development towards global growth. Population explosion should be controlled to speed up the process of development.

Culture, religion, social and race commonality would keep the essence of attachment in every sphere. Any disharmony and social turbulence would defeat any positive development. The

future is in the hand of the SAARC nations. The choice is development or to harbour anti social activities with different ideologies.

Chapter IV

North East India: Social, Political, Economic and Security Perspectives

Chapter IV

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Map 4.1

North East India



Source: "North-East India Map", <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/northeast/sevensisters.htm>, Copyright © 2008 Compare Infobase Limited, Accessed on 15th July, 2011.

An Introduction of North East India

North- East India is essentially the creation of the British. Before 1947, the whole of North- East India, excluding Manipur and Tripura was Assam. However, immediately after independence fissiparous forces lead to the dismemberment of greater Assam resulting in the formation of seven North- Eastern sisters, namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura have been dealt with. Geographically, this region is almost isolated from the rest of India. North- East is strategically important and is girdled by Tibet, Bhutan, China, Myanmar (formerly Burma) and Bangladesh. It is linked to the rest of the country by a narrow corridor in West Bengal. ¹

The North East region of India occupies strategic geopolitical situation due to its international boundaries with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Nepal. The region earlier comprised the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, popularly known as the ‘Seven Sisters.’ Recently, the State of Sikkim also come under the umbrella of this region owing to its proximity to the area and somewhat similar type of developmental and other problems. ²

The term “North east Frontier” connotes with reference to present day, British India something entirely different from what it did with regard to the Mughal Empire of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While it is now applicable to the hilly region lying to the north and east of Sadiya, which commands the route to China, it meant in the Mughal age the Mongoloid states of Koch Bihar, Kamrup and Assam, which bordered serially on the province of Bengal in the north-east. ³

¹ “Sikkim and the Seven Sisters” (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*” Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 684, 686.

² “Preface” (2005), *Discovery of North East India*, Volume 3, ed. S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, Mittal Publications, A- 110, Mohan Garden, New Delhi 110059 (India).

³ Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharya (2005) “The North- East Frontier”, *Discovery of North East India*, Volume 1, ed. S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, Mittal Publications, , A- 110, Mohan Garden New Delhi 110059 (India), p 1.

The region covered by the principalities is in much strange shape- great length by very little breath, and like it again, it may be said to be watered by one life-giving river (the Brahmaputra). The greater part of the country is shut in between high and inaccessible hills, which girdle it in three sides- north, south and east, while on the fourth, is a river, the Karatoya. The only point of contact with the outside world is on the west, and particularly south- west, and it is here that the Mughal Sarkar of Ghoraghat touched the fringe of Koch domain which was naturally the first to come within the pole of Imperial foreign policy.⁴

North East India is full of hills, streams and rivers. The hills are covered with dense forests because of the heavy rainfall. In some places, the ridges rise one after another. The valleys are deep, narrow and steep-sided and the streams are deepening and cutting the valleys. As a consequence, communications between one hill and another is practically impossible. The rugged physiographic condition of this region render the tribes to live in splendid isolation. The isolated conditions of the different tribes induces them to demand political independence. The Mizos and the Nagas demanded independence because they were not touched profoundly by administration. The Khasi and the Garos did not demand independence because they were in close contact with the people of the plains and understood the benefits, cultural, political and economic, resulting from such contacts.

North East India is strategically important. It has natural frontiers on three sides and a political boundary on the fourth. It has common frontiers with four political communities, China in the North, Bhutan in the West, Bangladesh in the East and Myanmar (formerly Burma) in the South. No other part of India occupies such a strategic position as the North East.⁵

Long before the advent of the British, the indigenous people in the hills of north- east India had organized themselves under the political systems of their own which had been the natural outcome of their social evolution. Two distinctly different types of system of governance had

⁴ Ibid. p 1.

⁵ V. Venkata Rao (1996) "North East India: Problems and Prospects," *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*," Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjana Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 3-4.

been evolved in the hills, i.e., democratic system in the clan- based village societies controlled by the village councils and village headmen, had autocratic system of chieftainship controlled by the clan or village chiefs. The extent of power and authority of these traditional political institutions in relation to their people used to vary from tribe to tribe. While in certain communities these traditional institutions were well- organized and well- structured and even, in few cases, they led the formation of miniature states. In some communities these institutions were loosely organized without any central authority.⁶

Arunachal Pradesh

Map 4.2

⁶ T.Raatan (2004) “Old Tribal Set- up,” *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 1, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 189.



Source: "Map of Arunachal Pradesh," <http://www.arunachalpradesh.nic.in/Pic-htms/mapofarunachal.htm>, Accessed on 16th July, 2011.

History of Arunachal Pradesh goes back to hundreds of years into mists of tradition and myth. Local tradition regards the country around Sadiya as the ancient Vidarbha. Ancient Puranas have

many references to the region. Recorded history of Arunachal Pradesh can be traced only when Ahom kings began to rule Assam in the 16th century. The British took possession of Assam in 1838. British government had brought Arunachal Pradesh also under their administrative control. After independence, it was a part of North East Frontier Agency, and later, made a union territory. On 20th February, 1987 Arunachal Pradesh is skirted by Bhutan in west, Tibet and China in north and north- east, Burma in east and Assam in south. It consists of the sub-mountains and mountainous ranges sloping to the plains of Assam. It is the largest state area-wise in north- east region.⁷

The total area of Arunachal Pradesh is 83,743 sq km.⁸

Arunachal Pradesh is the land of 22 distinct tribes speaking as many languages. This culturally rich State of India is surrounded by Bhutan to the west, China (Tibet) to the north, (formerly Burma) Myanmar to the east, Nagaland and Assam to the south. Till 1962, neither the natives thought they were part of any country nor the Indians viewed them as Indians (many Indians still think so). It was after the Chinese aggression that the Government of India woke up to the reality that there also existed a part of India called North East Frontier Agency (present Arunachal Pradesh).

The geography, history, sociology, morality and philosophy taught to the natives are those of the mainland India, not of Arunachal Pradesh. As a result they are being culturally displaced. Not only that, the students of the mainland are not taught anything about Arunachal Pradesh and its people. That is why there exists a big communication gap between the natives and the mainstream people. Even the official media like Doordashan hardly gives coverage to Arunachal Pradesh and its people. For that matter, faces from tribal States of North East are rare sights on the TV screen.

⁷ Tado Karlo (1996) "Arunachal: Plight of the Natives," *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*, Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grove and Ranjana Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi-110027, pp 95, 107-109.

⁸ Oxford School Atlas 32nd Edition (2010), Oxford University Press, p 25.

The motto of the colonizers of the past God, Glory and Gold, finds its follower ever today. What one sees in Arunachal Pradesh is cultural imperialism. Also, the presence of huge number of Indian Army, along the 1030 km long border with China, puts the natives to submission. In fact, most of the fertile valleys in this highly mountainous State have been occupied by the Army.⁹

The concept of land ownership in the region under study may, broadly be considered under three heads, namely the individual, the clan and the village common land. As ownership of land differs from tribe to tribe, the same system varies between the tribes practicing shifting cultivation only and the other tribes having continuous and permanent cultivation. The land under individual ownership comprises cultivated land such as irrigated rice fields, fields for dry crops, kitchen gardens, plots for crops like maize, vegetables, fruit trees, bamboo groves, pine other useful trees and homestead site. The land such as meadows close to village, commonly used as pasture as well as burial ground and the tracts of forests come under clan ownership.¹⁰

The Practice of Religion in Arunachal Pradesh

The Khamtis are a Buddhist tribe living mainly in the Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh.

The Khamtis are pure Buddhists. They are process the Theravada (Khamti, to- ni) in fact, brought their Buddhism from Myanmar (formerly Burma).

The Khamti priests (Khamti, chow- mun) are men of great importance, and their influence is greater even than that of the chiefs. No undertaking is commenced without first consulting them, and by pretended divinations they select and announce an auspicious day. They are also the school- masters, every free- born Khamti youth being compelled to attend school in the temples, where he learns to read and write his own language.

⁹ Ibid. pp 95, 107-109

¹⁰ T.Raatan (2004) "Ownership of Lands," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 2, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052.

It is the responsibility of the villagers to provide food to the bhikkhu and samaneras, who may also receive gifts of the barest necessities, and accept invitations to meals.¹¹

Agriculture is the mainstay of the people, who by and large, follow a slash and burn method of shifting cultivation called jhum practiced on rain- bed slopes of forest hills and dales. Rice is the principal crop and other important crops are maize, millet, wheat, pulses, potato, sugarcane and oilseeds. Ecological conditions in Arunachal Pradesh are congenial for the growth of horticulture. Besides, pineapple, orange, lemon, lichi, papaya, banana, guava temperate fruits such as apple, plum, peas, cherries, walnut, almond etc., are grown in above 1,400 horticulture gardens.¹²

Endowed with abundant forest, mineral and hydel power resources, Arunachal Pradesh was a high industrial potential. Limestone also occurs at Hunli in Dibang Valley distinct and Menga in Upper Subansiri District. These apart, occurrences of graphite, quartzite, kyanite, mica, iron and copper ores are also reported. Remarkable progress has been achieved in the field of cottage industries, of which weaving, basketry and carpetmaking merit particular mention. Small scale industries numbering 1,957 in 1990-91 comprise saw, rice and oil mills, fruit preservation, soap and candle manufacturing units, steel fabrication, wood works and so on.¹³

An Idu village is usually a collection of homestead, each consisting of a single family of parents and children as the smallest unit. The Idus practice polygamy and each wife has a separate apartment within the same homestead. Sometimes two or more lineally related kinsmen, their wives and children occupy a single homestead, and are jointly subject to the same authority. A domestic group may also include other persons related to the family, such as widows, orphans and infirm persons. The attitude towards the father, the fathers' brothers, and the grandfather is

¹¹ Bhikshu Kondinya (1996) "Role of Religion in Khamti Society," *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*," Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjana Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 139- 140.

¹² "Agriculture" (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States* Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 96.

¹³ "Minerals and Industries" (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*" Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 96.

one of respect, and usually the father is considered to be the authoritative head, who has an effective say in all matters that concern the family. The mother's brother, is treated with a degree of intimacy and affection which would not be shown to the father or his brothers.¹⁴

Kinship, social and economic ties hold together the members of the homestead. In ordinary activities such as fishing, collection of food, clearing of the jungle and cultivation, they act as a single unit. Properties such as land, livestock, and foodstuff, house and forest trees are held jointly, by the family. But, personal effects such as ornaments, clothing, cash and household and occupational equipment may belong to the individual separately.¹⁵

The political transformation has an obvious impact on the socio-economic life of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. A policy of alienation inspired the British regime to keep the hill areas scheduled and away from the mainstream of the culture and social life of the country. This had adversely affected the process of national integration. But the people of Arunachal are now on the move. They are now expanding- materially, culturally and spiritually. The hills do not circumscribe their mental horizon any more. Arunachal is undergoing a silent transformation.¹⁶

At the time of Independence, Arunachal possessed no development whatsoever. There was hardly any network of communications and welfare institutions. The British administration had confined itself to the concept of loose administrative control by touring the major trade routes upto the international frontier. In the hinterland, large tracts of territory remained unexplored, unmapped and uncensused. In these areas many villages have been never located or visited and there was even doubt regarding the course of major river system through the territory.¹⁷

¹⁴ Tapan Kumar M. Barua (2005) "Social Life," *Discovery of North-East India*, Volume 2, ed. S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, Mittal Publications, A- 110, Mohan Garden, New Delhi 110059 (India) p 165.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ "Arunachal's Silent Revolution" (2001), *Encyclopaedia of North-East India*, Volume 1, ed. H.M. Bareh, Mittal Publications, New Delhi- 110059 (India), p 112.

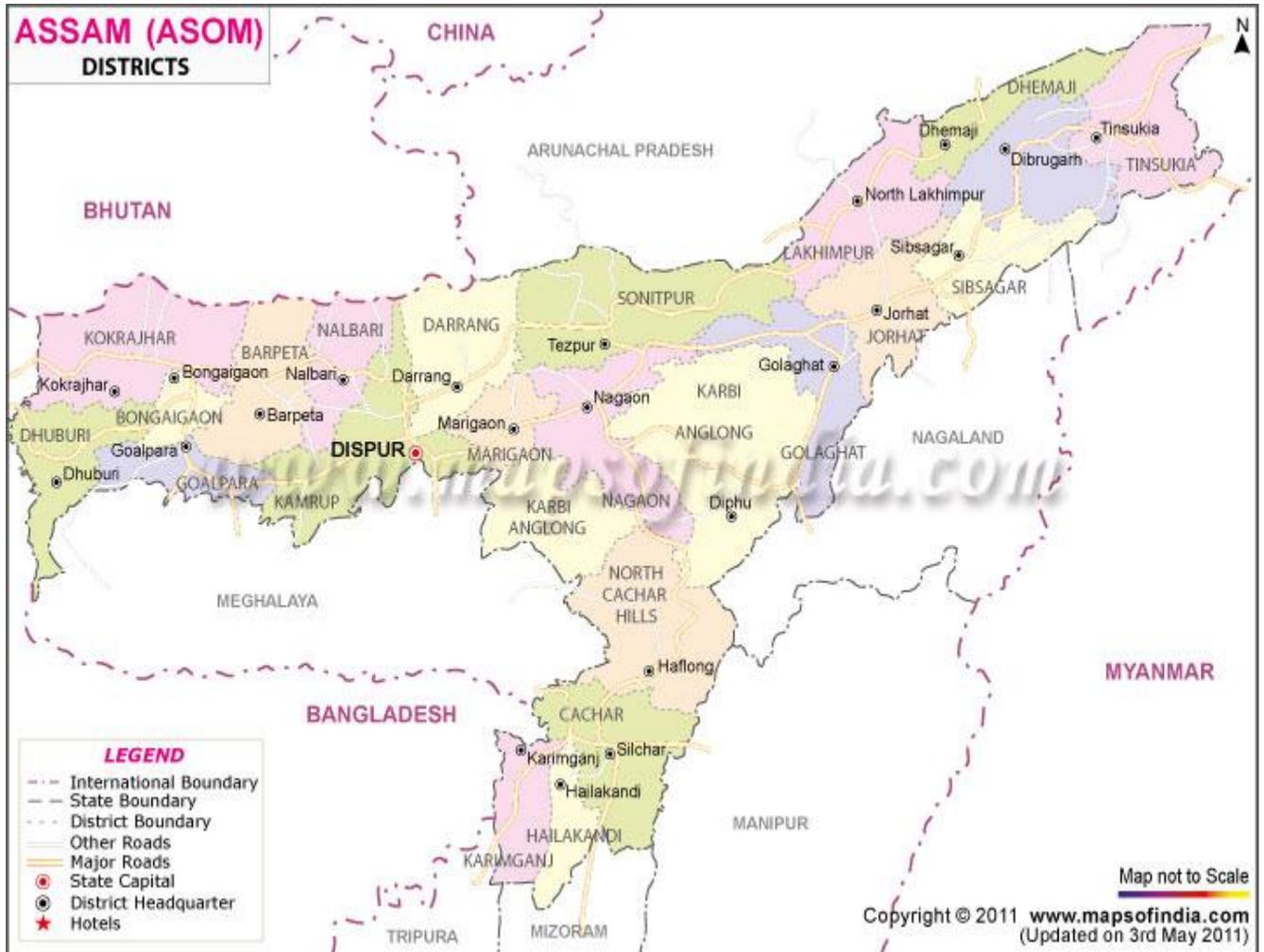
¹⁷ Ibid, p 113.

The Bill in its amended form known as the “Arunachal Freedom of Religious Faith Bill, 1978” was passed by the Territorial Assembly and the President gave his assent, thereby giving it the status of an Act. This indeed was a singular triumph for the people of Arunachal Pradesh.¹⁸

Assam

¹⁸ Ibid, p 121.

Map 4.3



Source: “Assam (Asom) District Map, Maps of Assam (Asom),” <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/assam/assam-district.htm>, Accessed on 13th June, 2012

The word Assam is derived from Sanskrit *asom* meaning peerless, judged by her exquisite natural beauty, cultural richness and human wealth. Assam has a rich legacy of culture and civilization behind her. Being the homeland of different races of men: Austric, Mongolian, Dravidian and Aryan that can dwell in her hills and valleys at different times, since remote antiquity, she has developed a composite culture of variegated colour.¹⁹ The total area of Assam is 78,438 sq km.²⁰

The issue of the Asamiya nationality vis-a-vis the Bengalis in Assam has remained controversial, ever since the arrival of the Bengali baboos in the wake of the annexation and consolidation of the British control in Assam in 1826. However, this does not mean that Assam had no connection at all with Bengal. Geographically, Assam's connection with the rest of Indian sub- continent has ever been through Bengal. Being a neighbor, Assam and Bengal have had social, cultural, economic, diplomatic and political connections since beginning of human civilization in that region of the sub- continent. Many of the present day Asamiya caste- Hindu families came originally from Bengal during the later Ahom days.²¹

Sociologically speaking, the Bengalis became a reference group of the Asamiyas who were looking for upward social mobility within the emerging social hierarchy in British Assam. Many of the Bengali sweetmeats, eating habits, dress pattern, manners, rituals and behavior found acceptance among them. Some of them even talk proudly in Bengali, read Bengali papers and literature.²²

During the century for which Assam has been under British rule and enjoyed the blessings of a settled Government, its material prosperity increased rapidly. Its trade has grown, and its exports of mustard seed, potatoes (introduced in the Khasi hills by David Scott), silk and other local produce have increased greatly, both in quantity and value. A large part of the lime used in

¹⁹ "Assam" (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States* Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 177.

²⁰ Ibid, p 25.

²¹ T.Raatan (2004) "Identity Crisis," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 47.

²² Ibid, p 50.

Bengal is supplied from the quarries on the southern face of the Khasi hills. Coal has been discovered and work in various parts especially in the neighbourhood of Makum in the Lakhimpur district; and mineral has been found at Digboi in the same district, where wells have been sunk for its extraction. But, by far the most important factor in the growing prosperity and commercial importance of the province has been the remarkable expansion of the tea industry.²³

The national struggle for freedom is a long story to recount here. In 1921, the whole country including Assam responded to the call of Mahatma Gandhi and played a glorious part in the fight for our freedom. Assam's contribution was in no way less. Bapuji visited Assam and called it *lovely Assam* and also highly praised its people for their heroism and adherence to the ideal of self reliance. India became free on 15th August, 1947. But, independence brought a large number of problems in its wake. The country was partitioned and this brought Assam to the fore. Assam became the real frontier of strategic importance.²⁴

Assam occupies a very important position in the map of India, surrounded as it is by different foreign countries namely Bhutan and Bangladesh, and people by various races and tribes speaking different languages and dialects and having distinct cultures of their own.²⁵

Assam is not only rich in her cultural heritage but also rich, possibly the richest state, in India in so far as natural resources are concerned. The flora and fauna, forest and mineral wealth, the colourful way of life. They are full of all species of herbs, plants and tree known to botanical experts.²⁶

The wild life of Assam has drawn the attention of the lovers of animals, not only of our country but of all parts of the globe. In the famous sanctuaries like the Kaziranga sanctuary one can find

²³ Edward Gait (2005) "Growth of the Tea Industry," *Discovery of North- East India*, Volume 5, ed. S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, Mittal Publications, A- 110, Mohan Garden, New Delhi 110059 (India), p 39.

²⁴ Bharatchandra Pathakra (2005) "Assam- Its Past and Future," *Discovery of North- East India*, Volume 4, ed. S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, Mittal Publications, A- 110, Mohan Garden, New Delhi 110059 (India), p 340.

²⁵ Ibid. pp 340- 341

²⁶ Ibid, p 341.

one-horned rhino, wild buffalo, elephant, bear and different kinds of deer. The State offers ample scopes for establishment of various important industries like cement factories, paper mills, sugar mills, jute mill etc. Although very rich in raw materials, Assam is still lagging behind other sister states of the union, industrially.²⁷

Ever since the British occupation, there had been a considerable flow of non- Assamese Indians into Assam from other parts of India, particularly provinces in the neighbourhood of Assam. With the arrival of the British, the old Assamese system of government was replaced and its functions disappeared from public life. In order to run the new administration, clerks, officers and other servants familiar with the system of Company administration were brought from outside the province. Moreover, a certain number of other people also came within this flow to fill the various demands of economic growth. The Assamese people like most other traditional societies were agriculturists and looked down upon wage labour i.e., working for others.²⁸

The slow penetration into Assam of the immigrants from Bengal. Obviously, the virgin and fertile soil of Assam had attracted a large number of immigrants .They came to Assam with their families and began to increase the permanent population of Assam. Thus, the immigration assumed alarming proportions.²⁹

The second aspect of the immigrant population in Assam was the tension between the Assamese and Bengalis. The Assamese- Bengali question has been of special importance to the people of Assam.³⁰

The British Government made frequent change of the boundary of Assam according to its convenience. Just after its occupation Assam was brought under the administrative jurisdiction of Bengal. Later on although it was made a separate Governor's Province in 1921, two districts of

²⁷ Ibid. pp 340- 341

²⁸ Girin Phukon (1996) "Politics of Influx in Assam: A Pre- Independence Perspective," *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*," Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjana Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F-159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 228.

²⁹ Ibid, p 229.

³⁰ Ibid, p 231.

Bengal, namely Sylhet and Cachar, were tagged on to Assam. These two districts had for centuries been integral parts of Bengal. Their history had been the history of Bengal, their language is Bengali, their ways and their outlook was almost the same as those of Bengal. Assam proper, on the other hand, comprised the Brahmaputra Valley and was a self-contained and independent kingdom. The dominant people in this variegated group were the Assamese speaking people. They were not all of the same racial stock, but due to close association and a common life and language they developed a culture of their own, markedly different, as they saw it, from the temperament and character of their Bengali neighbour. Their history was a history of isolation from Bengal and Mughal India, which they zealously guarded by the force of arms. As a result, there emerged a problem of cultural and political integration between these two streams.. In a society having socio-cultural differences, the creation of a unified political authority is not enough to forge a single and durable political entity. People cannot be held together unless they are made to cherish certain common political values and attitudes. It is obvious that the role of historical antecedents, both political and cultural, is of crucial importance for the purpose of harmonious blending of the heterogeneous elements. Such a harmony is crucial for the purpose of political integration and political development. In Assam, however, such mobilization and tradition had not yet been possible.³¹

The majority of the Bengalis in Assam were, however, immigrants from East Bengal. In short, time the Bengali-speaking people emerged as the second largest group in the Assam Valley.³²

Manipur

Map 4.4

³¹ Ibid, pp 231- 232.

³² Ibid, p 232.



Source: "Manipur, Manipur Map," <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/manipur/manipur.htm>, Accessed on 29th May, 2012

It is commonly known that an adventurer named Pakhangba ascended the throne of the seven main principalities and founded a dynasty which ruled Manipur till 1949. The King named Loi Yamba in 1074 A.D. consolidated the kingdom to a great extent. In the later years, Kabaws (who

lived at Indo- Burma border) tried to annex the south eastern part of Manipur Valley which was foiled by the King Khumomba. By 1470 Kabaw valley was annexed to Manipur. By 1542 Manipur dominions were further extended. There was a battle with the Chinese which the Manipuris singly defeated them.³³

In the next 200 years, Manipur saw a steady prosperous time. In 1762, the Manipur king concluded a treaty with the British to ward off the growing menace of the Burmese. It is well-known that Burmese successes in Manipur, Assam and other places led to war between the Burmese and the British lasting seven years. The treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 ended the war but failed to solve the problem of Manipuris. The British Government kept Manipur as a native state after much deliberations. After integration with the Indian Union in 1949, the problem of Manipur did not end as it was made a Part 'C' state. Central leadership was against its merger in Assam was considered by the Reorganization Commission. Hence, it became a Union Territory under the State Reorganization Act 1956. At the growing dissent of the people, Manipur was made of full-fledged state of the Union in 1972. Manipur is bounded by upper Myanmar (formerly Burma) on east, the Chin Hills of Myanmar on south- east, Nagaland on north, Assam on west and Mizoram on south and south- west.³⁴

The total area of Manipur is 22,327 sq km.³⁵

Manipur by virtue of its geographical position was in between the two called the Aryan culture and Mongolian. Although in physical features and certain traditional practices people appear to be more akin to the Mongolian camp, the basic principles mentioned in the old scriptures of the Manipuris are much nearer to the Vedic religion than to the Mongolian currents of thought and religion. That is to say Manipuri cultures forms part and parcel of the wide Vedic civilization.³⁶

³³ "Manipur" (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States* Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 339.

³⁴ Ibid. p 339.

³⁵ Ibid, p 25.

³⁶ T.Raatan (2004) "Manipuri Culture Derived from Vedic Civilisation," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 2, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 134.

Manipur has about 350 km long international border with Myanmar (formerly Burma) in the east and southeast. It is surrounded by Nagaland, Mizoram and Assam in the north, south and west respectively. Manipur came under the British rule as a princely State in 1891. It merged with Indian union on 15th October, 1949.³⁷

Since most parts of the border with Myanmar are 'open', inhabitants in the interior areas clandestinely and frequently traverse the borderline at different points. In fact, most of the dwellers on both side of the border belong to the same tribe. Mostly Kukis and Nagas have been found settling at these places with different nationalities. The tribal's at the border in India are allowed free passage to the other side of the other side of the border to meet their relatives.³⁸

The Meitei insurgents hold the entire 1,800 square kilometer lush valley where most of Manipur's Vaishnavite Hindu population is concentrated and the state administration to ransom. Policemen and men of the paramilitary forces like the Border Security Forces and the Central Reserve Police Force have been the main target of the militants and their morale is at lowest ebb.³⁹

A small, but determined, band of Manipuri Meitei radicals masquerading under the banner of the secessionist "Peoples' Liberation Army" (PLA), led by Lhasa- trained Nameirakpam Bisheswar, ha been striking terror in the hearts of the peace- loving citizens with impunity.⁴⁰

The young generation which is passing out from schools and colleges everyday does not find suitable employment avenues in the swelling. Graduates are already employed in the state police as ordinary constables. With the expansion of educational facilities the unemployment problem is likely to aggravate further in the coming years. It is these angry unemployed youngmen who

³⁷ "Turbulent History of Manipur" (2001), *Encyclopaedia of North –East India*, Volume 3, ed. H.M. Bareh, Mittal Publications, New Delhi- 110059 (India), p 42.

³⁸ Ibid. p 42.

³⁹ Ibid, p 67.

⁴⁰ "Turmoil in Manipur" (2001), *Encyclopaedia of North –East India*, Volume 3, ed. H.M. Bareh, Mittal Publications, New Delhi- 110059 (India), pp 67, 83- 84

are taking to undesirable methods for satisfying their aspirations and form the nucleus of the rebel hardcore.⁴¹

The growing pressure on land, the increasing competition for white- collared jobs, the growing aspirations of the Meiteis, and the acquisition of power apparatus to change the ethnic division of labour have united the “sons of the soil” to launch a virulent campaign to drive out the “Mayangs” or non- Manipuris from Manipur. Simultaneously, the Meitei undergrounds have sought to establish rapport with the Naga and Mizo insurgents by trying to project their movement as a part of a pan- Mongoloid drive for self assertion as well as trying to whip up a popular agitation for atavistic revival of tribalism. Significantly, a senior Minister of the former Shaiza cabinet, had sometime back presided over a public meeting where the Hindu scripture like Geeta and Mahabharata were consigned to flames.⁴²

The hill areas of the state are endowed with rich natural resources- swift- flowing rivers and fertile soils, rich vegetal cover, precious minerals and over and above a hard working, healthy, strong and stout people, providing rich human resource base for economic development. But, major part of the Manipur hills remains economically depressed and underdeveloped for poor infrastructural facilities and unplanned utilization of natural resources. The gradual depletion of the natural resources has brought miseries to the hill people and their ecosystem. Therefore, there is an urgent need for proper attention to scientific management of natural resources, so that an ecological balance can be maintained for the development of the hill tracts of the state.⁴³

Soil erosion is a serious menace in the hills areas of the state, which is the result of intense jhuming and indiscriminate cutting and burning of forests. Without proper soil conservation measures, such as contour bonding, terracing and protective afforestation, it will be difficult to maintain the ecological balance in this part of the country.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ibid, p 83.

⁴² Ibid, p 84.

⁴³ “Economic Development” (2001), *Encyclopaedia of North –East India*, Volume 3, ed. H.M. Bareh, Mittal Publications, New Delhi- 110059 (India), p 108.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p 110.

Forests provide firewood, charcoal, roundwood and timber. Besides, fuel, they supply structural timber for public use, matchwood, bamboos, canes, turpentine and resin, gums, oils, fibres, honey, wax, thatching grasses and medicinal herbs. Many of them are used in various industries and some are exported. Dalchini used in spices, and Agar cane, with proper marketing facilities, earn a lot of foreign exchange besides their extensive use in the domestic market.⁴⁵

The forest-clad hills have a rich variety of wildlife. Himalayan black bear and the common Indian sloth bear are found in the northern hills. The wild pig is common throughout the region. Several species of porcupine, moles, rats, and mice are found in large numbers, particularly in the Tamenglong district.⁴⁶

The main profession of the population is agriculture. Weaving, fishing and other cottage industries are the main supplement. Employment in the Government and semi- Government establishments and institutions. The main profession of a substantial section of the population in and around Imphal is weaving.⁴⁷

The villages on the bank of Loktak have the mixed profession of agriculture and fishing. The cottage industries, viz., carpentry, blacksmithy, goldsmithy, tailoring, embroidery, bamboo and cane work also support a small section of the population. Thousands of women both in the urban and rural areas supplement the income of their families by active participation, may, by playing leading role in the small business sectors of the main markets.⁴⁸

The available lands for agriculture can be put to more intensive use by introducing additional facilities for irrigation. The natural fertility of the land is an accepted fact. The agriculture so far has depended on the monsoon and the natural fertility of the land.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Ibid, p 113.

⁴⁶ Ibid. pp 108, 110, 113.

⁴⁷ T.Raatan (2004) "Economic Development of Manipur," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 3, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 203.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p 104.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p 107.

Progress political movements was closely associated with the growth of political and national consciousness among the people of Manipur. In this regard, the formation of the 'Nikhil Hindu Manipur Mahasabha', on the 30th May, 1934 may be regarded as a stepping stone for the growth of political consciousness in the country. Basically, this organization was a social and religious organization and its only objectives was for the upliftment and strengthening of the social and religious life of the people.⁵⁰

Manipur enjoyed independence right up to the first two decades of the nineteenth century, except during the brief period of Burmese occupation between 1819 and 1826. In 1826 Raja Gambhir Singh liberated Manipur from the Burmese, but in the process he took help of the British, and Manipur had to pay the price of it, it now had to work under British suzerainty.⁵¹

After the memorable uprising of 1891, it came under British paramountcy, and functioned as such as a princely state. Within this political paramount, the administrative, executive, policy-making and judicial functions were performed by a new institution known as the Durbar from 1907 to 1947. For the first two years the Maharaja functioned as the President of the Durbar but in 1916 the Raja vacated the post of the president in favour of an English I.C.S., though he continued to be responsible for the administration of the state assisted by the Durbar.⁵²

While in some respects the dynamics of political and governmental processes in Manipur resemble those in those states in the country, there are also marked contrasts arising from historical, geopolitical and socio-economic-cultural compulsions of Manipur, which have been undergoing slow transformations but the constraints still casting their shadows all along.⁵³

⁵⁰ T.Raatan (2004) "Administrative and Political Struggle," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 3, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 157.

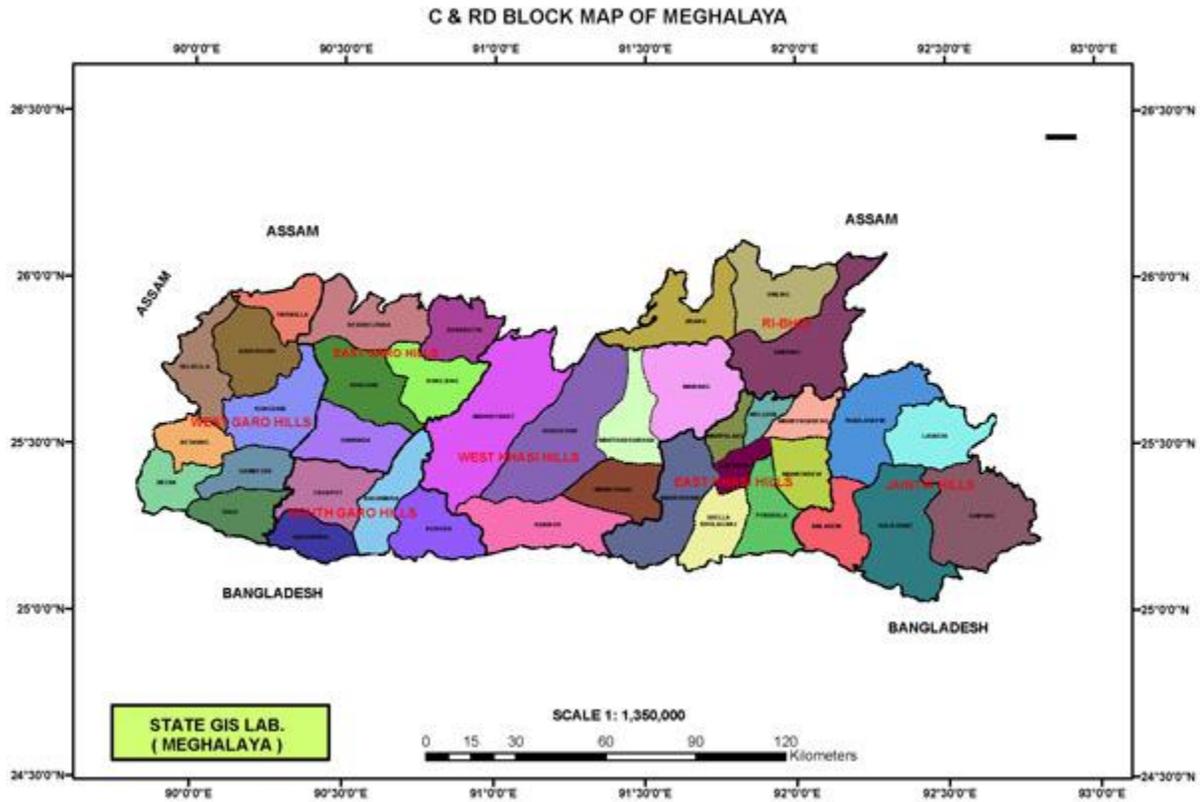
⁵¹ L.P.Singh (1996), "The Politics and Government of Manipur" *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*" Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 366.

⁵² pp 366, 370.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p 370.

Meghalaya

Map 4.5



Source: "Meghalaya Map," <http://meghalaya.nic.in/maps/block.htm>, Accessed on 16th July, 2011.

Meghalaya was created as an autonomous state within the state of Assam on 2nd April, 1970. The full fledged state of Meghalaya came into existence on 21st January, 1972. It is bound on the north and east by Assam and on the south and west by Bangladesh. Meghalaya literally meaning

the abode of clouds is essentially hilly state. It is now divided into seven administrative districts namely (i) Jaintia hills, (ii) East Garo hills, (iii) West Garo hills, (iv) East Khasi hills, (v) West Khasi hills, (vi) Ri Bhoi district, and (vii) South Garo hills district. These tribal communities are the descendants of very ancient people having distinctive traits and ethnic origin. The Khasi hills and Jaintia Hills which form the central and eastern parts of Meghalaya is an imposing plateau with rolling grassland, hills and river valleys. The southern face of this plateau is marked by deep gorges and abrupt slopes, at the foot of which, a narrow strip of plain land runs along the international border with Bangladesh.⁵⁴

The total area of Meghalaya is 22,429 sq km.⁵⁵

Meghalaya survives uniformly as the island of matrilineal societies distinct from the patriarchal societies which surround it. Yet, Meghalaya with its distinct matrilineal family and social organization has found enough room to adjust itself to all the situations which have affected the state. Most of the Bodic or Sino- Tibetan speaking people at one time exhibited strongly the matrilineal traits, who at the laps of the long ages, switched over to a patrilineal society. This is proved by the Garo Society which still retains its matrilineal customs of succession and inheritance.⁵⁶

Advent of British rule, in the case of Meghalaya, disturbed the old system of leading tribal communities of the state, mainly Garos, Khasi and Jaintias. Sixth schedule of the Constitution deal with three areas through certain provisions in the post- independence governance. Famous 73rd Amendment to the Constitution further shook the functioning of these scheduled areas.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ "Meghalaya" (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*" Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 375.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p 25.

⁵⁶ T.Raatan (2004) "Language, Religious Beliefs and Practices," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 2, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, pp 151- 152.

⁵⁷ T.Raatan (2004) "Old Tribal Set- up," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 1, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 189.

Mother kinship is dominant and inheritance is matrilineal. The tribe is a conglomerate of clans, each tracing lineage from the ancestral mother, and the founder of the clan. The mother is the custodian of family rites and property; she is succeeded by her youngest sister who becomes the keeper of the property and the organizer of the family rites in which she can improve the pattern of this residence but cannot part it off. Thus a form of ultimogeniture survives. Her elder sister also secure shares of inheritance in the form of landed or family property, jewelleries and ornaments, vessels and other articles of household furniture and goods, but the largest share (including the mother's residential house) is hers.⁵⁸

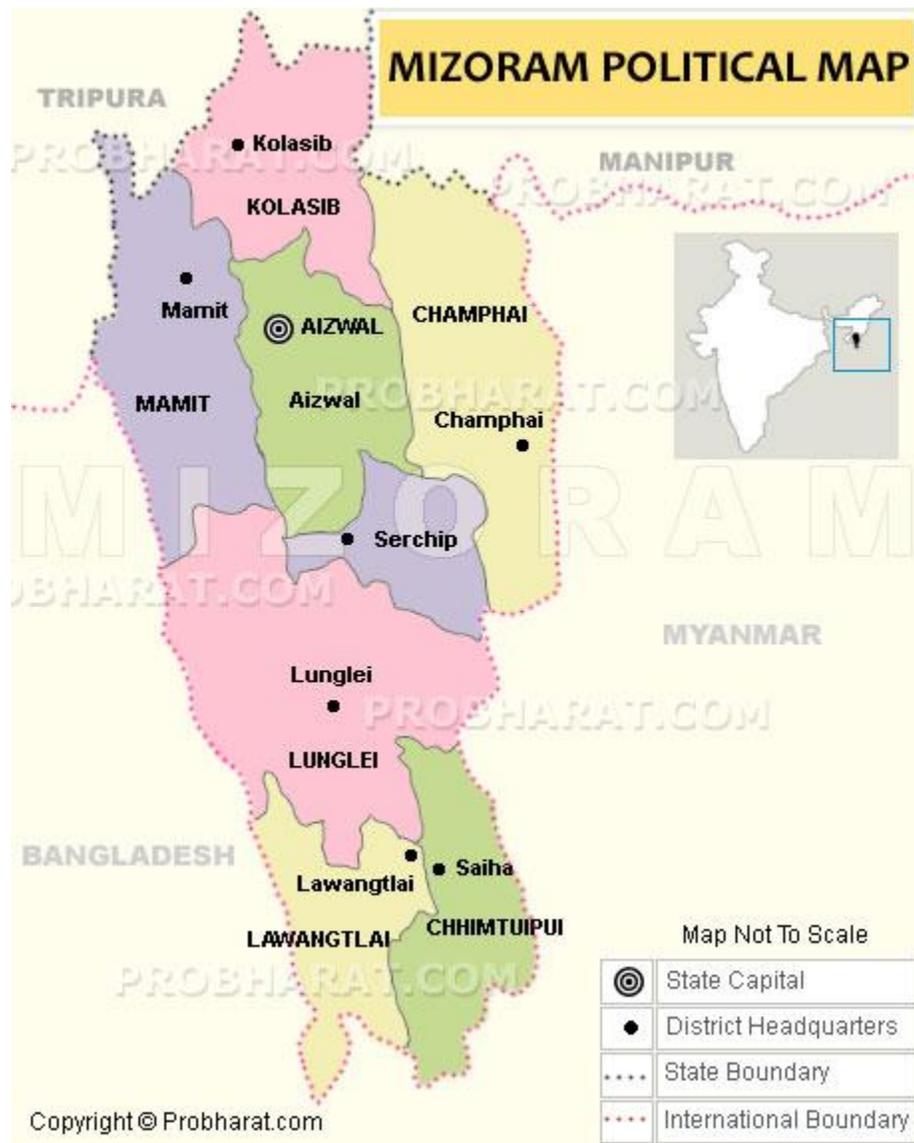
The elder sisters generally move with their respective husbands, but the youngest daughter's husband stays in her residence, the custom being matrilocal whether temporary or permanent. In the event there is a single daughter, she will get the entire property. If there be no daughter, the ancestral residence goes to the elder sister's lineage, but if the woman has become clanless, a girl is adopted and becomes integrated into the family kinship pattern, inheritance thereby being reverted in her person to the same group. There are however exceptions as modern trends indicate. The self-acquired property of the couple, discernible from the ancestral one, may be entitled to a son or shared among the sons if there be no daughter in the house.⁵⁹

Mizoram

Map 4.6

⁵⁸ "Social Change" (2001), *Encyclopaedia of North –East India*, Volume 4, ed. H.M. Bareh, Mittal Publications, New Delhi- 110059 (India), p 79.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p 80.



Source: *Images for map of mizoram*", <http://files.probharat.com/india/states/maps/mizoram-political-map.jpg>, Accessed on 16th July, 2011.

Mizoram is a mountainous region which became the 23rd state of Indian Union in February 1987. It was one of the districts of Assam till 1972 when it became a union territory. After being annexed by the British in 1891, for first few years, Lushai Hills in the north remained under

Assam while the southern half remained under Bengal. Both these parts were amalgamated in 1898 into one district called Lushai Hill district under Chief Commissioner of Assam. With the implementation of the North- Eastern Reorganisation Act in 1972, Mizoram became a union territory and as a sequel to the signing of the historic memorandum of settlement between Government of India and Mizo National Front in 1986, it was granted statehood on 20th February, 1987.⁶⁰

Sandwiched between Myanmar (formerly Burma) in east and south and Bangladesh in west, Mizoram occupies an area of great strategic importance in northern- eastern corner of India. Hills in Mizoram run from north to south with a tendency to be higher in east to the territory and tapering in north and south. Average height of hills is about 900 metre, the highest peak being Blue Mountain (Phawngpu) rising to 2,210 metre. Mizoram has great natural beauty and an endless variety of landscape and it is rich in fauna and flora.⁶¹

Of the early history of Mizos, as of other hill tribes of India's north- east, very little is known. An interesting feature of the pre- British period Mizo hills, like that of Naga hills, was its pre- State society. The Lushais, in spite of being surrounded by the powerful and organized states, were completely unaware of any state form.⁶²

The Mizo Union also raised unarmed volunteer force for launching a movement for creation of a separate Mizoram State, and when the Mizo Union announced its programme for non- violent direct action, the danger of direct confrontation between the two parties became real.⁶³

In October 1965 a deputation of the Mizo Union called on the then Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, in New Delhi to press the demand for early constitution of Mizoram State.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ "Mizoram" (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*" Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 397.

⁶¹ Ibid, p 398.

⁶² "Economic Development" (2001), *Encyclopaedia of North –East India*, Volume 5, ed. H.M. Bareh, Mittal Publications, New Delhi- 110059 (India), p 174.

⁶³ Ibid. p 174.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p 174.

In February, 1987 Mizoram was born as the State of Indian Union. It was one of the districts of Assam till 1972, when it became a Union Territory. Surrounded by Myanmar (formerly Burma) in the east and south and Bangladesh in the west, Mizoram occupies an area of great strategic importance in the north- eastern corner of India with Aizawl as its capital.⁶⁵

The hills in Mizoram run from north to south with a tendency to be higher in the east and tapering in the north and south. The State has the most variegated hilly terrain with its steep hills being separated by rivers which create deep gorges between the hill ranges.⁶⁶

The word 'Mizo' is a generic term and used to mean hillmen or highlanders. They came under the influence of the British Missionaries in the 19th century. Consequently, most of the Mizos now profess Christianity. One of the gains of Missionary activities was the spread of education.⁶⁷

The Mizos' code of ethics or Dharma centred round Tlawngaihna, an untranslatable term meaning that everyone should be hospitable, kind, unselfish and helpful to others. It is the core of their philosophy of life. In war or peace, in dealing with individuals or in the midst of a crowd, it was their spirit of Tlawngaihna which guided their thoughts and actions.⁶⁸

The most colourful and distinctive dance of the Mizos is called Cheraw. As long bamboo staves are used for this dance, many people call it the *bamboo dance*.⁶⁹

The State of Mizoram having common borders with two foreign countries, viz., Myanmar and Bangladesh, occupies an area of great strategic importance on the political map of India.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ "Mizoram- The Exotic Land of Highlanders" (2004) , *Discovery of North- East India*, Volume 8, ed. S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, Mittal Publications, A- 110, Mohan Garden, New Delhi 110059 (India) p 221.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p 221.

⁶⁷ Ibid. p 221.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p 221.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p 221

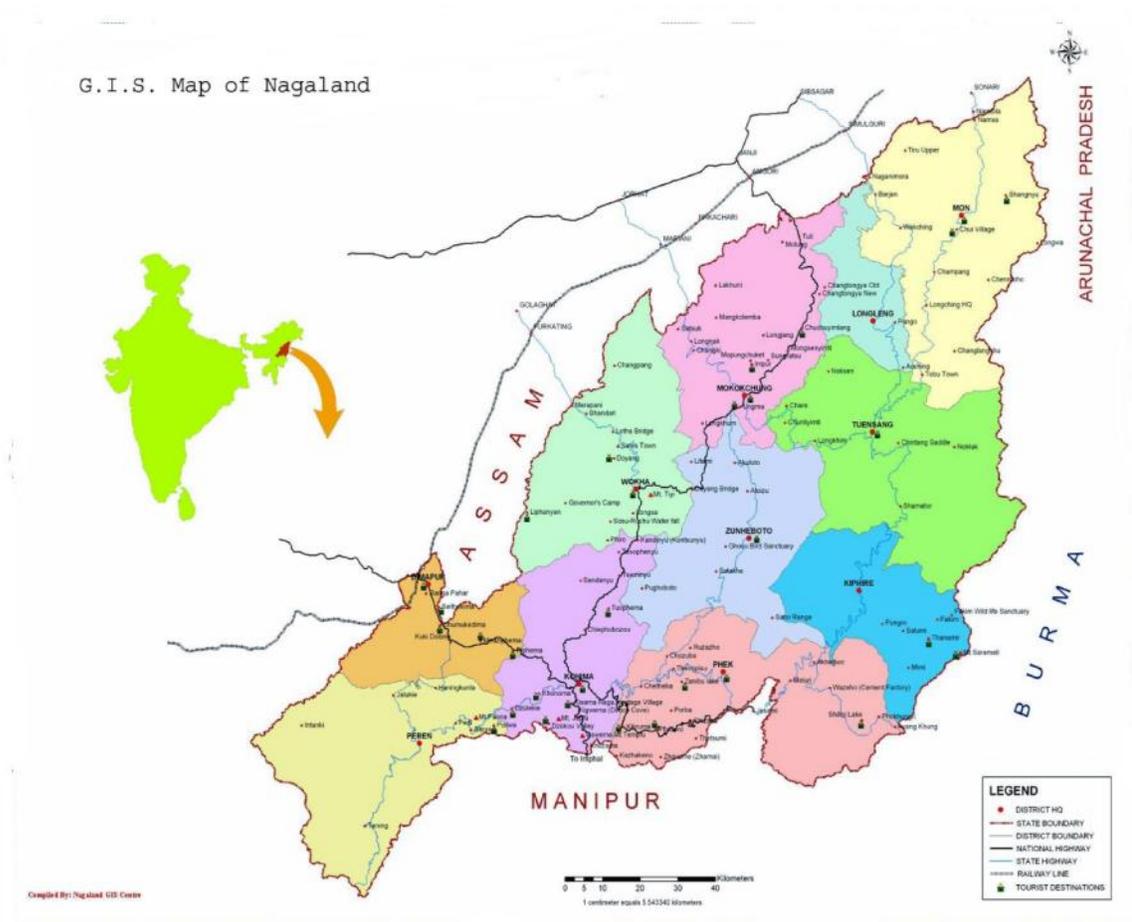
⁷⁰ "Preface" (2004) , *Discovery of North- East India*, Volume 8, ed. S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, Mittal Publications, A- 110, Mohan Garden, New Delhi 110059 (India) p xi.

The total area of Mizoram is 21,081 sq km.⁷¹

Nagaland

Map 4.7

⁷¹ Ibid, p 25.



Source: "Nagaland Tourist Map," <http://mappery.com/maps/Nagaland-Tourist-Map.jpg>, Accessed on 16th July, 2011.

The Nagas too have their share of legends and folklore regarding their origin and evolution through the ages. Nagas are basically tribal people and every tribe had its own effective system of self-governance from time immemorial. In the 12th and 13th centuries, gradual contact with the

Ahoms of present day Assam was established, but this did not have any significant impact on the traditional Naga way of life. However, in the 19th century under British administration. After Independence, this territory was made a centrally administered area in 1957, administered by the Governor of Assam. It was known as the Naga Hills Tuensang Area. This however, failed to quell popular aspirations and unrest began. Hence, in 1961, this was renamed as Nagaland and after given the status of a state in the Indian Union was formally inaugurated in 1963. Situated in the extreme north- east of the country, the state is bounded by Arunachal Pradesh in the north, Assam in the west Manipur in the south and by Myanmar (formerly Burma) in the east.⁷²

Nagaland is one of the smallest states of India (now Sikkim is the smallest). It was carved out in the Indian map as sixteenth state of the Union on 1st December, 1963 and inaugurated by the then President of India, Dr S. Radhakrishnan. The State of Nagaland has been formed with the erstwhile Naga Hills Districts of Assam (established in 1881) and the Tuensang Division of NEFA.⁷³

The administrative unit, previously known as Naga Hills and Tuensang Area (NHTA) came into being on 1st December 1957, following the acceptance by the Government of India of a resolution passed in the first Naga People's Convention 1957. In another convention at Mokokchung in October 1959 it was advised to rename the areas as 'Nagaland.' The Government of India accepted the recommendation and renamed the area on 18th February 1961. It was a mere preliminary step to the Constitution of Nagaland as a full-fledged State. On the same day an Executive Council consisting of five members with a Chairman called the Chief Executive Councillor and an interim body of 42 members were constituted.⁷⁴

Traffic and trade between village having been minimal as a result of the practice of head-hunting, each village grew in isolation and the authority of the chief was unquestioned. The chief

⁷² "Nagaland" (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States* Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 449-450.

⁷³ T.Raatan (2004) "Formation of State," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 3, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 78.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p 78.

was a judge, administrator and commander rolled into one and indeed it was imperative that he be a warrior- chief more than anything else. Families of various clans lived in a village and it was the clans not the tribe which was the rallying point among the Nagas- Tribal solidarity came late, much later, and even today advanced and supposedly progressive Naga tribes bicker over *my* and *your* village.⁷⁵

The solidarity and the honour of the early Naga village was vested in the chief who dispensed justice in conformity with recognized and accepted codes and customs. With the coming of the British, the village chiefs, once supreme rulers suffered an erosion of their authority though the British administration set about subtly in doing this. Being interested only in maintaining *law and order* and preventing *head-hunting* the British left the village well alone to their chiefs and interfered little or not at all in the day-to- day administration. So it is that the erstwhile village administration still survives and the government administration. Gives way before the customs of the tribes.⁷⁶

The traditional political system developed in the context of communities is families, extensions of families (clans) and tribes. They belong to the same kinship group sharing a common culture, common descent and a common territory.⁷⁷

Important functions of the council may be mentioned; the councilors decide disputes arising between individuals and they dispense the law of inheritance, adoption, marriage, divorce, theft and murder. Functions of the council included the maintenance of the village water supply and foot- paths, construction of new paths, bridges across streams and rivers which are swollen during the rainy season and are otherwise very difficult to cross.⁷⁸

It is an agrarian State and about 80 per cent of its population depends upon agriculture. Nagaland is essential an agrarian state of the country. In some of the tribes of Nagas, working in jobs other

⁷⁵ "Political Heritage" (2001), *Encyclopaedia of North –East India*, Volume 3, ed. H.M. Bareh, Mittal Publications, New Delhi- 110059 (India), p 115.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, pp 115- 116.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p 116.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp 119- 120.

than farming, hunting, forestry and gathering is considered as a taboo. Although sedentary agriculture is practiced but it is insignificant and confined to terraces around Kohima and in the arrow river terraces alluvial fans. Shifting cultivation is the dominant agricultural system.⁷⁹

The total area of Nagaland is 16,579 sq km.⁸⁰

Sikkim

Map 4.8

⁷⁹ T.Raatan (2004) "Agricultural and Industrial Development," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 3, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 80.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p 25.



Source: “Images for map of Sikkim,” <http://maps.newkerala.com/Sikkim-Travel-Map.jpg>, Accessed on 16th July, 2011.

Sikkim is bounded on the north and north-east by Tibet on the east by Bhutan, on the west by Nepal and on the south by the Darjeeling district of West Bengal.⁸¹

⁸¹ “Introduction” (2001), *Encyclopaedia of North–East India*, Volume 7, ed. H.M. Barih, Mittal Publications, New Delhi- 110059 (India), p 1.

Ethnicity affects the life of the individuals and groups in many ways. Indeed, ethnicity has become a 'resource' affiliations to which ultimately involves the realization of 'privileges' for a section of the society. Role played by the constitutional provisions strengthens the ethnic identity. Ethnic groups have ever time become strong 'interest' group and ethnicity a 'resource.' This dimension has created conflict situations.⁸²

The Bhutia, Lepcha and the Limbus were automatically recognized as the Sikkimese by the regulations. But, it was not easily attainable even for the earliest Nepalese settlers in general, who were later recognized and granted Sikkimese status after initial resistance from a section of (anti- Nepalese) ruling elites, though the plainsmen had always been excluded.⁸³

The Sikkim ruling Durbar had maintain a register of all such legal settlers who were the Sikkim i.e. Sikkimese.⁸⁴

Very little is known about the early history of Sikkim. It is commonly believed that in the 17th century Phuntsog Namgyal became the first leader of the Namgyal dynasty which ruled till Sikkim joined Indian Union in 1975. A mountain state in the eastern Himalayas, Sikkim is bound on west by Nepal, on north by Tibet, on east by Bhutan and on south by west Bengal. Sikkim is strategically important for India as it lies astride the shortest route from India to Tibet. The state is entirely mountainous covered with dense forests where sal, simal, bamboo and other trees thrive, some finest forests lie in the northern most areas in Lachen and Lachung. Mountain rise to 7,000 m and above, Kanchenjunga being world's third highest peak. Sikkim had several hundred varieties of orchids and is frequently referred to as 'botanist's paradise.'⁸⁵

⁸² "Ethnicity and Resource Management" (2001), *Encyclopaedia of North –East India*, Volume 7, ed. H.M. Bareh, Mittal Publications, New Delhi- 110059 (India), p 23.

⁸³ Ibid, p 33.

⁸⁴ Ibid. p 33

⁸⁵ "Sikkim" (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*" Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 533.

Integration with the Indian Union has been unique mainly because Sikkim had for long earlier remained a protectorate. The experience has shown no trace of socio- cultural alienation, political resistance and concomitant problems of adaptability and assimilation, despite the fact that Sikkim had its own socio- cultural and political- economic systems a traditional paradigm of development and powerful neighbour in China which is yet to recognize it as part of India. Historically, also it represented a very different political culture from the mainstream India's.⁸⁶

The present population of the State is primarily composed of Lepchas, Bhutias, Nepalese and the plains people who represent different ethnic groups settled in the State at different times. The plains people are largely the business communities (Marwaris of Rajasthan and Baniyas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh), Brahmins, Kshatriyas and others who come from the Indo- Gangetic plains that cover Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Kerala, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.⁸⁷

The people of Sikkim mostly live in small houses in village. The houses by and large are similar to primitive dwellings. However, the Bhutia and Lepcha houses are different than the Nepalese houses. The Lepcha and Bhutia dwellings are constructed on taller stone foundations and they are often supported by poles made up of tree- trunks.⁸⁸

Before its incorporation into India, Sikkim had remained, administratively, for many years, in relative isolation. The socio- political structure centred on a hierarchy of lamas and monasteries and the temporal ruler called Chogyal. The kingdom with its system of feudal, autocratic bureaucracy was formed by the immigrant Bhutias in cooperation with the local Lepcha chiefs. Prior to the Bhutia immigration there was no central political power in Sikkim but only local

⁸⁶ Mahendra P. Lama (1996) "Sikkim: 20 Years after Merger" *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*" Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 605.

⁸⁷ T.Raatan (2004) "Various Ethnic Groups," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 3, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 17.

⁸⁸ T.Raatan (2004) "Way of Living," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 3, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 29.

Lepcha Chiefs were there in order to administer their respective villages. The installation of first King Phuntso Nangyal in 1642 was recognized by the Dalai Lama in Tibet.⁸⁹

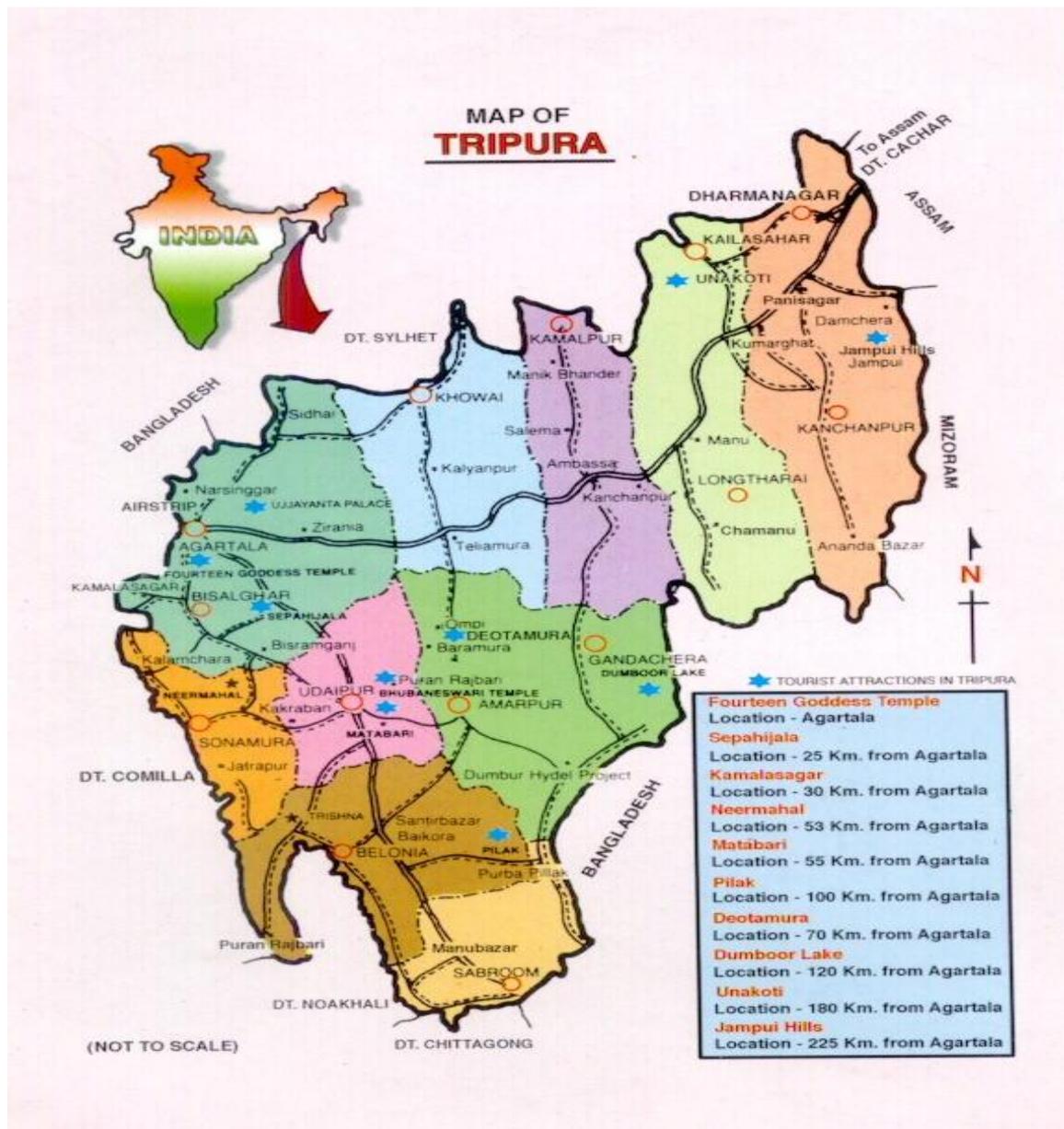
The total area of Sikkim is 7,096 sq km.⁹⁰

Tripura

Map 4.9

⁸⁹ T.Raatan (2004) "Political and Administrative Developments," *Encyclopaedia of North- East India*, Volume 3, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 35.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p 25.



Source: "Images for map of tripura," <http://tripura.nic.in/Trijpg.jpg>, Accessed on 16th July, 2011.

History of Tripura dates back to the Mahabharata, the Puranas and pillar inscriptions of emperor Ashoka. There are no historical records available of Tripura except Rajmala which is the

chronicle of the kings of the ruling family of Tripura. According to it, rulers were known by the surname 'Fa' meaning 'father.' There is a reference of rulers of Bengal helping Tripura Kings in the 14th century. Kings of Tripura had to face frequent Mughal invasions with varying successes. They defeated Mohammedan sultans of Bengal in several battles. Nineteenth century marked the beginning of the modern era in Tripura when king Maharaja Birchandra Manikya Bahadur modelled his administrative set-up on the British India pattern and brought in various reforms his successors ruled over Tripura till 1947 when it was annexed to Indian Union. In 1972, this territory attained the status of a full-fledged state along with Manipur and Meghalaya. Tripura is strategically situated between the rivers valleys of Burma and Bangladesh. Encircled almost on three sides by Bangladesh, it is linked with Assam only in the north-east.⁹¹

In ancient period, prior to the establishment of the Muslim rule in Bengal, Tripura had no distinct political status. It had virtually no significance at the time. The archaeological evidences found in the region prove the fact that a huge portion of this region, particularly south-western part of the present state of Tripura, was political attached to the Kingdoms of Eastern Bengal known as Samatata Vanga and Harikela.⁹²

Since its incorporation into the periphery of the British Indian empire in the late eighteenth century, the tribal princely Tripura was subject to a series of major social changes- demographic and socio-economic- which laid the critical basis of the rise of the political movements and parties in the state in the twentieth century, and remain the roots of much of the later-day tensions in Tripura's state politics. Those changes form an indispensable part of the modern social history of Tripura's communism is unintelligible without them.⁹³

Among its people the overwhelming majority were the tribals, the rest being immigrants both tribals and non-tribals. The tribals and immigrants confronted each other, thereby creating a

⁹¹ "Tripura" (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*" Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 623.

⁹² T.Raatan (2004) "Land and the People," *Encyclopaedia of North-East India*, Volume 3, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi- 110052, p 141.

⁹³ Harihar Bhattacharyya (1996) "The State and Social Changes in Colonial Tripura" *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*" Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, p 639.

demographic imbalance in the society. The tribals, divided amongst themselves into a number of separate communities, each carrying its banner of separate socio- cultural heritage, naturally nurtured the spirit of developing themselves as distinct ethnic groups. The dormant sub-nationalist sentiment had to confront the uneven competition with one of the most advanced and prosperous ethnic group the Bengalee. The Maharajas of Tripura, despite being tribals, saw in the growing Bengali art and culture a safe saddle for power, even if it had rung the death- knell for the tribals' aspiration for developing their latent ethnic consciousness. In the wave of Hinduization patronised by the rulers, the tribals were own indigenous socio- cultural pursuits. Their language 'Kok Borak' which had the necessary qualities to be fully developed in the years to come was compelled to be humiliated before the rich Bengali language.⁹⁴

For an understanding of the rise of political consciousness among the tribals of Tripura, to go into the history of the state formation process in Tripura since the early part of the 15th century. At that time the main tribes living in Tripura were the Tripura, Kuki, Riang and Jamatiya who belonged to the Indo- Mongoloid stock. They migrated to Tripura through Assam, Sylhet and Cachar in successive waves.⁹⁵

The disturbance of the demographic equilibrium caused by the large- scale inflow of Bengali-speaking immigrants from East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, the growing pressure on land, acute food shortage, the lengthening shadow of unemployment, and the backwardness of the hill areas of the State have generated serious socio- economic tensions and ethnic conflict in this north-eastern State. The tribal aborigines have been swamped by the Bengali migrants who have taken over increasing charge of the administration, State's trade and commerce and its cultural life.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Pradip Kumar Basu (1996) "The Communist Movement in Tripura: Its Evolution (1935- 75)" *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*" Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 651- 652.

⁹⁵ J.B. Ganguly (1996) "Tripura Tribals and Mainstream: Tripura Politics" *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*" Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 663.

⁹⁶ "The Gathering Storm in Tripura" (2001), *Encyclopaedia of North –East India*, Volume 8, ed. H.M. Bareh, Mittal Publications, New Delhi- 110059 (India), p 148.

The native Tripura tribals with their primitive economy and archaic ways of eking out a livelihood have had subordinate place throughout. But, the visible signs of relative prosperity of the non- tribals in the very area where they have been living in abject penury all these years resulted in serious heart burn, bitterness, jealousies, prejudice and conflict. Tripura is situated on the north- east corner of India.⁹⁷

In addition, the submersion of the tribal people in the growing mass of non- tribals has led to acculturation in a manner and on a scale which has but few parallels in the country.⁹⁸

The process of acculturation continues to cut deeper into the social matrix as points of contact between the tribals and non- tribal section of the population keep on enlarging. However, one may subjectively react to its results, one thing is certain, namely, that the equilibrating mechanism within the structure of tribal societies in Tripura is now largely non- operative and it does not have much chance to redeem itself. The cauldron of tribal unrest in Tripura has begun to simmer. If timely measures are not taken to make amends, it will not be long before it starts boiling.⁹⁹

The total area of Tripura is 10,491 sq km.¹⁰⁰

Relevance of North East for India's Security

Northeast India has been witnessing two distinctive discourses: reiterative and declarative. The two seem to be characteristic of not only the Indian state and its machineries, but also its counterparts: the protesting voices in the region.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Ibid. pp 148, 167

⁹⁸ Ibid, p 167.

⁹⁹ Ibid. pp 148, 167

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p 25.

¹⁰¹ Bhagat Oinam (2009) "Preparing for a Cohesive Northeast Problems of Discourse," *Beyond Counter-insurgency Breaking the Impasse in Northeast India*, ed. Sanjib Baruah, Oxford University Press, YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110001, p 172.

The influence and the endurance of insurgency in the Northeast are due to the fact that armed groups are embedded in the workings of northeastern civilian politics. Acting like the combination of a racketeer and a policy lobby, an insurgent group can cut political deals and influence elections, and become enmeshed in a network of extortion and corruption that makes it difficult for politicians to bureaucrats to act independently of the rebels.¹⁰²

Delhi's response to the uprisings in the Northeast has been a two-pronged strategy of tough counter-insurgency combined with development aid aimed at ending popular grievance. The argument over which of these two strategies is more important is misguided. Neither confronts the local political role of violence in the Northeast: both security and development programmes are inefficacious in the face of a system of violent politics, corruption, and immunity for the powerful. When outside security forces stay in the region for too long they create resentment among civilians, but violence breaks out when the local security forces are in control because they do not have the ability and/ or incentives to resist the ties between insurgents and politics. Underdevelopment persists because aid ends up being used for private gain, and lawlessness destroys the investment climate and limits entrepreneurialism.¹⁰³

Civilians in the Northeast, as well as insurgents and local politicians, have little faith that the formal political process can be purged of violence. The means to do so are reform of and support for local police and judicial institutions. Violence, electoral manipulation, corruption, black market transactions, extortion, and inter-communal violence are only rarely effectively prosecuted in the Northeast. Illegal acts by security forces and agents of the centre are not always dealt with quickly and decisively. Only in an environment where civilians feel safe and would-be rebels or collaborators are deterred by a belief that there may be real penalties for their actions, does the equilibrium described above dissolve.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Bethany Lacina (2009) "Rethinking Delhi's Northeast India Policy Why neither Counter-insurgency nor Winning Hearts and Minds is the Way Forward," *Beyond Counter-insurgency Breaking the Impasse in Northeast India*, ed. Sanjib Baruah, Oxford University Press, YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110001, p 333.

¹⁰³ Ibid, pp 338- 339.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p 340.

The political uncertainty in Northeast India has been a major factor in shaping India's Myanmar policy is quite apparent. Indeed, arguably it is India's security anxieties, getting Myanmar to act against Northeast Indian insurgent groups that takes shelter in Myanmar, rather than a desire to give the Look East policy a continental orientation that explains Indian policy towards Myanmar, especially the U-turn in its attitude toward the military regime. Security expert Bibhu Prasad Routray wrote an article looking at the potential effects of the road- building project between Northeast India and Thailand through Myanmar on northeastern insurgencies.¹⁰⁵

Geography has also affected the pattern of development in the North East and the Partition caused havoc both in the geography and the economy of the North East. To begin with, the entire land mass of the North East is now connected to the rest of India by a tenuous 22 kilometre link along the Siliguri Corridor; more than 99 per cent of the borders of the North East abut other countries: China, Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh. Some of these countries have not been too friendly and, across a porous international border, have been only too willing to assist militant activity in India. Others, while not anti-India in their approach, have not been in a position to prevent anti-Indian activity from their soil.¹⁰⁶

Insurgency flourishes when the people have a feeling of separate identity on the basis of ethnicity, culture or history. This is compounded by a sense of neglect, exploitation and discrimination, and immensely aggravated by bad governance, corruption and economic backwardness. All these factors exist in the North East. The key to the situation, clearly, is to provide good, corruption-free governance, and economic development.¹⁰⁷

It is rightly said that when people in Delhi think of the Northeast, they think of the distance, and that translates itself into a mental gap. When the people of the Northeast think of Delhi, they

¹⁰⁵ Sanjib Baruah (2005) "Beyond Durable Disorder Northeast India and the Look East Policy," *Durable Disorder Understanding the Politics of Northeast India*, Oxford University Press, YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110001, p 228.

¹⁰⁶ S.K. Sinha (2002) "Violence & Hope In India's Northeast," *Faultlines Writing on conflict and resolution*, Volume 10, ed. K.P.S. Gill & Ajai Sahni, The Institute for Conflict Management, New Delhi, p 6.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p 21.

think in terms of different levels of development, and this translates into an emotional gap. Hope that these gaps can be bridged, and that, with changes in attitudes, the Northeast will take the high road to peace and prosperity.¹⁰⁸

Autonomy and ethnicity have diverse faces and masks. A paradigm shift in perception and policy-making occurs when they are viewed as part of the problem and not the solution. Autonomy as practiced by us is accommodative but it is firmly controlled by the Centre and the States, politically and bureaucratically. Autonomy to an ethnic group on the Indian side cannot afford to ignore the condition of the same ethnic group across the border. One has to necessarily strive towards achieving a far greater inter-government coordination.¹⁰⁹

The psychological integration of the NE with the rest of the country is of critical importance. One also has to upgrade the policy and institutional structures to render effective such integration.¹¹⁰

A critical futuristic threat perception vis-à-vis India's North Eastern region has long preoccupied many analysts and the Indian security establishment. The projected exercise would involve Pakistan launching an attack on Jammu and Kashmir. At the other end, China would engage Indian military in the latter's Northeast with movement from Tibet, through Bhutan and via

Alipurduar in the Jalpaiguri district and consequently cut-off what is referred to as the eastern chicken's neck or the Shiliguri corridor. An Indian strategists' nightmare come true.¹¹¹

The crucial Chinese objectives would be to capture a large amount of territory in northern Sikkim to secure a strategic hold. In tactical terms, this would translate into denying a launching pad to the Indian forces for an assault on Tibet. The other element of this thrust, it is projected,

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. pp 6, 21

¹⁰⁹ Sushil K. Pillai (2002) "Three Matryoshkas Ethnicity, Autonomy and Governance," *Faultlines Writing on conflict and resolution*, Volume 10, ed. K.P.S. Gill & Ajai Sahni, The Institute for Conflict Management, New Delhi, p 35.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p 35

¹¹¹ Pinaki Bhattacharya (2002) "The Shiliguri Corridor Question Mark on Security," *Faultlines Writing on conflict and resolution*, Volume 10, ed. K.P.S. Gill & Ajai Sahni, The Institute for Conflict Management, New Delhi, p 107.

would be centred on capturing areas in Bhutan, the ones traditionally claimed by the Chinese, thus posing a direct threat to the Shiliguri Corridor, a key item on the agenda.¹¹²

The Shiliguri Corridor is an area of 12,203 square kilometers connecting mainland India with the outlying border States of the Northeast. As geographical configuration puts the North Eastern States of the country (India) at a disadvantage for a lack of strategic depth, considered necessary to provide a buffer, the tenuous lines of communication (that run through this corridor) connect mainland India to the Northeast. The corridor's dimension extends lengthwise approximately 200 kms with a width varying between 20 and 60 kilometres.¹¹³

No coherent and effective policies can be drawn up for the restoration of an abiding peace in, and for the enduring development of, the States of India's Northeast unless they factor in these various *unorthodox* elements of the political, administrative and socio-economic conditions prevailing in this region. An obvious corollary is that the models and patterns of development that have been applied, or that have succeeded in, other parts of the country, cannot mechanically be extended to this region.¹¹⁴

The prospects for peace in India's Northeast remain mixed.¹¹⁵

Growing and increasing indiscriminate external support to all terrorist groupings, irrespective of ideology or objective, particularly by Pakistan's ISI, and the gradual cementing of linkages between terrorist groups across international borders create further barriers to peace. The problem is aggravated by the fact that most such terrorist groupings operate out of safe havens in

¹¹² Ibid, p 108.

¹¹³ Ibid. pp 107-108

¹¹⁴ Ajai Sahni & J. George (2000) "Security & Development in India's Northeast: An Alternative Perspective," *Faultlines Writing on conflict and resolution*, Volume 4, ed. K.P.S. Gill & Ajai Sahni, The Institute for Conflict Management, New Delhi, p 66.

¹¹⁵ Ajai Sahni (2002) "Survey of Conflicts & Resolution in India's Northeast," *Faultlines Writing on conflict and resolution*, Volume 12, ed. K.P.S. Gill & Ajai Sahni, The Institute for Conflict Management, New Delhi, p 109.

neighbouring countries such as Bangladesh, Bhutan and Myanmar, and the weak regimes in these countries find it impossible to check such activities on their soil. ¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p 110- 111.

Chapter V

RELEVANCE OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY FOR NORTH EAST REGION: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY

Chapter V

Relevance of India's Foreign Policy for North East Region: Political, Economic and Security

"Partnership with Asean is an essential component of our Look East policy. This is reflected in trade, investment and institutional linkages." Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India¹

"We believe that a prosperous, stable and democratic Bangladesh is in the interest of both countries and the entire region." S.M. Krishna, External Affairs Minister

"We require much better communication between India and China and no misunderstanding of each other's actions and motives." Shivshankar Menon, National Security Adviser

In South Asia the concepts and issues of sovereignty, territory, national security, citizenship and political loyalty are concepts rooted in the region.²

Indeed, it is in pernicious form, demanding not only the loyalty and obligation of the individual citizen but also of the whole community. This kind of social activities would be termed as political contract by the margins and also a separatist or anti social element working within the nations in South Asia.³

South Asia is a fetishism of territorial borders which has been particularly creating border wars between India and Pakistan, India and China threatening each others stability and security in the border and region in general.⁴

A number of public policy, defence strategies and quasi-theoretical categories, of political, social and security issue is needed for the whole region of South Asia.⁵

¹ Times of India, Friday, Guwahati , November 18, 2011.

² A. Appadorai (1981) *"Introductory"*, Domestic Roots of India's Foreign Policy, published by R.Dayal, Oxford University Press 2/11 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110002.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

South Asia unlike many other regions of the world is slow in the development of economic and political integration and regional cooperation. Theoretical point of view it looks for development and outline possible strategies that change and bring about strategies in regional cooperation.⁶

Firstly, review the concept of 'Regional Security Complex' and 'Regional Security Communities'. Secondly, it would look at the current situation in South Asia in view of the determination of 'Regional Security Community'. Finally, the policy could advance towards the goal of creating such a Regional Security Community.⁷

The meaning of community by Emmanuel Alder and Michael Barnett (1998: 31) has three characteristics:

- i. Members have shared identities, values and meanings;
- ii. Members have many-sided and direct relations; and
- iii. Members exhibit a reciprocity that expresses some degree of long-term interest, and perhaps even altruism.⁸

South Asia must take care that no kind of violence occurs in a region, including violence within regional states and nation state. In this juncture the states must not enjoy 'dependable expectations of peaceful change'; however, people need to feel free from the threat of any type of conflict.⁹

India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia

Jawaharlal Nehru the first Indian Prime Minister in his book, *The Discovery of India*, in 1944: prophetically says, The Pacific is likely to take the place of the Atlantic in the future as the nerve center of the world. Though not directly a Pacific state, India will inevitably exercise an important influence there. India will also develop as the center of economic and political activity in the Indian Ocean area, in South-East Asia, right up to the Middle East. Her position gives an economic and strategic importance in a part of the world which is going to develop in the future.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

Further, Nehru wrote, India will have to play a very great part in security problems of Asia and the Indian Ocean, more especially of the Middle East and South-East Asia.¹⁰

The statement emphasizes that India's 'Look East' Policy in its futuristic perspective is evolving strategic and geographical scenario in the region. In this prospect India requires to play a vital role to face the challenges and opportunities in the field of geographical, historical, political, economic and institutional with the neighbouring states.¹¹

India is in a position to nurture and manage a stable, peaceful and prosperous South Asia which would be a very important factor in shaping South-East Asian perceptions as well, about India's capabilities in playing a role in Asia. India and Pakistan's poor relations cause severe constraints in India's ability to command respect in Asia.¹²

'Look East' Policy was the brainchild of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao. He chose an innovative and unorthodox technocrat - Finance Minister, Manmohan Singh (present Prime Minister of India) who is a politician as well as internationally known economist and who helped bring the 'Look East Policy' into reality.¹³

Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister addressing the 16th Asia Society Corporate Conference in Mumbai on 18th March, 2006 said, "I must pay tribute to our East and South-East Asian neighbours for shaping our own thinking on globalization and he means to deal with it. Some of you might recall that in 1992 our Government launched India's 'Look East' Policy. This was not merely an external economic policy, it was also a strategic shift in India's vision of the world and India's place in the evolving global economy. Most of all it was about reaching out our civilisational Asian neighbours in the region. I have always viewed India's destiny as being interlinked with that of Asia and more so South-East Asia."¹⁴

At the event of economic liberalization and reforms, India focuses on a self-reliant socialist society to build a modern economy based on free market to freer international trade and

¹⁰ Ranjit Gupta (2007), "*India's 'Look East policy'*", Foreign Service Institute, New Delhi, p 351.

¹¹ Ibid, pp 352- 354.

¹² Ibid, p 355.

¹³ Ibid, p 358.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp 358- 359.

investment. The time has come for India to seek to integrate the Indian economy with the global economy. The economy will also determine the Indian foreign policy. In brief, Look East Policy of India is the centric of economic determination to global status in political scenario.¹⁵

Madhavsingh Solanki, the Finance Minister and Manmohan Singh visited the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries in 1991-92 and remarked: "We thought that if we had to market New India, we have to begin with Singapore."¹⁶

Goh Tok Chong, Prime Minister of Singapore after his official visit to India in 1994 had said "I recognized the potential of the country; I returned to Singapore determined to spark off an India Fever. Although many doubted India's commitment to economic openness I never lost faith in India."¹⁷

ASEAN for fundamental strategic requirements have been very keen on India's 'Look East' Policy. However, India that had been reluctant and rejecting ASEAN overtures while continuing to pursue policies which ensured estrangement.¹⁸

Singaporean diplomat-scholar, Ambassador, K.Kesavapany remarked: "India was then seen as the counterweight to Communist China." This was an observation of its region's contrasting historical interaction and experiences with India and China regarding China's aggression against India in 1962.¹⁹

The then External Affairs Minister, Inder Kumar Gujral, highlighted the importance of ASEAN's decision for India "ASEAN's farsighted assessment about political and strategic convergence, acceleration of economic relations and their future potential, and complementarities in areas that were hitherto not evident or remained unexploited." Gujral stressed "as a step forward and as a move from a derivative to a direct relationship, so that there are no distortions, no misperceptions, no ignorance and no intermediation." Further he pledged to pursue, our ASEAN

¹⁵ Ibid, p 359.

¹⁶ Ibid, p 360

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid, p 361.

engagement at the bilateral as well as multilateral levels and deepen our understanding of and interaction with the individual countries as well as with ASEAN institutions and mechanism.²⁰

India accepted the Protocol of the South-East Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (Seanwzfz) in the year 2000. Again, India was accepted as a summit level partner (on par with China, Japan and Korea) with the first summit being held in Cambodia in November 2002. Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of Singapore at the first India-ASEAN summit 2002 in his speech referred to India and China being the two wings of the ASEAN aircraft.²¹

In April 2002, Atal Behari Vajpayee in the Annual Singapore Lecture had noted India's belonging to the Asia Pacific community is a geographical fact and a political reality and described the region as one of the focal points of India's foreign policy, strategic concerns and economic interests. In addition, in June 2002 Professor S.Jayakumar, Foreign Minister of Singapore while welcoming External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh of India remarked whatever the new equilibrium or security architecture or geographical balance the eventually emerges, India will be a part of it.... India's strategic importance cannot be overlooked. India's strategic engagement with South-East Asia will evolve as the broader political and strategic context in which South and South-East Asia are embedded also evolves.²²

The relations with other countries like Indo-China countries- Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have always been cordial too and the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation project, brings these three countries, Myanmar and Thailand into an India initiated sub-regional cooperation arrangement. India-Indonesia relations have been witnessing renewed warmth. Malaysia has harboured closeness in Indian involvement with ASEAN and its region, the overall economic and commercial relationship is excellent and bilateral ties are very good. Security, military and defence relationships with countries is also developing very satisfactorily.²³

²⁰ Ibid, p 362.

²¹ Ibid, p363.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid, p 366.

India's integration into the Asia Pacific region, ASEAN has ensured security in the future of 'Look East' Policy which would further relate to India's involvement with the Asia Pacific region.²⁴

Relations and development in the sub-continent could cause renewed strain in Sino-Indian and Indo-US relationships. India has the potential and ability to play its due role in East Asia, South-East Asia and West Asia regions which are absolutely vital to India's future prosperity and stability.²⁵

Look East Policy as India's Foreign Policy: Relevance for North East Region

Dato' Sri Najib Tun Razak, Prime Minister of Malaysia said when President Barack Obama declared his backing for a permanent UN Security Council seat for India, applause broke out not just in the Indian Parliament but across the country and the Asian world. It was a clear recognition by the United States of the strength of India's position on the global stage, but it was also a sign that the Indian government's Look East policy, with its unapologetic shift away from the West in favour of enhancing its regional ties, is reaping rich rewards.

Obama has said, now is the time for India *not only to look East but to engage East*, expanding its economic and strategic integration with Asia at the same time as cementing its position on the global stage.²⁶

Look East Policy initially focus on each of the five countries in the Indo-China region that abuts India, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Myanmar which also have a strong Buddhist tradition. This land link could be projected as a means of access and exposure for students, academics, pilgrims and tourists as a special feature of the relations with Southeast Asia in general.

Look East Policy to give a new dimension. The continuous meeting and intermingling of people from diverse social backgrounds helps in crafting a liberal and cosmopolitan attitude to life. India is ideally placed to spur a movement catalysed.²⁷

²⁴ Ibid, p 370.

²⁵ Ibid, p 381.

²⁶ Dato' Sri Najib Tun Razak, "Look East To The Future," The Times of India, Guwahati, 7th December, 2010

Chowna Mein, Public Health Engineering Minister of Arunachal Pradesh, while addressing the 13th Annual Conference of the North East Region Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (NERCPA) remarked that the northeast has a potential to facilitate India's Look East Policy.

Further, Mein pointed out when India launched the Look East Policy in 1991, the thrust was not laid on the geographical proximity between its northeastern region and Southeast Asia. Lack of adequate physical connectivity between the northeast and Southeast Asia is one of the important factors that hindered possibilities of garnering regional economic developments.²⁸

The country's fourth centre of Indian Statistical Institute (ISI) was opened in Tezpur University, Tezpur, Assam on Saturday 23rd July, 2011 with a view to initiate quality research and help policy formulation for facilitation of better economic integration of the Northeast with southeast Asian, East Asian and Far East countries under the 'Look East' policy.

Pranab Mukherjee, Union Finance Minister also the chairman of the ISI council, inaugurated the centre at Tezpur University in the presence of Chief Minister, Tarun Gogoi, Union Minister, for Statistics and Programme Implementation Srikant Jena, Secretary of Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, T. C. A. Anant, ISI, Director, Bimal K. Roy and ISI Northeast centre head S. M. Bendre.

Mukherjee during his brief interaction with the media said that the success of the Look East Policy in Northeast depends on how quickly can North East with integrate and build land, air, and economic connectivity with SAARC, southeast Asian, East Asian and Far East countries. In this perspective, the Northeast ISI centre will not only help in facilitating education, research and academic activities, but also help in formulation keeping in view the importance of this region under the Look East policy.

Adding to that Mukherjee said, the question is how fast we can improve the connectivity. That is why the 12th plan has projected US \$ one trillion investment for infrastructure and connectivity in the country. And 50% of this investment is expected to come from the private sector. He also suggested using various modes of investment based on the nature of these projects.

²⁷ N. Ravi, "Look East Policy- millennia apart," *The Hindu*, Kolkata, 7th October, 2010.

²⁸ "Hindrances to Look East Policy upsets Arunachal," *The Times of India*, Guwahati, 30th April, 2011.

With about 90% of the region's geographical area sharing international borders with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China and Myanmar, the Look East Policy envisages for the northeast having beneficial trade links with Southeast and South Asian countries.

Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics (DGCIS), D. Sinha said, the northeast, despite its huge cache of natural resources and international borders with a number of countries, is yet to derive any benefits from the Look East Policy. Every state in the region has a distinct advantage in terms of trade. But, economic indicators reveal that the northeast is still untouched.²⁹

Rail Link to Bangladesh to Boost Economy and Security Perspectives in North East Region

The two countries are chugging towards the establishment of a rail-based cargo transit route between Kolkata and Agartala through Bangladesh.

India is exploring a possible transit route through Bangladesh, which, in turn, will sharply reduce the rail distance to just 350 km. Such rail connectivity is slated to sharply bring down freight cost.

The Centre is learnt to have sounded out the Bangladesh government to allow cargo transit through a rail route linking Kolkata and Agartala through Bangladesh. The Indian government has also offered a \$150 million creditline to Bangladesh for its railway development. A railway project between Kolkata and Dhaka has already been announced.³⁰

To run between Dhaka and Kolkata, the train service will revive a communication link that was snapped after the 1965 war between India and Pakistan.³¹

After 43 years, India and Bangladesh resumed regular train services in April 2008 through Gede in West Bengal's Nadia district and Darshana in Bangladesh. The service was suspended after the 1965 war between India and Pakistan when Bangladesh was then Pakistan's eastern part. The

²⁹ "Region yet to benefit from Look East Policy, says experts," The Times of India, Guwahati, 13th August, 2011.

³⁰ Atmadip Ray & Debjoy Sengupta (Kolkata), "India eyes rail transit route via Bangla," The Economic Times, Kolkata, 13th April, 2007.

³¹ "Bangladesh, India to ink rail service deal today," The Economic Times, Kolkata, 8th April, 2008.

rail service between Kolkata and Dhaka covers a distance of 406 km, while the distance between Agartala and Dhaka is 150 km.³²

A six-member delegation, led by Railway Board member B.N. Rajsekhar, arrived on 9th June, 2011 to finalise the proposed railway link connecting Agartala with Akhaura via Gangasagar in Bangladesh.

The State Transport Department sources said the proposed track would be the second railway connection after the Kolkata-Dhaka line.

The Railway Ministry has approved ₹251/- crore for laying the 14 km track, sources said. The Department of Development of North Eastern Region will pay ₹105 crore for the construction on the Indian side, while the Ministry of External Affairs will pay ₹146/- crore for the project on the Bangladesh side, the sources added.³³

The Union Minister of State for Environment and Forests, Jairam Ramesh said on Sunday 4th April, 2010 that India and Bangladesh will launch a forum for cooperation in the conservation of the Sunderbans region. Ramesh mentioned, we have to recognize that the entire Sunderbans region is one ecosystem, 40 per cent of which is in India and the remaining 60 per cent in Bangladesh, and called upon to share the experiences and working plans for conservation.

The forum, which will include non-governmental organisations and civil society of both the countries, will coordinate efforts in afforestation, management of mangroves and conservation of the tiger, Jairam added.

Further, the Union Cabinet had approved the ₹1,156/- crore Integrated Coastal Zone Management project. Of this, ₹300/- crore will be spent in West Bengal, most of it on the Sunderbans.

The project, to be funded by the World Bank, will be executed over five years and includes prevention of erosion of the islands, building of storm shelters, promotion of eco-tourism, improving the livelihood of the inhabitants of the region and electrification of Sagar Island.

³² "India, B'desh align rail link in Tripura," *Nagaland Post*, Dimapur 9th September, 2010.

³³ "Railway Board to finalise Bangladesh rail link," *The Hindu*, Kolkata, 10th June, 2011.

According to the Minister that the 13th Finance Commission had sanctioned a grant of ₹450/- crore for strengthening embankments at critical areas in the Sunderbans.³⁴

A senior Bangladesh official said on 2nd November, 2008 that India has offered to link Bangladesh to its electricity grid and sell it power to help the country overcome persistent shortages during peak demand periods.

Minister of State for Power and Commerce Jairam Ramesh said on 2nd November, 2008 Bangladesh could buy electricity from plants in Tripura, where generation capacity exceeds demands, and other North-Eastern states bordering Bangladesh.³⁵

The MoU is part of the 50-point Joint Communiqué issued on 12th January, 2010 during Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's visit to New Delhi. It was for the first time India and Bangladesh signed a *multi-modal transit* in Dhaka on Monday 29th November, 2010 after the Indo-Bangla Accord of January 2010. The move will allow easy transportation of heavy machineries for ONGC's first power project in Tripura.

The 726-MW gas power project would come up at Palatana in South Tripura district. Foundation of the ₹4,500 crore project was laid by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on 29th October, 2005.

According to the official sources, the MoU was signed between RK Madan, senior adviser and director of ONGC Tripura Power Company (OTPC) and Azizur Rahman, Bangladesh chief engineer of roads and highways. The memorandum would remain valid upto June 2012. The MoU, ONGC's power start sailing from West Bengal's Raimongal and come to Bangladesh at Angtithara in Satkhira.

The road needs to be widened after which construction of the road inside Bangladesh territory, up to border at Agartala, would begin. It would take at least a year to complete the construction. Besides, the port would also have to be renovated. India would bear the expenses for development of the Ashuganj port terminal and road constructions.

³⁴ Ananya Dutta (Kolkata), "India- Bangladesh Sunderbans Ecosystem Forum to be launched," The Hindu, Kolkata, 5th April, 2010.

³⁵ "India offers powers to Bangladesh," Business Standard, Kolkata, 3rd November, 2008.

Abdul Mannan Hawlader, Bangladesh shipping secretary said a contractor appointed by New Delhi would do the job while the Bangladesh Inland Water Transport Agency and the Roads and Highways department will supervise. Both the countries would benefit from the MoU, Hawlader added.³⁶

Federation of Industry and Commerce of North Eastern Region (FINER) chairperson R. S. Joshi said that once the connectivity between the two sides are in place, both domestic and international trade will see a significant improvement.

Bangladesh is eyeing on the northeast not only as an investment opportunity, but also as a ready market for its products.³⁷

India and Bangladesh have five MoUs on the cards include preservation of the Sunderbans, renewable energy, cooperation between BTV and DD stations, fishery development and cooperation between Dhaka University and JNU. On trade, India would allow duty-free access of 61 major Bangladeshi items to Indian market.³⁸

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and his Bangladesh counterpart Sheikh Hasina Wajed said that India agreed to allow duty-free imports of 46 lines of ready-made textiles from Bangladesh, this is expected to address its skewed balance of trade.³⁹

The Indo-Bangla international border is heading towards a new style of border management. Instead of eyeball contact, the forces guarding the border would face each other on more cordial terms.⁴⁰

³⁶ "India, Bangladesh sign MoU for transporting ONGC cargo," The Times of India, Guwahati, 2nd December, 2010.

³⁷ "Trade bodies upbeat over PM's Bangla visit," The Times of India, Guwahati, 6th September, 2011.

³⁸ "Manmohan's Dhaka trip won't benefit Tripura immediately," The Times of India, Guwahati, 6th September, 2011.

³⁹ Praveen Swami (Dhaka), "New Delhi, Dhaka resolve bloody border feud", The Hindu, Kolkata, 7th September, 2011.

⁴⁰ Debasis Sarkar (Siliguri), "Indo-Bangla border guards to be more friendly," The Economic Times, Kolkata, 16th July, 2009.

India and Bangladesh are scheduled to carry out a joint survey of the disputed areas along the international border passing through Meghalaya. On completion of the exercise, Dhaka is likely to give its go-ahead to the fencing project in the stretches it had been so far objecting to.

The verification, beginning at the Sylhet- Meghalaya border, will be conducted by the Land Records departments of Bangladesh and Meghalaya in at least 31 patches. The decision for the joint verification was taken in September 2010 during a meeting between top Indian and Bangladesh officials in Dhaka to resolve the disputes over the border areas like Dibir Haor, Sripur, Tamabil, Sonarhat, Bichnakandi, Protappur and Lalakhali in Sylhet bordering Meghalaya.⁴¹

India and Bangladesh opened their first border 'haat,' or a common market-place on Saturday 23rd July, 2011, reviving the traditional border trade after nearly 40 years.

The 'haat' is 60 km from Tura, the headquarters of Meghalaya's West Garo Hills district, while Kurigram district of Bangladesh is located just across the river Jinjiram, which flows along the zero line of the border beyond the barbed wire fence on the Indian side.⁴²

The border haats were booming centres of business before creation of Bangladesh. But, they were abruptly stopped by India and Bangladesh and most villagers from the border areas now sell their perishable agricultural items here in the state capital under immense duress.

According to Union Commerce and Industry Minister Anand Sharma, it is the realization of a dream and fulfillment of the commitment made in the Joint Communiqués issued during the landmark visit of the Bangladesh Prime Minister, Sheikh Hasina in 2010. The reopening of the Haat will add a new dimension to the economic cooperation between India and Bangladesh.

Stating that India would strongly encourage Indian investments into Bangladesh and development of joint ventures between private sector companies on both sides. The Union

⁴¹ "Indo-Bangla joint survey of disputed border areas today," The Times of India, Guwahati, 7th December, 2010.

⁴² Sushanta Talukdar (Kalaichar, India- Bangladesh border), "India, Bangladesh revive border 'haat'," The Hindu, Kolkata, 24th July, 2011.

Minister, Sharma said that in the field of Information Technology, India would like to partner with Bangladeshi companies in building capacities through IT education and capacity building centres.⁴³

According to official sources the visit of External Affairs Minister to Bangladesh in the year 2011, instruments of ratification in respect of the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA) were exchanged. This would greatly facilitate two-way investments. The agreement aims at creating favourable conditions for fostering and encouraging investments between the two countries.⁴⁴

India and Bangladesh signed comprehensive border management agreements as Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram held crucial talks with his Bangladeshi counterpart, Sahara Khatun, ahead of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit on 30th July, 2011.

The Home Minister told the press conference on 30th July, 2011 that a headcount of the inhabitants of the enclaves has just been completed. There are about 51,000 people, 34,000 Indians and 17,000 Bangladeshis living in the enclaves.

The Coordinated Border Management Plan (CBMP) was signed on 30th July, 2011 in the presence of Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram held crucial talks with his Bangladeshi counterpart, Sahara Khatun, with the hope that this would further enhance the quality of border management.

Chidambaram told a joint press conference on 30th July, 2011 that the Indian government had already issued strict instructions *not to fire* under any circumstance while people from Bangladesh or from India try to illegally cross the border.⁴⁵

India and Bangladesh have succeeded in securing and demarcating their land borders- a long running source of friction between the two countries and a nightmare for an estimated 200,000 people who have been trapped in a citizenship limbo.

⁴³ "India-Bangladesh reopens border haat after 40 yrs," Nagaland Post, Dimapur, 24th July, 2011.

⁴⁴ "All eyes on border haats as Indo-Bangla biz swells," The Times of India, Guwahati, 26th July, 2011.

⁴⁵ Haroon Habib (Dhaka), "Bangladesh, India ink border deal," The Hindu, Kolkata, 31st July, 2011.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and his Bangladesh counterpart, Sheikh Hasina Wajed, presided over the signing of a new land border agreement on Tuesday 7th September, 2011, which promises to end a bitter and bloody dispute that has cast a dark shadow over the relationship between their countries since 1974.

Legacies, historians say, of lands put up as stakes in chess-games between the Rajas of Cooch Behar and Rangpur in the 18th century, these territories were not accounted for at the time of the Partition. They thus became enclaves when the princely states joined the new countries.⁴⁶

Indo- Bangladesh Relations to Build up Peace and Security in South Asia

The forging of relations between India and Bangladesh is exemplar for the region. The experience of the last half a century has shown that the challenges and problems facing the South Asian countries are transnational and transcend the boundaries of the state poverty, environmental degradation, terrorism, food security, water scarcity, trafficking in women and children, public health epidemics and so forth and are incapable of being resolved within the jurisdiction of a single state.⁴⁷

Confrontation and force will not resolve these crises. These issues can only be addressed through cooperation and collaboration.⁴⁸

Bangladesh and India have charted a new course and their cooperative approach offers a model for other countries to resolve their problems with their neighbours. India is rapidly emerging as an economic super power and its neighbours can confidently look forward to partaking in its prosperity, trade and technological innovations.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Praveen Swami (Dhaka), “*New Delhi, Dhaka resolve bloody border feud*”, The Hindu, Kolkata, 7th September, 2011

⁴⁷ Interviewed to Dr. Gowher Rizvi, Adviser to the Prime Minister of Bangladesh by Haroon Habib, “*India-Bangladesh ties a model for South Asia*”, The Hindu, Kolkata, Tuesday, 6th September, 2011.

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Ibid

Tipaimukh Dam's Diplomacy between India and Bangladesh

The impact of cross-border Tipaimukh Dam over Barak River, which has raised hackles in Dhaka.⁵⁰

China has expressed support for talks between Dhaka and New Delhi over the proposed construction of Tipaimukh dam in India's Manipur state. The Barak river, on which the dam is to be built, flows from China into India and then goes to Bangladesh. Visiting Chinese special envoy Zhou Gang, who met the Bangladeshi leadership on Thursday 23rd July, 2009, supported the dialogue process.

Abdur Razzaq, chairman of the parliamentary committee, told BBC, Barak river is part of the Brahmaputra river system that the three countries share. There have been reports that China wants to build a dam on the river as well. Tipaimukh is located 200 km upstream of the Bangladesh border. India says it needs the dam to generate power for the development of its northeastern region.⁵¹

Abdur Razzaq was quoting an Indian water expert, the Tipaimukh dam would help control floods in Bangladesh and increase water flow in the Kushiara and the Surma in dry seasons.

One of the senior lawmaker of Bangladesh said for the first time in the last 40 years India has agreed to provide us with such information on the dam.⁵²

India- China Border Relations

"The interdependence of nations provides the opportunity and the obligation for India and China to cooperate." Prime Minister Manmohan Singh

Management and resolution of India- China border issues are key to peace and development in the Northeast region in particular and South Asia in general.

⁵⁰ "Bangla team to visit Tipaimukh on July 29," The Morung Express, Dimapur, 25th July, 2009.

⁵¹ "China supports Indo-Bangla talks," The Morung Express, Dimapur, 25th July, 2009.

⁵² "Dhaka, Delhi to discuss on Tipaimukh dam project," The Morung Express, Dimapur, 14th August, 2009.

External Affairs Minister of India, S. M. Krishna said on 15th October, 2010, China should keep our (India) sensitivities in mind. That's how relationships are built, sustained and nurtured.⁵³

Dr Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India a day after meeting his counterpart Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao on 30th October, 2010 said that they had resolved to find *pragmatic and mutually satisfactory* solution to the border problem and remove *misunderstandings* to strengthen ties.

Dr Singh further commented, whatever Premier Wen said, I agree. India – China relations should be strengthened. Whatever misunderstandings are there should be removed, he added.⁵⁴

National Security Adviser, Shivshankar Menon said on 30th November, 2010 the fourteenth round of boundary negotiations between India and China had made *steady progress* with both sides expressing willingness to arrive at a *fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable* solution.⁵⁵

After an agreement for rail connectivity with Bangladesh, China will now get a 250- million dollar loan from the Asian Development Bank to build a new expressway in the western Yunnan Province right till the Myanmar border.

The Chinese already have strategic projects in Myanmar, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. A direct railroad link to the port city of Chittagong in Bangladesh.⁵⁶

China on 15th September, 2011 said it was working with India to set up a new joint consultation and coordination mechanism on boundary affairs and asserted that it was strictly abiding by the agreements reached between the two countries in the past to maintain peace along the border.

According to the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Jiang Yu, the new mechanism will handle major border affairs that have a bearing on peace and tranquility in the border areas at a diplomatic level. At present two sides are engaged in depth communication over specific matters such as content of the mechanism and operating methods of it at the working level.

⁵³ "India, China to hold 14th round of boundary talks," Nagaland Post, Dimapur, 16th October, 2010.

⁵⁴ "Indo- China border row," Nagaland Post, Dimapur, 31st October, 2010.

⁵⁵ Ananth Krishnan (Beijing), "Steady progress" in border talks," The Hindu, Kolkata, 1st December, 2010.

⁵⁶ Prabin Kalita/ TNN (Guwahati), "China inches closer to India with ADB loan," The Times of India, Guwahati, 4th December, 2010.

On China-India border question, the position is consistent and clear. She also clarified; we hold that it should be resolved fairly through consultation on equal footing and seek solution acceptable to both.

Jiang also said before the final settlement, both sides should safeguard peace and tranquility in the border area so that border question will not affect normal development of bilateral relations. It is the consensus reached by Indian and Chinese leaders.

The new border mechanism, which was aimed at dealing with allegations of intrusions and other violations, was proposed by Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao during his visit to India in December 2010 to prevent an escalation of crisis created by local incidents between the two armies.⁵⁷

Brahmaputra as a factor in relations between India and China

The Chinese government on 18th November, 2010 mounted a defence of its dams on the Brahmaputra and Mekong rivers, assuring its seven neighbours, including India, who have voiced concerns about the projects that downstream flows will remain unaffected.

Besides India, which raised the construction of a 510 MW dam on the Brahmaputra in talks with the Chinese leadership that week, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia had expressed similar concerns over eight dams being built on the Mekong River.⁵⁸

Tarun Gogoi, Assam Chief Minister on 18th November, 2010 urged the Centre to keep a strong vigil on a possible downstream impact of a dam of a 510 MW project constructed in the middle reaches of the Brahmaputra or the Yarlung Tsangpo, as it is known in Tibet.⁵⁹

With both India and China looking at ways to harness the waters of the Brahmaputra, experts at the two-day consultation on water conflict in the North-East, felt the need for institutionalizing water-related negotiations between the two countries.

⁵⁷ "China working with India border affairs'," The Times of India, Guwahati, 16th September, 2011.

⁵⁸ Ananth Krishnan (Beijing), "China's assurance to neighbours over Brahmaputra, Mekong dams," The Hindu, Kolkata, 19th November, 2010.

⁵⁹ Sushanta Talukdar (Guwahati), "Be wary of China project, Gogoi urges Centre," The Hindu, Kolkata, 19th November, 2010.

India's plans to construct a large number of hydro-power projects along the tributaries of the Brahmaputra, especially in Arunachal Pradesh, have added another dimension to the *sensitivity* of the trans-boundary issue of water between New Delhi and Beijing.

Nimmi Kurian, Associate Professor of New Delhi-based Centre for Policy Research said, issues from sovereignty to dam-safety and drinking water availability are all linked to the trans-boundary water scenario between the two countries. So, the importance of dialogue and negotiations have greater role to play.⁶⁰

With shrinking water levels in the Yangtze river basin in the wake of the worst drought to hit the country in five decades straining water and energy resources across ten provinces in southern and central China, hydropower groups are lobbying the government to give the green light for suspended plans to build dams in the untapped upper reaches of the Brahmaputra, or Yarlung Tsangpo as it is known in Tibet.⁶¹

The Chinese government on 14th June, 2011 indicated it would not divert the waters of the Brahmaputra river, saying it would take into *full consideration* the interests of downstream countries in taking forward any development projects on the river.

Chinese hydropower experts have also ruled out any plan to divert the river's waters in the near future, describing proposals from some scholars to direct the flow of the river to China's arid northwest as unfeasible.⁶²

Chinese scientists have completed a first of its kind study to pinpoint the sources of the Brahmaputra and Indus rivers using satellite images, and have found that the length and drainage areas of both rivers exceeded earlier estimates.

⁶⁰ Naresh Mitra/ TNN (Guwahati), "Experts debate India- China dispute over Brahmaputra," Sunday Times, Guwahati, 12th December, 2010.

⁶¹ Ananth Krishnan (Beijing), "Push for new dams across Brahmaputra as China faces drought," The Hindu, Kolkata, 11th June, 2011.

⁶² Ananth Krishnan (Beijing), "Brahmaputra waters will not be diverted, indicates China," The Hindu, Kolkata, 15th June, 2011.

Researchers from the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS), an official think-tank in Beijing, used remote-sensing satellite images and data from several expeditions to the Tibetan plateau to map the sources of the Brahmaputra, Indus, Salween and Irrawaddy rivers.

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said in the early part of August 2011 that India *trust* China's statements that *nothing will be done that affects India's interest*, but would also *verify* Chinese claims.⁶³

Trade as a factor in India- China Relations

China's Ambassador to India Zhang Yan on 27th October, 2011 asserted that trade between Indian and China was set to achieve the \$ 60 billion target fixed by the two sides by the end of the year.⁶⁴

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao said some people described China and India as economic competitors and likened them to a dragon and an elephant. However, he claimed that both countries stood to gain from economic cooperation.

Though China has mooted the idea of free trade agreement, India has not favourably responded considering a huge trade imbalance for the Indian industry. The Chinese Premier was accompanied by a large delegation of business leaders from different sectors, mainly in the infrastructure areas.⁶⁵

Manmohan Singh and Wen held talks to forge *strategic consensus* on a range of issues, including the widening trade deficit, global terrorism, nuclear non-proliferation and climate change. The two leaders who enjoy excellent rapport, had also met over a dinner Manmohan Singh hosted on 15th December, 2010.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ananth Krishnan (Beijing), "China maps Brahmaputra, Indus," The Hindu, Kolkata, 23rd August, 2011.

⁶⁴ Sujay Mehdudia (New Delhi), "India- China trade set to reach \$ 60 billion target, says Zhang," The Hindu, Kolkata, 28th October, 2010.

⁶⁵ "China, India partners, not rivals: Wen Jiabao," The Times of India, Guwahati, 16th December, 2010.

⁶⁶ "\$ 100 bn Indo- China trade," Nagaland Post, Dimapur, 17th December, 2010

Manmohan Singh and Wen Jiabao Talks on Mutual Relations

India and China on 29th October, 2010 expressed their determination to carry their relations forward through dialogue, with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao instructing their officials to *work their way through* all difficult issues.⁶⁷

Chinese Ambassador to India Zhang Yan said at the conference on India- China relations organized by FICCI, to achieve this, the government should provide guidance to the public to avoid a war of words.

The then Indian Foreign Secretary, Nirupama Rao who was also present at the conference, sought to assuage the feelings of the Chinese envoy, by telling to Zhang Yan that India has a *very common-sensical* and *very rational* approach to China.

Nirupama Rao said negotiations on the boundary question have a certain momentum and both the countries have maintained peace and tranquility along the common border for many decades now.⁶⁸

After the talks between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao the two sides agreed on regular consultations between the two leaders on the issues of importance to both countries.⁶⁹

After the two rounds of talks between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao held on 15th and 16th December, 2010, the two countries India and China agreed on a mechanism to address the matter. It also agreed to address the pause in high-level defence exchanges, suspended as a result of the Chinese policy of issuing distinctive visas to Indian citizens domiciled in Jammu and Kashmir by creating a basis for them to *continue without constraints*.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Sandeep Dikshit (Hanoi), "India, China vow to carry forward ties through talks," The Hindu, Kolkata, 30th October, 2010.

⁶⁸ "Sino-India ties fragile, need special care: Chinese envoy," The Times of India, Guwahati, 14th December, 2010.

⁶⁹ "Wen on Charm offensive, seeks to ease tension," The Times of India, Guwahati, 17th December, 2010.

⁷⁰ Sandeep Dikshit (New Delhi), "Let's be sensitive to each other's concerns," The Hindu, Kolkata, 17th December, 2010.

With Dr. Singh and Mr. Wen meeting for the 11th time, Ms Nirupama Rao saw *strong personal chemistry and a very positive rapport that permeated the talks*. The personal relationship between the two leaders was also reflected when the Prime Minister hosted a working dinner on 15th December, 2010 night.

After Wen Jiabao's interactions and his speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs, the official said India and China had a relationship that is greater than the sum of its parts.⁷¹

Wen Jiabao hoped that his visit to India would promote the deepening of mutual trust and cooperation between the two countries, and enable to take their ties forward in creating peace and prosperity.

The Indian Prime Minister said, the socio-economic transformation of India and China has opened up new opportunities for progress in two countries relations in all fields.⁷²

Srikanth Kondapalli, Professor in Chinese Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi remarked that the visit of China's Premier Wen Jiabao to Delhi appeared like any other business trip with the usual announcements regarding reiteration of mutual respect, enhancing trade, investment flows, cultural and educational cooperation and the like. However, the subtext of this visit was the newfound confidence in India to set terms for such engagement with the dragon, as foreign minister S. M. Krishna pointed out.⁷³

India- China as global leader

India, along with China, will become global leaders in manufacturing competitiveness by 2015, according to the Global Manufacturing Competitiveness Index published in 2010.

⁷¹ Sandeep Dikshit (New Delhi), "Officials see progress despite lack of time to prepare for Wen's visit," The Hindu, Kolkata, 17th December, 2010.

⁷² "China and India agree to improve ties between the two countries," Nagaland Post, Dimapur, 18th December, 2010.

⁷³ Srikanth Kondapalli (The writer is professor in Chinese studies at JNU), "Bilateral Give And Take," The Times of India, Guwahati, 20th December, 2010.

The rise of three countries in particular China, India and the Republic of Korea appears to parallel the rapidly growing and important Asian market in the news report in the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO)'s quarterly magazine has said.⁷⁴

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao on 15th December, 2010 told a gathering of top business leaders in New Delhi that India and China *are partners for cooperation and not rivals in competition*.

The function was organized by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India.

Wen told the gathering of industrialists, there is enough space in the world for the development of both China and India. There are enough areas for two countries to cooperate. Adding to that Wen said both the Asian economic giants were in the process of rapid industrialization and urbanization, accompanied by fast and sustainable economic growth, and it was not proper to link China to a *dragon* and India to an *elephant*.⁷⁵

India and China should join hands for bidding of global tenders for pharma export orders and play on each other's strengths, China Chamber of Commerce for Import and Export of Medicines and health Products (CCCMHPIE) Vice President Liu Zhanglin said in New Delhi on Wednesday 15th December, 2010.

Liu Zhanglin said very few Chinese companies were qualified to bid for global tenders. Only two Chinese companies had been granted pre-qualification by the World Health Organisation (WHO) for global tendering compared with 1,000 Indian companies. Adding to that Zhanglin Chinese companies are also up against the language barrier and this can be overcome by collaborating with Indian companies.

India and China were expected to propel the global pharma market to \$1.1 trillion by 2014. India and China have reported trade worth \$3.1 billion in the pharmaceutical sector, including medical

⁷⁴ "India, China to be global leaders in manufacturing competitiveness," The Hindu, Kolkata, 3rd December, 2010.

⁷⁵ Sujay Mehdudia (New Delhi), "We are partners and not competitors, says Wen," The Hindu, Kolkata, 16th December, 2010.

devices, in the first ten months of the current fiscal. Trade during last fiscal stood at \$2.8 billion.⁷⁶

India and China can contribute to the stability of East Asia only by staying the course of their compatible diplomatic mantras. India and China have said that the international stage is wide enough for them to rise fully to their respective potential without having to compete with each other in a winner-takes-all gamesmanship.

India's East Asian partners will, therefore, watch closely for signs of its potential role in the region in such diverse fields as maritime security, climate change, energy security, nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, food security, outer-space exploration, besides the anti-terror agenda and cyberspace security.⁷⁷

India and China over Arunachal Pradesh and Visa Issue

India on 13th October, 2009 expressed disappointment and concern over China objecting to Prime Minister's visit to Arunachal Pradesh for the poll campaign. It asserted that the State is an integral and inalienable part of the country and that the comment did not help the ongoing boundary talks between the two countries.

Reacting to a statement from Beijing, Ministry of External Affairs spokesperson Vishnu Prakash said the people of Arunachal Pradesh were India's citizens who proudly took part in the mainstream of the country's vibrant democracy. Prakash said China was well aware of this position of the Government of India.⁷⁸

China on 13th October, 2009 expressed *strong dissatisfaction* over Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Arunachal Pradesh for the poll campaign, and accused India of *stirring up trouble* along the disputed border areas, a statement that has further heightened tensions between the two countries.

⁷⁶ "India, China can propel global pharma market to \$1.1 trillion," The Hindu, Kolkata, 16th December, 2010.

⁷⁷ P. S. Suryanarayana, "India and the East: time for a reality check," The Hindu, Kolkata, 16th December, 2010.

⁷⁸ K. V. Prasad (New Delhi), "India expresses concern over China's objection," The Hindu, Kolkata, 14th October, 2009.

Beijing was *deeply upset* over Dr Singh's on 3rd October visit to the State, which came ahead of Assembly elections, Foreign Ministry spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu told reporters in Beijing at a regular press briefing.

Zhaoxu said despite our grave concerns, an Indian leader went to the disputed area. Adding to that China urge the Indian side to take China's solemn concerns seriously and to not stir up trouble at the disputed area with a view to ensuring the sound development of China-India relations.⁷⁹

India has once again urged China to follow a consistent visa policy after it emerged that China issued stapled visas to two Indians domiciled in Arunachal Pradesh.⁸⁰

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has reiterated that Arunachal Pradesh has always been an integral part of India and repeated Chinese claims over the northeastern state *will not change the reality*. Dr Singh told a delegation of the All Arunachal Pradesh Students' Union (AAPSU).⁸¹

Findings of the Interview with Experts on India's Foreign Policy

The scholar conducted interviews with the following experts on the field related to the present research work.

S. Sankaranarayanan, the then Governor of Nagaland, while answering to a question said that the 'Look East Policy' in his perspective means development. Meanwhile further adding to that he said: 'without peace, no development, no development, no peace.'⁸²

Professor Lama highlighted the importance of Indian foreign policy for peace, development, prosperity and security of the North East region. Further, Professor Lama also pointed out the

⁷⁹ Ananth Krishnan (Beijing), "Beijing "deeply upset" over Manmohan's visit," The Hindu, Kolkata, 14th October, 2009.

⁸⁰ "India asks China to follow consistent visa policy," The Hindu, Kolkata, 14th January, 2011.

⁸¹ "PM: China claims not to change Arunachal status," The Times of India, Guwahati, 4th February, 2011.

⁸² Interview with S. Sankaranarayanan, the Governor of Nagaland on 25th April, 2008 at Raj Bhawan, Kohima.

current issues prevailing in South Asia and its impact on India's foreign policy and North East India.⁸³

Dr. Namrata Goswami of IDSA in her interview said the ground reality for Government of India is it is not doing much for 'Look East Policy'. Goswami expressed her view that through land cooperation Myanmar (Burma) could link India's northeast with the neighbouring countries. Further, she opined fast economic vibrancy and greater investment could solve the insurgency problems in the North East India.

Goswami also referred about possibility of trade in Mon areas of Nagaland which borders Myanmar. She also viewed that political corruption and extortion along the National Highways in North East India lead to conflict and hamper the efforts for linking North East region with the neighbouring countries of Myanmar and Bangladesh..

Goswami also pointed out that 'The more open, the better.' Answering the questions in her interview on Southeast Asia she wanted North East India to come up both on economic, political and trade fronts. Further, she also expressed that road infrastructure and connectivity is needed for the North East region. Apart from that North East Council (NEC) must have a better coordination for development, she added.⁸⁴

Dr. Pankaj Jha in his interview said infrastructure should be included in Planning Commission and should involve in planning better for the North East region. Road and electricity must developed in the North East. He also observed that the people of North East are different and unique, explaining the meaning that market, tourism and tourist centred activities can spring up provided there is good educational set up culturing and nurturing development.

Jha also have a view that timber and wood can be got from Myanmar and finished goods could be exported to Thailand. Thailand is a good market for North East India, he added.

⁸³ Interview with Mahendra P. Lama, Professor of School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and presently Vice Chancellor of Sikkim University at JNU on 29th April, 2007 and Sikkim University, Gangtok on 19th September, 2008.

⁸⁴ Interview with Dr. Namrata Goswami, Associate Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 17th February, 2010.

Jha was also optimistic that Nagaland has the potential for floriculture.⁸⁵

Dr. Udai Bhanu Singh in his interview highlighted that Southeast Asia consists of ten Asian countries and four North East states bordering Myanmar that are all effected by Look East Policy.

Singh also suggested for better road, air and communication linkage with South and Southeast Asia.

Insecurity in North East India can be overcome when developmental issues are taken care of, Singh added.⁸⁶

Dr. Partha S. Ghosh, Professor of School of International Studies, Centre for South, Central, Southeast Asian & Southeast Pacific Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi in his interview analyzed India's politics towards neighbouring countries with particular reference to India's North East. Ghosh while explaining India's policy towards neighbours like China, Myanmar and Nepal, said United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) hideouts in Bhutan have an internal and external security impacts. Ghosh in his interview said regional politics influences foreign policy. Further, he referred to North East India lack of influence in Parliament on foreign policy and decision making. Members of Parliament from North East India, Ghosh said, make no noise in the Parliament.⁸⁷

Dr. Sreeradha Datta in her interview said North East is an important area for India and Asia. The North East not only is important for developing relations with the neighbouring countries like Myanmar and Bangladesh but also to reach out whole of Asia. India's economic policy is concentrating on 'Look East Policy' and North East is a new corridor for trade, she added.

⁸⁵ Interview with Dr. Pankaj Jha Associate Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 17th February, 2010.

⁸⁶ Interview with Dr. Udai Bhanu Singh, Research Officer, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 22nd February, 2010.

⁸⁷ Interview with Dr. Partha S. Ghosh, Professor of School of International Studies, Centre for South, Central, Southeast Asian & Southeast Pacific Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi on 26th February, 2010.

Datta also pointed that North East is relevant and important for India's foreign policy as in general being territorially bordering with neighbouring countries.⁸⁸

Dr. Mahbub Ullah stresses the legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru and its influences on in India's foreign policy making towards Laos, China, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia etc.

Dr Ullah pointed out that geography, history, culture and psychological factors work as a bridge between India and its neighbouring countries and have great potential in impacting India's "look east policy." He talked about many commonalities between India and Bangladesh. He also touched upon the irritants in relations between the two nations governed by psychological factors and fear of India dominating the region.

Dr. Mahbub Ullah said that India is facing the twin challenges of national integration and conflicts on account of identity politics.

He said diplomacy is the only answer to solve problems between India and Bangladesh. The nature of relations between the two will have a great bearing upon peace, security and development in the North East region.

Ullah expressed his view how India is tackling the insurgency problems their own country. Adding to that integration and nationality arises within Indian country.

Dr Mahbub Ullah also have an opinion that diplomacy relations found in three kinds like warm, correct and cool.⁸⁹

Dr Delwar Hossain, Professor and Chair of International Relations, Dhaka University, Bangladesh in his interview said India and Bangladesh enjoy good relations and have relevance for studies in both the countries and particularly North East India as it has integral boundary with Bangladesh.

⁸⁸ Interview with Dr. Sreeradha Datta, Research Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 26th February, 2010.

⁸⁹ Interview with Dr Mahbub Ullah, Professor and Chairman, Department of Development Studies, Dhaka University, Bangladesh on 11th August, 2010.

Hossain said India helped Bangladesh during partition from Pakistan in 1971 and helped become independent state in the time of Indira Gandhi's prime ministership of India. The support of Bangladesh in 1971 was great for the country, he added. Hossain also pointed about the positive and negative aspects in relations between two countries relations like water sharing, trade relations, militancy problem and border issue.

Further, he stressed that the relationship between the two countries determine the prospect of peace and development in South Asia nations and particularly the success of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

According to Hossain opinion the relationship between countries is marked by ups and downs. And this depends on the regime of the country's approach on foreign policy issues.

Mistrust, apprehension arouse from the elite people instead of the common, general people, Hossain added. North East India had good historical relations with Bangladesh, he added. Transit issues create problems between the two countries. Hossain also suggested mutual understanding to be maintained between the two countries.

Hossain also recalled of India's complaints towards Bangladesh on insurgency and terrorism issue. However, Hossain believed that Bangladesh government would not support such anti-social activities. To create an environment by building trust, confidence and more understanding between the two governments would be a major requirement.

Further, Hossain while explaining the history of India and Bangladesh said that during the time of Mughal and Ashoka empire and during the British rule both the countries lived together. He also suggested that there must be deeper relation among South Asian nations in general to harbor and maintain an atmosphere of unity.

India is very important for South Asia. Moreover, India has a distinct culture among the region.

Hossain also added that India would benefit in any collaboration with Bangladesh by sharing each other's wealth and burdens which would essentially function to promote and develop cultural, social and political relations.

Realisation of this is in need from both India and Bangladesh. The relationship and benefit in any matter regarding India and Bangladesh would also benefit North East at the same time, Hossain added.

North East India is a strategic point for India and Bangladesh, he said. North East India-Bangladesh vice versa relations are important for each other and for India.

The type of country's regime perception may lead to hostility despite the good relations that the public share, Hossain added.

Delwar Hossain also clarified that people of Bangladesh are busy for their own livelihood rather than taking interests in global political issues.

In the year 1977 agreement on equitable sharing of water between India and Bangladesh was a noble work.

Meanwhile, during the interview of the Professor Delwar Hossain, I asked for his suggestion to reduce/eliminate mistrust and building confidence among the people of the two countries. Hossain pointed that mistrusts have to be reduced/eliminated from elite and the government level because general public do not arouse such problem. Moreover, India has a greater responsibility for building trust. Interaction also plays a vital role at the official as well as non-official levels. In addition, cultural exchange and students' delegation and dialogue are the mechanism for strengthening relations between both the countries.

North East India is important for India and Bangladesh relations. North East India has to establish wider relations, mutual understanding as a result of the geographical proximity of India with Bangladesh, Hossain maintained.

Above all, Hossain also stated that the people of Bangladesh are fond of India's films and television channels.

On 16th August during another interview, Hossain commented on the philosophy of Bangladesh's foreign policy. Hossain said Bangladesh is committed to regional and global peace, diplomatic and mutual development, international law and cooperation. Friendship to all without enmity or

malice. He also appreciated the 'Look East Policy'. Viewing the problem of overpopulation Hussain added that Bangladesh needs support on trade and technology thus emphasizing on the importance of interdependence among countries.⁹⁰

Professor M. Shahiduzzama in his interview suggested for open contact, travel, trade for both the countries of India and Bangladesh to be introduced. Easier accessibility should be provided by the government instead of border security restrictions. Shahiduzzama added absence of insurgency problems could facilitate progress and development for both the countries in every aspect. The scope of exchange of journalists and student delegation must be provided by both the countries. Adding that, tourism facility was also required to improve relations between two countries of India and Bangladesh.⁹¹

Professor Rebecca Haque in her interview says the need for both countries like India and Bangladesh is to give better contact and good opportunity to transit. Absence of contact among the people would lead to suspicion between the two countries. This is how the government should give more opportunity to the people for communication and contact particularly in the border areas, Haque added. Stressing on the fact, she said that human beings are social in nature, communication is very essential for countries sharing boundary with each other.⁹²

Dr. Akmal Hussain, Professor of International Relations, Dhaka University, Bangladesh in his interview said India is important for Bangladesh having 4,095 kms bordering to their country. Besides, if India wants it can connect North East from the heart of their country to Bangladesh which would be a much shorter route consuming less time and expense.

According to Akmal Hussain imbalance in trade relations between India and Bangladesh would be solved if Bangladesh's trade is opened by the government of India formally and informally to the seven sisters of North East India states. Hussain also suggested an autonomy for direct link to North East with Bangladesh both tariff and non-tariff. The relations with North East should be

⁹⁰ Interview with Dr Delwar Hossain, Professor and Chair of International Relations, Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 11th & 16th August, 2010.

⁹¹ Interview with Professor M. Shahiduzzama, Department of International Relations, Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 12th August, 2010.

⁹² Interview with Professor Rebecca Haque, Chair of English Department, Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 12th August, 2010.

strengthened that would mutually benefit all. Hussain Further added that he also recalled the past event between India and China's hostile relations when Bangladesh was a strategic place.

India's project at Palatana (Tripura) transporting material by using the water route in Bangladesh started on 13th August, 2010. Apart from that one billion \$ loan to Bangladesh, announced by Finance Minister of India, Pranab Mukerjee on 5th August, 2010 was of good significance between the two countries.

Akmal Hussain viewed that India has to give commitment to Bangladesh to address the genuine grievance of Bangladesh regarding the water issue. There are 54 rivers originating from India. He also cautioned that when the rivers are diverted it would cripple the economy of Bangladesh. Further, he also stated that the role of Border Security Forces (BSF) of India was a tricky issue raising questions of mistrust and suspicion.

India being a big nation has to be open by providing means of accessibility to North Eastern part of India.

Insurgence groups like United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) getting shelter in Bangladesh was an internal problem for India. He also suggested that more economic generation and political freedom would solve such kind of problems.

A.Z. Phizo Naga freedom movement leader boarded to fly (Air) from Dhaka to London. Zaramthanga former Chief Minister of Mizoram and also leader of Mizo National Front were sheltered in Bangladesh which were cordial gestures towards India by their government, Hussain said.

Above all, bilateral relations depend on the regime of the government, he added. Stating that a policy of non-interference, non-allignment and anti-racism should be delegated for peaceful co-existence.⁹³

Interview with Professor Ghulam Murshid, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), London at Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka quoted that Bengali intellectuals of Bangladesh want

⁹³ Interview with Dr. Akmal Hussain, Professor of International Relations, Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 14th & 16th August, 2010.

relationship with India. Besides, a huge population of Muslims totaling to 85% of the country's population, its national policies are close to Islamic countries. The foreign policy of Bangladesh is on the verge of confusion going nowhere, he added. There is a tendency to be neutral in international politics being a poor economic nation. Further, he also clarified that Bangladesh has to depend on India not being capable to fight with foreign nation. Besides, army people are the most privilege as 13% of the economy spends on it. Murshid opined that a peaceful and harmonial state does not require military force at the cost of nation's economy.

Professor Murshid viewed that Bangladesh has the fear that India would dominate. Thus, they try to utilize anti-India activities among Muslim community in Bangladesh. To balance the fear of Anti- India was a campaign started opposite Islamic nationalism. To pursue anti India Bangladesh relied on help from Pakistan and China which were against India's favour.⁹⁴

Professor Sirajul Islam answering to the question expressing his personal feeling and concern for foreign policy said that being a citizen of Bangladesh, on the perspectives of geography, economy, and small defence unlike a big country India is challenging. Stressing to that it cannot be too ambitious in its role on world's foreign policy. Comparing Bangladesh to a small bird, he cited an example of Myanmar as successful in internal matters. Likewise internal human rights, economy, qualities of life are most essential. Islam also has a view to follow big state leadership.

Switzerland does not have any army. Navy coast guard is to free the coast from criminal activities preventing smuggling. Similarly, air force is there for quick supply in times of crisis like disaster. Bangladesh should aspire a global role to recommend it and should be satisfied with supportive neighbouring countries.⁹⁵

Professor Sajahan Miah, Managing Editor, Banglapedia Trust, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 16th August, 2010 in his chamber said India sent army to Bangladesh in 1971 not to doubt India's support for their country. Being a small country Bangladesh should be more accommodative and friendly. He opined that foreign policy should be beneficial. Bangladesh has a huge market for India. Therefore, for keeping a good relationship a lot depends

⁹⁴ Interview with Professor Ghulam Murshid, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), London at Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka on 16th August, 2010.

⁹⁵ Interviewed with Professor Sirajul Islam, President of Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka on 16th August, 2010.

on good relationship in political power. According to Sajahan Miah improving relationship between the two countries would not cause any loss or harm. Instead war and terrorism would take away all freedom and profit from both countries.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Interview with Professor Sajahan Miah, Managing Editor, Banglapedia Trust, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 16th August, 2010.

Chapter VI

Conclusion: Findings and Suggestions

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Asia is the largest continent of the world and South Asia, one of the four sub-regions of the continent, generally consists of eight nations namely India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Republic of the Maldives and Afghanistan. With a total of 1.4 billion inhabitants, these countries represent about 22% of the world population, but only 2% of the world GNP.

South Asia presents a picture of bewildering and daunting diversity of heterogeneity. Schism of every kind such as national boundaries, religion, ethnicity and language, are apparent. India represents as the largest democracy of the world while Pakistan has been the place of dictatorship. Two of its members like Sri Lanka and Nepal are torn by internal racial and political strife. Bangladesh has recent origin and the country is struggling hard for its economic survival and prosperity. Maldives is the smallest territory among these eight states.

These states were the British colonial rule for decades where they shared almost common administrative pattern and cherished common desire to be independent of the colonial rule. It was India, which first became independent in 1947 and Pakistan as an integral part of India emerged as a sovereign state after India's a partition in the same year. Bangladesh, which was known as the East Pakistan before its independent its independent status, emerged as an independent state in 1971 after successful revolution against the government of dictatorial Pakistan.

India being the largest among them have been successfully managing democratic pattern of the government, but other states of South Asia are still struggling hard for democratic system of government. No doubt, Pakistan claims itself as a democratic state, but its history shows that democracy never got deep root in Pakistan.

Despite much similarity in geographical, cultural, religious and linguistic conditions these countries hardly tried to come together and form mutual and association for their economic development. It is only after formation of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation on

8th December, 1985, which may be termed as historic move for regional cooperation in South Asia, the seven countries of South Asia formed themselves into a regional cooperative organisation to promote common economic, social and cultural development.

Since then, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has been meeting regularly at many governmental levels and maintained active intra-regional cooperative attitude on all fronts of development, despite geographical tension between two prominent members i.e., India and Pakistan. A brief description of its geographical area and location, kind of government/political system, population, language, religion and economic scenario is mentioned below.

Afghanistan (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan)

Afghanistan is officially called the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. It is a landlocked country located approximately in the center of Asia. Geographically, located within Central Asia, South Asia and the Middle East, it is bordered by Iran in the south and west, Pakistan in the south and east, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in the north, and China in the far northeast.

The total area of Afghanistan is 250,000 sq m (647,500 sq km). The record of population in the year 2010 was 29,117,000 with the growth rate: 2.6%; birth rate: 45.4/1000; infant mortality rate: 151.9/1000; life expectancy: 44.6; density per sq mi: 128. Kabul is the capital and the largest city.

The monetary unit is called Afghani. Ethnic groups of Afghanistan (largest ethnic group of each district) 36.4% to 42.0% Pashtun 27% to 38.0% Tajik 8.0% to 10.0% Hazara 6.0% to 9.2% Uzbek 0.1% to 4% Aimak 1.7 to 3% Turkmen 0.5% to 4% Baloch 1.9% to 9.2% other (Pashi, Hindki, Nuristani, Brahui, Hindkowan, etc.).

The languages of Afghanistan are Persian and Pashto. The most common languages spoken in Afghanistan are Eastern Persian (also known as Dari; roughly 50%) and Pashto (roughly 35%). Both the languages are Indo-European from the Iranian sub-family, and the official languages of the country.

Hazaragi, spoken by the Hazara minority, is a distinct dialect of Persia. And the other languages spoken include the Turkic languages Uzbek and Turkmen (ca. 9% combined), as well as 30 minor languages, primarily Balochi, Nuristani, Pashai, Brahui, Pamiri languages, Hindko etc. (ca. 4% combined). Bilingualism is common.

In Afghanistan over 99% of the population are Muslims. Approximately 74-80% is Sunni and 19-25% is Shai (estimates vary). The per capita income was \$ 1,000 in the year 2010.

Bangladesh (People's Republic of Bangladesh)

People's Republic of Bangladesh' is the government of Bangladesh. Bangladesh is located in South Asia. It has a coastline on the Bay of Bengal. It mainly comprises the delta of the Ganges river. India borders the country to the west, north and east. Myanmar (Burma) is located in its south-east.

It covers the area of 1, 44,000 sq km. National name is Gana Prajatantri Bangladesh. Dhaka is the capital as well country's largest city. Population was 150,366,000 as on April 12, 2011. The density is 1,099.3/km². Taka is the currency. Bangla is an official language. The languages spoken are Bengali (official), English. Religion as recorded in the census of the year 2000 was Muslim 83%; Hindu, 16%; other 1%.

The literacy rate is 43.1%. The type of government is parliament democracy. Per Capita Income: \$ 1,700 estimated in the year 2010. The literacy rate was 53.5%. Bangladesh borders to India with a length of 4,095.70 kms stretching to the states like West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura.

The princely states of Cooch Behar are in the North, Bengal and Rongpur in the South. Bengal was established enclaves. Independence also created the partition of India and East Pakistan respectively in 1947 where the ownership of enclaves became separately. India's enclaves of 111 (area 17,158 acres) and 51 enclaves of Bangladesh (area 7,110 acres).

Bhutan (Kingdom of Bhutan)

Kingdom of Bhutan with a total area 47,000 sq km. Population 695,822 as estimated in the year 2010.

The language spoken by the people of Bhutan is Dzongkha (official), Tibetan dialects (among Bhotes), Nepalese dialects (among Nepalese). The ethnicity in Bhutan is Bhote 50%, ethnic Nepalese 35%, indigenous or migrant tribes 15%. The Kingdom of Bhutan observes a National Day on December 17. The religion practiced by Bhutanese are Lamaistic Buddhist 75%, Indian and Nepalese influenced Hinduism 25%. The per capita \$5,000 estimated in the year 2010. Real growth rate: 22.4%. Arable land: 3%. Agriculture: rice, corn, root crops, citrus, food grains; dairy products, eggs. Labour force is a major shortage of skilled labour; agriculture 93%, industry and commerce 2%, services 5%. Industries: cement, wood products, processed fruits, alcoholic beverages, calcium carbide. Natural resources: timber, hydropower, gypsum, calcium carbide. Exports:

India (Republic of India)

India is the largest country in South Asia. The Indian peninsula has the Bay of Bengal to the east and Arabian Sea to the West (parts to the Indian Ocean). Pakistan is to its west, China, Nepal and Bhutan to the north, and Myanmar to the east. Bangladesh in the east is mainly surrounded by Indian territory. The total area is 32, 87,580 sq km with a population of 1,210,193,422 March 1, 2011 of world population 17.51%.

New Delhi is the capital of the country and the currency is rupee. The official language of the country in the Eighth Schedule of the constitution are Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gorkhali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santhali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, and English is an associate language. India is a secular state, the religious and ethnic composition as recorded was Hindu 80.5%; Muslim 13.4%; Christian 2.39%, Sikh 1%; Buddhists 0.78%. Its literacy rate is 74.04% according to the 2011 census. The type of government is federal system. Per Capita Income: \$ \$ 3,400 in the year 2010 est.

Maldives (Republic of Maldives)

'Republic of Maldives' is located in a group of about 2,000 islands grouped into 12 clusters, situated about 700 km south-west of Sri Lanka in northern Indian Ocean. The area covered by Maldives including land and sea is 90,000 sq. km. The total land area is approximately 300 sq. km. The total population was 317,280 in the year 2010 census. Capital and largest city is Male.

Maldivian rufiyaa is the currency. Maldives got her independence on 26th July, 1965 from United Kingdom. The ethnics in Maldives are South Indians, Sinhalese, Arabs.

The Sunni Muslim religion is practiced in Maldives. The languages spoken in Maldives is Maldivian Dhivehi (dialect of Sinhala, script derived from Arabic), English is spoken by most government officials. The recorded population in 2005, July was 349,106. And the growth rate is 2.82% according to the official record in the year 2005. The literacy rate of Maldives is 97.0%.

Nepal (Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal)

The kind of the government is known as 'Kingdom of Nepal'. Nepal is a landlocked country in South Asia. Located in the central Himalayas, Tibet (Chinese) autonomous is to the north and India to the east and south. Himalayas signifies a majestic, which in Sanskrit means the abode of snow, Nepal is very mountainous and hilly. In fact, non-Tarai Hindus are the largest in number, comprising about half of the population, with the Tarai Hindus accounting to one-fourth of the population. Tamangs accounts 5 per cent with the Kiratis, Newars as well as Tharus accounting to about 4 per cent each of the population. Most of the ethnic groups such as the Muslims, Gurungs, Sherpas and Magars, are small in number, accounting for 1 to 3 per cent of the total population.

The area covers 1,40,800 sq km and a population of 28,584,975 in 2011. Kathmandu is the capital. The languages spoken are Nepali (official), Newari, Bhutia, Maithali. Religion practices in Nepal as such Hindu 89%, Bhuddist 5%, Islam 3%. The literacy rate is 28%. The type of Government is Constitutional monarchy with Parliament. Per Capita Income \$ 1,200 in 2010. Literacy rate was 56.5%.

Pakistan (Islamic Republic of Pakistan)

The government of Pakistan is known as Federal republic. The area of the land covers 8,03,940 sq km. Population was 175,723,000 as on April 12, 2011. Islamabad is the capital. Rupee is the currency in Pakistan. Languages in Pakistan are Urdu (national), English (official), Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtu and Baluchi. Religion practices in the country are Islam, 97%; Hindu, Christian, Buddhist, Parsi and other,3%. The literacy is 45.7%. The border stretches between India-

Pakistan over the length of 3,074 kms to the states like Gujarat, Rajasthan, Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. The literacy rate was 54.2%. Per Capita Income: \$ 2,400 (2010 est.).

Sri Lanka (Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka)

Sri Lanka is a government of 'Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.' Located in South Asia, the Island of Sri Lanka is off the South-east coast of India, separated by the Palk Strait. Area of the land is 65,610 sq km. The population 20,410,000 as recorded in 2010. The capital is Sri Jayewardenepura Kotte (Colombo). Sri Lanka's currency is Sri Lankan Rupee. The languages are Sinhala, Tamil and English. Religions in the country are Buddhist, 70%; Hindu, 15%; Christian, 8%; Islam, 7%. The literacy rate was 90.8% and Per Capita Income was \$ 4,900 in the year 2010.

Emergence of SAARC

The idea related to regional cooperation in South Asia was first initiated by late President Zia-Ur-Rehman, who visited Nepal, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka during the period 1977-78 to explore the possibilities of regional economic cooperation among SAARC countries. A common quest for peace and development of all these countries was proposed for collective self-reliance. He issued a formal call for SAARC Regional Cooperation in May 1980, and other countries of South Asia positively responded.

In the preliminary exchanges brought out for regional cooperation reflected the spirit of mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic appreciation of the political inspiration existing among the countries of the region. Further, the idea was developed that such cooperation should be based on in respect of the principles of sovereignty equality, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs of other nations and mutual benefits.

Thereafter the relevant officials of these nations continued the effort to formulate the objectives and principles of SAARC. Various meetings and conferences took place among the officials and dignitaries these states to strengthen the idea and objectives of SAARC.

In the first meeting of the seven Foreign Ministers was held in New Delhi in August 1983, which officially launched the South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC). Late Mrs Indira Gandhi, Indian Prime Minister in the inaugurated the session and said that “We seven who gather here are close geographical neighbours. The same nonsoon governs our lives. We share experience, aspirations and challenges... Today our major task is to overcome economic backwardness. As members of Non-Aligned Movement, we seek peace with development among ourselves and in the world as a whole.”

In this meeting adopted a declaration to strengthen collective self –reliance and to accelerate economic development through regional cooperation. It formally launched the Integrated Programme of Action (IPA) in the nine identified areas for regional cooperation.

In the summit held at Dhaka in December 1985 a new organization named South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was formally launched in place of SARC. India Prime Minister, Late Rajiv Gandhi said at the occasion that “We of the SAARC constitute one-fifth of the world population. Cooperation amongst us constitutes cooperation, within a vast segment of humanity. SAARC Cooperation is an important step towards realizing the largest Asia consciousness.”

In the summit agreed the regional cooperation is mutually beneficial, desirable and necessary for promoting economic development. Further, describing it as the ‘beginning of a new dawn,’ the then Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said that the SAARC paves the way to collective self-reliance in order to overcome problems of poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition and disease in this area.

Thus SAARC is a manifestation of the determination of the peoples of South Asia to cooperate regionally and to work together towards finding solutions to their common problems in a spirit of friendship; trust and understanding based on mutual respect, equity and shared benefits. The Makers of the Indian foregoing solution made valuable contribution to the origin, growth and development of SAARC.

Objectives

The objectives, principles and general provisions, as mentioned in the SAARC Charter, are as follows:

- i. To promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;
- ii. To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realise their full potentials;
- iii. To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia;
- iv. To contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
- v. To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;
- vi. To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries;
- vii. To strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interests; and
- viii. To cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

Principles

- a. Cooperation within the framework of the Association is based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and mutual benefit.
- b. Such cooperation is to complement and not to substitute bilateral or multilateral cooperation.
- c. Such cooperation should be consistent with bilateral and multilateral obligations of the member states.
- d. Decisions at all levels in SAARC are taken on the basis of unanimity.
- e. Bilateral and contentious issues are excluded from its deliberations.

As the formation and function of SAARC have to focus on regional organizations or non-state actors operative in the world in economic, security, political, cultural and ideological

environment as international governmental or international non-governmental organization are trying to achieve the goal of regional integration. SAARC fundamental goal is to accelerate the process of economic and social development in the region through the optimum utilization of the human and material resources, so as to promote the welfare and prosperity of the people's and to improve the quality of life since the region is facing the problems of poverty, underdeveloped, low levels of production, unemployment and pressure of population and that an intense cooperation is a logical response to these problems.

In the first three meetings SAARC could achieve peripherally. In 1986, at Bangalore was resolved that drug trafficking across the frontiers of the member countries will be contained and positive steps will be economically as well as strategically as it is the largest economic and geographical power in the region.

SAARC provides a big market for India's goods and investment. Besides the improvement in understanding between India and other SAARC members will create positive security scenario in the entire region in general and India in particular. The most important example is that of India's North East. Today the North East region is suffering from politico- security turmoil the issue can be addressed to a large extent by India including relations particularly Bangladesh and Pakistan.

Foreign Policy of India towards neighbouring nations and South Asia.

Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Myanmar are the countries which directly touch the external boundary lines of India. Though India has no direct boundary line with Sri Lanka and Maldives, their people's religions, cultures, languages and aspirations are much similar to that of India. That is why these people look at India's foreign policy hopefully.

All the states of South Asia are very much prone for the development of commercial relationships. But no sincere efforts have been applied to develop commercial, religious, cultural and political affiliation so far. India's cordial and friendly relations with these nations are essential for external security of the country. All these factors are pertinent for India to take the step to develop cordial relations with them and broaden trade and commerce in South Asia.

India's Foreign Policy was originated on the principle of non-alignment, a phenomenon distinct from isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, neutralization, unilateralism and non-involvement is a course of foreign policy arising from the attitude of non-acquiescence in the bipolarisation of the world politics. Strategically, India's Foreign Policy was to serve its national interests and maintain the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threat.

In view of its economic/ military strength, India has been offering economic/ technical assistance to all of them (exception Pakistan which does not need them), even training of their military personnel. Some of them (Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives) are largely dependent on India's assistance. Excepting from Pakistan that large armed forces are readily available for ensuring their security (when then need and ask for it) against external threats or efforts at internal subversion.

The emergence of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985 has posed both opportunities as well challenges towards India's Foreign Policy in South Asia.

India's foreign policy during the last 65 years' of its independent existence to the changing demands of global,, regional and domestic balance of forces various governments in India have to readjust India's foreign policy within the overall framework of continuity.

The most fundamental goal of foreign policy, that is protecting India's autonomy in international politics, however, remains the chief guiding factor in the framing of New Delhi's external behaviour in the Pokhran and post Kargil era. European military meddling in Asian countries (as part of a NATO force) could revive bitter memory the oppressive imperial era and hinder of reconciliation between pacific Europe resurgent Asia.

In the continent of Asia, People's Republic of China and India are two biggest countries, but the relations between these two nations have not been cordial. China doubts India's growing strength and takes it as potent danger to its monopoly of power in Asia. However, both countries need peace and stability. Both need cooperation.

The small states of South Asia as well as South East Asia are watching the activities of these two powers very curiously and sensitively for leadership. It is sad to note that two neighbouring countries India and Pakistan which had been one before India's partition in 1947 need regional cooperation and mutual trust.

But, scenario is that these two nations have been doubtful and inimical to each other since the day of their independence. They have gone for war more than two times which caused them enough damage of lives and properties. India should tend its own relationship with Pakistan with care, patience and perseverance.

Bangladesh's antagonistic posture receives encouragement from both Pakistan and China. India deals firmly with its provocations on the border, its sheltering and nurturing of Indian insurgents undeclared policy of encouraging in surplus population to infiltrate and settle down in neighbouring states.

This policy poses a serious future security threat to our sensitive Northeastern region should be a parallel conciliatory approach also. Bangladesh is a functioning two-party democracy, must at all times cultivates both parties. In matters of trade and development cooperation also India to be a good deal more accommodative of Bangladesh's needs'.

Nepal is in the grip of a crisis threatening the country's unity and integrity. The King's perseverance present policy of marginalizing the pro-democracy parties accompanied by the failure of the Ryal suppress the Maoist rebellion has pitted the monarchy against a threat to its own survival. Dangers this situation for India and efforts must continue to bring the King and the prodemocracy in Nepal.

The progress of the SAARC has been obstructed by Pakistan's support for jihad in Kashmir and moral and military support to the militant organizations of North East. Bangladesh including Myanmar and Bhutan has been the strong organizational base and hideouts of the militant

organizations working in North East region of India. India needs neither be in the driving seat of SAARC nor mourn its slow demise. Instead, it should look every possible bilateral effort-political, militant and economic in strengthening its links with neighbours, namely, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives.

India' Foreign Policy and diplomacy must increasingly look at the world beyond South Asia which closest possible working relationship with the US would appear to India's best bet. There is a convergence of their political, economic and security interests in the regions surrounding India. The States is expected to maintain its supremacy in the foreseeable future, and that rules out the viability of "China-India-Russia Strategic Triangle," for in varying degrees each country is dependent on the technology, trade and other support.

The neglect of South-East Asia since independence has allowed China's dominance in the economy and politics. The region's countries look to India diversification to their political, cultural, economic links, but, India's "Look East" policy has yet to acquire substance. The region can be and important source of energy supplies and vastly expanded trade for India.

In a globalised world, India's Foreign Policy will have to focus increasingly on economic objectives enhancement and attracting foreign investment and advanced technologies to enable the countries achieve a steady growth of eight to ten per cent of the GDP per annum to realize the dream of the nation's leaders of freedom struggle to transform India into a great power.

The strategic design can only evolve if the interests of internal and external security and diplomacy are fulfilled. The decision-making process has to be integrated on the basis of the activity to be saving of resources and improvement of output. Indian Foreign Policy and diplomacy are based on the premise that regional and global cooperation can be achieved with strengthening of strategic alliances.

North East as a Factor

The strategic location of North East India makes it imperative to maintain a cordial, constructive and friendly relation with the neighbouring countries of South and South East Asia as the region of Northeast shares not only geographical contiguity with the countries like Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar and the People's Republic of China but also shares ethnic, racial, and cultural and historical linkages.

On the other hand, North East could be relevant for India's foreign policy in dealing with South Asian Association for Cooperation (SAARC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) and Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) and on the other India's foreign policy initiatives towards South and South East Asia will ensure economic development of the North East. It will help establish social and political stability along with a positive and sustainable security architecture.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand, with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration). The Founding Fathers of ASEAN were namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. India steps up trade and friendly relations with ASEAN countries.

Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) was established on November 10, 2000 at Vientiane in the First MGC Ministerial Meeting. There are six Member countries namely, India, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The MGC emphasised in four areas of cooperation, which include tourism, culture, education, and transportation in order to lay solid foundation for future trade and investment cooperation in the region.

The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) is an international organisation involving a group of countries in South Asia and South East Asia. The member countries of this group are: Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Bhutan and Nepal.

India's "Look East" policy was launched during the time of Prime Ministers P.V. Narasimha Rao (1991-1996) and Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998 - 2004). The policy was the result of the economic liberalisation to wash away Cold War-Era policies and activities. India's strategy focuses on close economic and commercial ties with increasing strategic and secure cooperation with the neighbouring countries. India's objective is to create and expand regional markets for trade, investments and industrial development.

Look East Policy of India aims to free the region of North East from tension and conflict and to create a peaceful and positive mindset for development among the people of the region.

India faces a numbers of internal problems/ challenges within these states like sovereignty related insurgency and separatist movements. These issues were mostly handled as security and law and order problem within the broad parameters of the Indian constitution. Now Foreign policy initiatives as mentioned above are being applied as alternative and supplementary measures to keep the region engaged in the process of economic development and divert the mind of the youth of the region from conflict centered approach to a development oriented one.

The social, political and security related issues and problems have failed to project the economic and commercial potential of the region.

Tension, conflict and violence in North East has hampered normalcy of civic society causing security tension all over the North East. However, it is a disease causing discomfort for peaceful co-existence affecting surface communication in any form and limiting the transfer of goods through air service.

Look East Policy could not take off at a desired speed because of the tension and conflict in the region. It requires peace, sanctity and positive mindset for full development. It is indispensable for peace and development. The former Governor of Nagaland, Sankaranarayanan says "without peace, no development, no development no peace."

The success of Look East Policy would help in maintaining peace and security in the region and strengthen the image of the Indian nation as a peace loving one.

Findings of the study

The study establishes the linkage between foreign policy and national security. The national security is determined by the direction of the foreign policy that a nation tries to develop. This is true particularly in the context of India's foreign policy towards its neighbouring countries of South Asia and the security of Northeast India.

India's relations with South Asian neighbours such as Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal have determined the socio-economic and politico-security parameters in India's northeast as the region (northeast India) shares territorial/ geographical contiguity, ethnic and cultural commonality and more importantly historical antecedents.

The evolution of SAARC has provided a great opportunity to link the region of Northeast India with South Asian neighbours through India's foreign policy. The success of regional cooperation will ensure social, economic and political security in Northeast India thus laying down the parameters of comprehensive security architecture in the region based on human and economic security.

The study shows that the social and political turmoil in the northeast region has direct linkage with the prevailing social, economic, political and security scenario in our neighbouring countries. The problems of insurgency, sub-nationalist, separatist and secessionist movements, drug trafficking, arms pedalling and nacro-terrorism derive ideological, political, financial and military support and sustenance from our neighbouring countries sharing borders with the northeast region.

Whenever India's relations with the neighbouring countries both at bilateral and multilateral levels have been cooperative and cordial, it had positive and favourable impact on security architecture of the northeast region. The recent developments in the northeast region particularly talks between Government of India and United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) prove this point.

The study further establishes the geo-strategic importance of the northeast region for the success of India's foreign policy towards South Asia, East Asia and Southeast Asia. India's foreign

policy approaches such as good neighbourliness through SAARC, Look East Policy and Bay of Bengal initiatives cannot take off and succeed without a conducive and congenial socio-economic and politico-security order in the Northeast India.

The study thus establishes the hypothesis that the course, content and contour of India's foreign policy towards South Asia would determine the nature of political stability, economic development and security perspectives in the northeast India and Northeast India holds key to success of India's foreign policy towards the neighbouring countries of South, East and Southeast Asia.

Suggestions

As our former Prime Minister Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee had remarked 'We can change our friends and enemies but not our neighbours', we have to follow this dictum while framing foreign policy parameters and principles.

Similarly our foreign policy makers should keep the strategic significance and relevance of Northeast India into consideration while building ties with the South, East and Southeast neighbours.

Northeast India should not only be used as serving the political, security, strategic, economic and commercial interests of India but should be treated as the central and equal partner in the pursuit of progress while building relations with the neighbouring countries. Only then a politically stable and economically sustainable Northeast India would emerge ensuring a comprehensive and sustainable security paradigm both within the region and outside.

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Appendix I

Questionnaire

1. How India's Foreign Policy is going to impact peace and development in Nagaland as well as the North East?
2. Do you feel that connecting Nagaland and North East economically and through communication system as well as educational and cultural programme will create a positive and constructive attitude of the people of Nagaland and North East towards India?
3. How do you look at the entire security scenario in Nagaland and North East by having a neighbour friendly Foreign Policy by government of India?
4. Do you feel that India's increased political, economic trade and commercial relations with neighbouring countries of South Asia and South East Asia (SAARC & ASEAN) will people benefit the people of Nagaland and North East in promotion of peace and development and security?
5. What suggestions you can make/recommend for building a linkage between India's Foreign Policy and peace development and security in Nagaland in particular in North East India in general?

Appendix II

Interviews with Experts on India's Foreign Policy

1. Professor Ghulam Murshid, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), London on 16th August, 2010 at Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
2. Professor Sirajul Islam, President of Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh on 16th August, 2010 at Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
3. Professor Sajahan Miah, Managing Editor, Banglapedia Trust, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh on 16th August, 2010 at Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
4. Professor Akmal Hussain, Department of International Relations, Dhaka University, Bangladesh on 14th & 16th August, 2010 at Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
5. Dr Delwar Hossain, Professor and Chair of International Relations, Dhaka University on 11th & 16th August at Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
6. Professor M. Shahiduzzama, Department of International Relations, Dhaka University on 12th August, 2010 at Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
7. Professor Rebecca Haque, Chair of English Department, Dhaka University, Bangladesh on 12th August, 2010 at Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
8. Dr Mahbub Ullah, Professor and Chairman, Department of Development Studies, Dhaka University, Bangladesh on 11th August, 2010 at Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

9. Dr. Partha S. Ghosh, Professor of School of International Studies, Centre for South, Central, Southeast Asian & Southeast Pacific Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi on 26th February, 2010 at JNU.
10. Dr. Sreeradha Datta, Research Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi on 26th February, 2010 at IDSA.
11. Dr. Udai Bhanu Singh, Research Officer, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 22nd February, 2010 at IDSA.
12. Dr. Namrata Goswami, Associate Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 17th February, 2010 at IDSA.
13. Dr. Pankaj Jha, Associate Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 17th February, 2010 at IDSA.
14. Professor Mahendra P. Lama, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and presently Vice Chancellor of Sikkim University. at JNU on 29th April, 2007 and Sikkim University, Gangtok on 19th September, 2008.
15. S. Sankaranarayanan, the Governor of Nagaland on 25th April, 2008 at Raj Bhawan, Kohima, Nagaland.

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3. Omeo Kumar Das Institute of Social Change and Development, Guwahati, Assam.
4. Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi.
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10. Dhaka University Library, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
11. Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), Dhaka, Bangladesh.
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13. Asiatic Society of Bangladesh Library, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
14. Department of International Relations, Dhaka University Dhaka, Bangladesh.
15. Department of Development Studies Library, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

TOPIC OF THE Ph.D.

**INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH ASIA:
RELEVANCE OF NORTH EAST INDIA**

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
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The entire study has been structured in the following ways:

1. Statement of the problem	2-5
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4. Hypothesis	7
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Statement of the problem

North-East India that comprises of eight states today namely; Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura is relevant both strategically as well as economically from the perspective of Indian foreign policy. The region shares territorial contiguity and cultural, ethnic, linguistic commonalities with South Asian neighbours- Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal in particular. For example, the region shares 98% of its border with Bangladesh adjoining with Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura. Bhutan borders with Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim. Nepal is adjoined to Sikkim.

The North-East region, thus, serves as a gateway for India's foreign policy towards South Asia in particular and East and South East Asia in general. It is in this context that the North East India becomes relevant for India's foreign policy towards SAARC, India's Look East Policy, Bay of Bengal Initiative and Mekong Delta Initiative. The political, security, social and economic developments in the North East have wider and decisive repercussions for India's relations with the countries of South, East and South East Asia.

At the same time the direction, dynamics and dimensions of India's foreign policy towards South, East and South East Asia determine the parameters of political, security, social and economic developments in the region of North East India. Thus while North East India integrates India's foreign policy with our neighboring countries and economic associations and groupings like SAARC and ASEAN, our foreign policy, on the other hand, provides immense economic, investment and commercial opportunities for the region and the people of North East India having a great bearing on people's economic and social conditions with a far reaching impact on politico-security scenario of the region.

India's foreign policy's approach to integrate the North East region with our neighbours does pose various challenges on account of illegal migration, drug trafficking, illegal trade, trade in narcotics and arms trafficking and insurgency related problems impacting decisively the political and security scenario of the region in particular and socio-economic and cultural fabric of the people of the region in general and thus threatening India's security and strategic interests.

Thus security of the North-East India determines the security of India as the region is so strategically located. It is in this context that the study of India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia occupies an important place from the prospective of the North-East India.

The social root causes of the domestic problem create and disturb national peace and security. It is relevant to foresee the real social causes in the region. Before the British, none of the empires in India were interested in as well as found it difficult to control the remote and hilly North-Eastern areas. Consequently, the region had enjoyed a long history of independence in socio-political and self-sufficiency in economy. Since the people of North-East differ basically in racial, cultural, ethnic and religious aspects from that of India, they have been suspicious about Indians.

Moreover, the policy of the British to keep these people away from the rest of India created separatist tendency among these tribal people. That is why soon after India's independence North-East region become the hot bed of insurgency causing serious problem to India's national integration. The militant groups began to use the neighbouring countries of India as their organizational bases and obtained enough moral and material support from the countries who have been inimical to India's progress and prosperity. Thus North-East is a burning region. In several ways, it is one of South Asia's most disturbed region. The challenge of and to North-East has several dimensions.

All the states and ethnic groups cannot be seen as one single politico-economic unit. For instance, the Nagas possessed a completely different history, social and political lineage. However, with the passage of time, the States of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Nagaland and Meghalaya began to be identified as a single geographic unit and socio-economic identity. The political process and administrative convenience has come to legitimize this 'region as north-east India'.

The concept of north-east India and as a homogenous entity and the regional reorganization of this multi-ethnic setting has done colossal damage in social, political and economic parameters. In evolution of the policy for the region, the policy makers should have paid greater attention to the fact that the region has immense geo-political diversity as well as strategic significance. It is bound by four countries of Bhutan, Bangladesh, China and Myanmar.

The region geopolitically shares a large frontier with Bangladesh and receives a large number of political and social refugees from Myanmar, Tibet and Chittagong hill tracks of Bangladesh. The people of the region see themselves as different and call rest part of India as 'mainland'. Many of them belong to the Mongoloid stock and are close to the people of South-East Asia and China.

Though India boasts for 'unity in diversity', but, this diversity obsessed with security treats this diversity as a threat. According to expert, this region is also seen a zone of buffer against China.

The region has a major obstacle to investment in the form of inner line permit that prevents even Indians from entering Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.

The region exhibits certain common problems like drug trafficking, immigration problems, ethnic turmoil and insurgency. There are also immense inter-regional differences in ethno-social issues and political aspirations. Different stages of socio-economic growth and development are discernible in the valley. Illegal migration has completely changed the geo-politics of Assam with about 60 Assembly Constituencies (out of 120) now being controlled by Muslims. In some areas, Muslim population is as high as 70% (Dhubri). ULFA leaders who started their movement against illegal immigration have been given shelter in Bangladesh.

The report of Pakistan's ISI directly supporting various insurgent groups of North-East is creating modules of fundamentalist Muslims all over Assam with a view to using them at an opportune time against the national interest of our country by vitiating security scenario in the region. Other objectives of ISI include promoting indiscriminate violence in the State by providing active support to local militant outfits, supply of explosives and sophisticated arms to various terrorist groups, sabotage of oil pipelines and other installations.

The insurgents groups in Tripura, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur continue to get patronage and support from Bangladesh. Logistic support for insurgent leaders and their family members is arranged in Dhaka and Sylhet.

The most significant factor has been collaboration among various insurgent groups of the North-East aided and abetted by Bangladesh.

The linkage between Maoists operating in 'Siliguri corridor' and insurgent groups of North-East is another worrying factor. This is a narrow corridor, only 25 Kms wide providing road and rail access to North-East. Efforts by ISI/Maoist in collaboration with other insurgent groups to infest this area can lead to serious repercussions for the whole of India and particularly for the North-East.

Perhaps ULFA is the only separatist organization which has so far withstood all forms of punitive action. While the Bhutan action has upset the ULFA, it has not succeeded in breaking the movement. Its leaders continue to get shelter in Dhaka and guide the movement from there. To find out long-term solutions in the North East, approaches have to be made that involve individuals as well as communities working together for everyone's benefit. Fundamentally, it is a question of empowering people to fashion their own destiny.

It is in this context that India's relations with South Asian neighbours assume significance. A cordial relationship with South Asian neighbors will create favourable economic, political, and security environment in the region. This will have positive impact on security and developmental scenario in the North-East in particular.

Today, it is seen that the security related problems in the North-East generally emanate from the neighboring countries and a good relationship with them will improve the security scenario in the North-East.

Moreover, a cordial relationship with South Asian neighbors will brighten the prospect of SAARC and will have a positive spill-over effect on the North-East as the region would be benefited from the enhanced trade and commerce with neighboring South Asian countries.

The success of India's foreign policy towards South Asia would depend on the nature of security scenario in the North-East as the region would play an important role as a gateway for India's foreign policy towards South Asia.

Objectives of the study

- I. To examine the linkage between foreign policy and nation security particularly in the context of India's foreign policy towards South Asia and its impact on the political, security, economic and social developments in the region of North East India
- II. To conceptualize and analyze the evolution of India's Foreign Policy towards its South Asian neighbours country wise analysis of constraints both internal and external and challenges in the normalization of relations.
- III. To examine the factors responsible for the emergence of SAARC relevance its challenges; people of the region, the future prospect, India's rise in SAARC and benefit for the country.
- IV. To analyse the problems (political, economic, social, ethnic, cultural) of North East region and contextualize them vis-à-vis India's relations with its neighbours.
- V. To examine the relevance of Foreign Policy towards South Asia for the North Eastern region for its socio-political stability, its economic development and its security.
- VI. To examine the relevance of India's Look East policy for its South Asia neighbours as it would work as a gateway via North East to South and South East Asia.

Significance /Relevance of the Study

1. It is an attempt to examine India's Foreign Policy in the context of North East India.
2. The nature, course and direction of India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia determine and have noticeable impact on social, economic, political and security parameters in the North East India.
3. The study is relevant in the context of new/recent post cold war developments taking place in world politics.
4. The findings of the study provide necessary inputs for the policy- makers particularly those dealing with the aspects of economic development and security related issues concerning the North East.

5. The research would be a guide to the future researchers in particular and particularly for those students and scholars working and specializing in the area of South Asia region and investigating into the security paradigm of the North East India.

Hypothesis

The course, content and contour of India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia would determine the nature of political stability, economic development and security perspectives in the North East and Northeast India holds key to success of India's foreign policy towards the neighbouring countries of South, East and Southeast Asia.

Methodology

The research is based on historical, analytical and descriptive methods using both primary and secondary sources. The data are collected primarily through review of literature available on the area. Field survey based on random sampling and through questionnaire method was conducted with the sample size relating to the adjoining areas of the North East and South Asia countries.

Review of Literature

*Anindya Batabyal, (2006) in the article on "Balancing China in Asia: A Realist Assessment of India's Look East Strategy" in *China Report* writes about balancing China in Asia through India's look east policy. The author argues that India's look east policy will have great bearing on politics of Asia and the world.

India's Look East Policy would determine the pace of development in the region. The development will bring political stability, social security and peace in the region.

China plays important role for the success and otherwise of India's Look East Policy towards the region in particular.

*Bhupinder Brar, (2003), in his article on "SAARC: *If Functionalism Has Failed, Will Realism Work?*" in *South Asian Survey* analyses the factors and constraints for the failure of SAARC in achieving the objectives like poverty alleviation, raising the standard of living of the people of the

region and promotion of mutual understanding through trade and commerce between and among the member nations.

Brar in his work stresses on the role of SAARC and its success and failure. The SAARC plays the vital role and its achievements. According to him SAARC was conceived to play important role in strengthening relations among the member states and bringing socio-economic development in the region. Cooperation is the source of development for the nations of the region and checks and balances the tension and conflict and brings lasting regional security.

* Bimal Prasad (1999) in his article on “*Prospects for Greater Cooperation in South Asia: The Political Dimensions*” in the edited book *The Dynamics of South Asia Regional Cooperation and SAARC* argues for the prospect of greater cooperation in South Asia. He also mentions and highlights about the political dimension of regional cooperation and the role of India’s foreign policy for promoting cooperative and friendly relations among the nations of South Asia. He further argues that the political dimension of relations determines social, economic and security prospects in the region.

According to Bimal Prasad India’s foreign policy is a major determinant for peace and progress in the region. The political scenario depends on the regional cooperation in trade and social relations. The free trade relations would promote and pave the social development in the future. India is the model and key player for the regional development and security. Regional security also determines development and freedom from terrorism in the region.

* Jyotirmoy Banerjee, (2006) in the article “*Growing Nuclear Danger in South Asia: Prospects for Cooperative Denuclearisation?*” in the edited work *Challenges to India’s Foreign Policy in the New Era* writes about the growing nuclear danger in the region. He emphasizes that the need of the hour is for mutual understanding and join hands for denuclearization for South Asian nations in general. The nuclear weapons do not bring the lasting solution rather it creates tension and conflict.

Banerjee also discusses about the future of the nuclear power states which is dangerous for the whole nations in particular for the nations of the South Asia. The prospect of peace and development in South Asia depends on cooperation and mutual relations among the nations of the region.

Nuclearisation hampers the confidence and trust and creates fear psychosis among the nation- state. Moreover, it is also at the cost of socio-economic development. On the other hand the nations invest valuable resources of economy in nuclear development on competition.

*Kanti Bajpai (1999), in his article “*Security and SAARC*”, in the edited work *The Dynamics of South Asia Regional Cooperation and SAARC*, Eds Eric Gonsalves and Nancy Jetly, analyses the importance of regional cooperation for the security in the region. Regional cooperation through SAARC would be able to develop confidence amongst the nations of the region and would bring sustainable peace in South Asia.

Bajpai also points out causes of instability in the region namely poverty, communal disharmony, and terrorism. The SAARC’s initiative can control insecurity in the region.

Regional cooperation would bring lasting security rather than war and tension amongst the nations of the SAARC. The formation of SAARC shows the resolve of the member countries to live and develop in the atmosphere of mutual trust and harmony.

*Kenneth Mcpherson (1998) in his article “*Trade and Traders in the Bay of Bengal: Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*”, in the book *Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World: Essays in Honour of Ashim Das Gupta* writes about the prospect of trade in South Asia in particular and Indian Ocean in general. The articles examine the impact of such economic and commercial cooperation on the neighbouring nations. Trade and Traders have the role to play in bringing prosperity to the economy of the nations of the region.

According to Kenneth Mcpherson trade would determine economic power and political strength of the nations. The countries in South Asia need to have a good cooperation for the future prospect. He discusses the economic position from the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries in particular of Bay of Bengal and South Asia in general.

*M.S. Rajan (1993) in the article “*India’s Foreign Policy under Nehru*”, in *Studies on India’s Foreign Policy* writes about India’s foreign policy and its role in the 20th century. Further, stressing on the topic *India’s Foreign Policy under Nehru* Rajan states that India played a significant role in world

politics under the leadership of Nehru. The study not only focuses on India but also reflects on India's relations with the neighbouring states.

India's foreign policy determines social, economic and political development of the region. It emphasizes that security is important for nation building both in present as well as future. Confidence building with neighbouring nations is essential and becomes the ingredient part of our foreign policy. Rajan points out that foreign policy is the backbone of the nation's strength. The good role of and a dynamic foreign policy could progress and grow as well as compete with other nation's in particular. Foreign policy is the essence for prospect of the nation and the people in particular.

According to the M.S. Rajan foreign policy paves the way for development and relations with neighbouring states. He also describes the socio-economic and political scenario of India and its impact on foreign policy.

*Mahendra P. Lama (2001), in the article "*Investments in South Asia: Issues, Constraints and Opportunities*" in the edited book *South Asia 2010: Challenges & Opportunities* analyses the role of economic cooperation to fight the challenges and constraints of the region and also its would impact on the South Asian nations as a whole. Through economic cooperation is the only chance and way to compete and free from developed nations.

According to Mahendra P. Lama the investments must come from South Asia itself rather than depending on developed nations. The region nations would progress and develop when there is an investment amongst the nations. The imbalance in socio-economic development must be overcome through economic and investment cooperation within South Asia nations. Moreover, it is a great opportunity for South Asia for investment and economic cooperation for immediate and future's prospects of the region.

*Mustafizur Rahman (1998) in his article on "Bangladesh-India Bilateral Trade: Current Trends, New Perspectives, New Challenges" in *BISS Journal*, writes about trade prospects between India and Bangladesh. Trade according to him will play the most important role in nation building on one hand and confidence building on the other hand. The nations develop and progress when there are good trade relations with other nations.

Mustafizur Rahman highlights the needs for development and progress and also challenges in trade relations between India and Bangladesh. Imbalance in trade relations hampers the nation in the long run. It is not only a loss of economy but also of political strength.

He also discusses the current trade relations as well as future prospects for both the nations of India and Bangladesh.

*Narottam Gaan (2006), on “*Environmental Security in South Asia*”, in *Challenges to India’s Foreign Policy in the New Era* highlights the necessity and importance of environmental security for South Asia in particular and the world in general.

Gaan further highlights the importance to protect and conserve the environment for achieving environmental security with the cooperative efforts of the nations and people of the region to develop in sustainable way. Environmental security is key to both social and economic development directly and indirectly. He also highlights the challenges for environment security in South Asia.

According to Gaan the loss of environmental security would affect South Asia as well as the whole world at large. Besides, he also puts emphasis on the role of policy makers of the region to promote environmental security for economic development and for raising the standard of living of the people.

*Partha S. Ghosh, (2003) in his article “*Challenges and Opportunities: India’s Foreign Policy in the 1990s*”, in the edited book *South Asia After the Cold War International Perspectives* analyses the great challenges for India’s foreign policy in the contemporary world order. He writes that India’s foreign policy has to determine and make a policy for the welfare and sustainable development of the people.

Ghosh highlights the challenges and wise opportunity to play a role of in her foreign policy. This could facilitate and determine the global scenario in social and political prospects.

*Poonam Barua (2006) in her article on ‘Economic Diplomacy in South Asia’ in *South Asian Survey* writes that economic diplomacy can serve to open avenues for testing new tacks for business relationships that can deliver a peace dividend and help in reducing political tensions and security risks

in the region. She argues that economic diplomacy can serve in opening new windows of opportunity for building national, regional and global relationships between countries and their people.

*Rajat Ganguly and Ian Macduff (2003) in their book *Ethnic Conflict & Secessionism in South and Southeast Asia* explore the flaws and contradictions in the process of post-colonial nation building in many countries of South and Southeast Asia as highlighted by the intractable and continuing phenomenon of ethnic conflict. The authors focus on the political alienation, the disturbed social matrix and the economic deprivations that are most often at the root of these ethnic and secessionist movements in the region. The book provides a deep analysis of and insight into the state-society and civil-military aspects of such conflicts and the process through which they have become intractable and entrenched and how they both affect and are affected by national, regional and global developments. The authors also provide the options available for managing and ultimately resolving ethnic conflicts in each country of the region.

*Romesh Bhattacharji (2009) in his article “Road to progress” in *Frontline* highlights China’s relations with India. Progress in relations between the two neighbours would herald peace, stability and development in the South Asian region. these goals could be achieved only when India and China come together with a common purpose of building trust and confidence among the people of two countries overcoming the barrier of suspicion, prejudice and mistrust.

*S.D. Chamola, (2006), in the article “*Economic Co-operation in the SAARC Region: Potential, Constraints and Policies*” in the edited book *Challenges to India’s Foreign Policy in the New Era* analyses the potential and constraints for economic co-operation in the SAARC region. He highlights the potential for economic prosperity through cooperation amongst the nations of the region.

Chamola analyses the constraints for the SAARC on one hand and on the other hand he also discusses the scope for economic cooperation among the member nations for social, economic, cultural and political development.

The author further advocates that SAARC would function as a model for development of the region and it is in this context that Northeast occupies a strategic position in India’s foreign policy towards South Asia.

*Sanjib Baruah (2009) *Beyond Counter-insurgency* provides penetrating insights into the conflicts prevailing in the Northeast region and analyses them at three levels: structural determinants like poverty and underdevelopment; the nature and politics of the postcolonial state and the agency of multiple actors with diverse motives. The author argues that neither a development nor a military approach can achieve peace in the region. Only concerted efforts to establish rule of law, a system of accountability and faith in the institutions of governance can break the cycle of violence. Between the apparent impossibility of peace through ‘reconciliation’ and victory through repression or terror, the book envisions the possibility of an open, more inclusive future.

Sanjib Baruah (2005) in the article on “Beyond Durable Disorder: Northeast India and the Look East Policy,” in *Durable Disorder: Understanding the Politics of Northeast India* writes about the political uncertainty in Northeast India. The author analyses ‘the political meaning and significance of prolonged low –intensity conflicts in Northeast India’. The author further argues that if peace and development are to be brought to the region, India’s foreign policy needs to be reoriented and restructured towards South and Southeast Asia.

*Sanjib Baruah (2001) in *India against Itself* argues that human rights abuses by security forces and insurgents, ethnic violence, and steady slide towards liberal democracy are largely due to India’s formally federal but actually centralized government structure. The book traces the history of sub nationalisms and cultural politics in Northeast India.

*Shelton U Kodikara (1993) in the edited book *External Compulsions of South Asian Politics* explores the interactions of domestic politics and foreign policy in the South Asian states and the larger question of the impact of the international environment on the region. The book further explores the impact of inter-state problems and conflicts on the overall security scenario of the region taking particular examples of conflicts between India and Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka, and India and Nepal.

Suresh Dhanda, and Rajinder Punia (April 2007), write on “SAFTA: Problems and Prospects”, in *Third Concept* highlighting the need for promoting free trade among the members of the SAARC for lasting peace, prosperity and progress in the region.

They analyse the role of India in making SAFTA operational for promoting trade and regional cooperation in the region.

According to Suresh Dhanda and Rajinder Punia SAFTA is key to promoting trade among the South Asia nations. They further dwell upon the relations among the member states and future of SAFTA and SAARC.

*Urmila Phadnis (1989) in her book *Ethnicity and Nation-building in South Asia* opines that the phenomenon of ethnicity is an intrinsic component of the socio-political reality of multi-ethnic states in south Asia as it is in most countries of the world. She examines the diverse impulses which reinforce ethnic specificities in multi-ethnic societies and the adequacy of institutional arrangements to cope with the pulls and pressures of interethnic competition for a stake in the system. The book provides a critical appraisal of various theoretical approaches to the study of ethnicity and nation-building; delineation of the ethnic composition of the South Asian region and the structures of the states in each country of the region for the energy,

*Vandana Asthana, (1999), in her book *India's Foreign Policy and Sub continental Politics*, writes about the strategic importance of India's neighbourhood for its national security and the role of foreign policy for building a comprehensive, congenial and cooperative socio-economic relations with the nations of the region and their people. Further, it stresses the importance of the foreign policy in building a strong South Asian region for playing a decisive role in the global politics.

*Security, peace and economic development could become a reality when countries of the region would come together and learn to coexist in a peaceful and cooperative manner. It is in this context that India's role assumes significance in cementing ties between the nations of the region. This in return will have positive impact on political and security scenario of the region and would bring desired socio-economic change in the region.

*Vivek Chibber (2006) writes in *The Journal of Critical Asian Studies* on the topic *On the Decline of Class Analysis in South Asia* that cooperation and mutual understanding are prerequisites to building confidence and trust among the nations of the region. The confidence building is basic to decline in

mistrust and non cooperation among the nations. The peace, security and stability in the region depend on cooperation and mutual relations based on trust.

Vivek Chibber highlights the decline of class in South Asia. The future depends on the social development among the region states. India's foreign policy must aim at building mutual trust among the nations of South Asia.

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Chapterisation

Chapter I

South Asia: An Introduction

South Asia, consisting of the huge subcontinent of India, includes Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives as well as the nation of India itself. In spite of differences in physical appearance, complexion, stature, and other ethnological features, the people of the entire region of South Asia are unified by a common cultural and ethical outlook; a wealth of ancient textual literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and regional languages is a major unifying factor: Music and dance, rituals, customs, modes of worship, and literary ideals are similar throughout the subcontinent, even though the region has been divided into kaleidoscopic political patterns through the centuries.

The close interrelationship of the various peoples of South Asia may be traced in their epics, as in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Kinship between the gods and heroes of regions far distant from each other is evident, and the place names themselves often evoke common sources. Moreover, there have been continual attempts to impose a political unity over the region. In the 3rd century BC, for example, the emperor Asoka had almost the entire region under his sway; in the 11th century AD, Rajendra I Cola conquered almost the whole of India and a good portion of Southeast Asia; and the

Great Mughal Akbar again achieved this in the 16th century. Though the expansion and attenuation of boundary lines, the bringing together or pulling apart politically of whole regions, have characterized all of South Asian history, the culture has remained essentially one.

The geography of the region encouraged a common adoration of mountains and rivers. The great Himalayas, which form the northern boundary, are the loftiest of mountains and are conceived to be the embodiment of nobility, the abode of immaculate snow, and the symbol of a cultural ideal. Similarly, the great rivers such as the Brahmaputra and the Indus are regarded as the mothers of their respective regions, assuring prosperity through their perennial supply of water.

The association of lakes and spring with water sprites and sylvan fairies, called *nagas* and *yaksas*, is common throughout the region. Karkota, the name of an early dynasty, itself signifies *naga* worship in Kashmir. Sculptures of *nagas* and *yaksas* found in widespread sites suggest a common spirit of adoration, as do sculptures, printings, temples, and religious texts that for centuries were immaculate intonation. The same classical dance is seen in sculpture in Gandhara in Pakistan, in Bharhut in the north and in Amaravati in the south.

The relation of the various arts to each other is very close in South Asia, where proficiency in several arts is necessary for specialization in any one. Thus, it is believed that without a good knowledge of dance there can be no proficiency in sculpture, for dance, like painting or sculpture is a depiction of the entire world.¹

South Asia is thus a cultural region consisting of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan on the mainland, and Ceylon and the Maldives in the Indian Ocean. The region had an estimated population of 754 million or 20% of the world's total.²

¹“South Asia” (1985), *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Inc., Volume 27, Robert P. Gwinn, Chairman, Board of Directors, Charles E. Swanson, President, Philip W. Goetz, Editor-in-Chief, Chicago, Auckland/ Geneva/ London/ Manila/ Paris/ Rome/ Seoul/ Sydney/ Tokyo/ Toronto pp 634.

²“South Asia” (1984) *Encyclopedia Americana* Volume 25, Grolier Incorporated, International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816, U.S.A., p 297.

Chapter II

India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia: An Overview

“Whatever policy we may lay down, the art of conducting foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country. We may talk about international goodwill and mean what we say. We may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what we say. But in the ultimate analysis, Government functions for the good of a country it governs and no Government dare do anything which in the short or long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of the country.”

Jawaharlal Nehru³

India's policy has not been some sudden bright inspiration of an individual but a gradual growth evolving from even before independence. The inevitable line that we took subsequently has followed that thinking as a matter of course.⁴

The Indian National Congress, the main organization embodying that movement, showed interest in matters relating to foreign policy right from its birth in 1885. At first quite limited, this interest gradually became wider in line with the corresponding widening of its general political outlook, till a time arrived when there was hardly an international issue on which the Congress did not express its views. Thus by the time India achieved independence there had developed a distinct, Indian outlook on world affairs, and this became the foundation of India's foreign policy. Needless to add, in the growth of this Indian outlook Jawaharlal Nehru himself played the most notable role, particularly during the last and the most creative phase of its evolution, from 1927 to 1947.⁵

³ Bimal Prasad (1979) *“An Overview,”* India's Foreign Policy Studies in Continuity and Change, ed. Bimal Prasad, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 26- A Mayapuri, New Delhi 110064, p 484

⁴ Ibid, p 481.

⁵ Ibid, p 482.

Meaning of Foreign Policy

Foreign Policy: A policy regulating a particular country's relations with other states and people in the international arena.⁶

The foreign policy is the sum total of the principles, the interests and objectives which a state formulates in conducting its relations with other states.⁷

The foreign policy principles mean the codes of right conduct, which are considered desirable in themselves, such as adherence to treaties and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. Like interests are what a state considers, in general terms, essential for its survival and development: such as territorial integrity, improvement of living standards, and maintenance of a free way of life. The objectives are more or less precisely delimited interests, formulated in the circumstances in which the relations with another state are conducted.⁸

Foreign Relations: The external relations of a country, part of the general complex of international relations.⁹

Foreign relations are the actions that a state resorts to in pursuance of the foreign policy formulated, such as declaration of war, conclusion of peace, the signing of a treaty, giving or accepting aid, recognition of a state, establishment of diplomatic relations, and carrying on negotiations.¹⁰

The Glimpse of India's Foreign Policy

The art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country. It may talk about international goodwill and mean what it says. It may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what it says. But in the ultimate analysis, a government functions for the good of the country it governs and no government dare do anything which in the short or long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of that country.

⁶ T.R. Nanda (1996) *Dictionary of Political Science*, Amol Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi- 110002, p 220.

⁷ A. Appadorai, (1981) *Domestic Roots of India's Foreign Policy*, published by R. Dayal, Oxford University Press 2/11 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110002

⁸ Ibid, pp 6-7.

⁹ Ibid, p 220

¹⁰ Ibid, p 7.

The interest of peace is more important, because if war comes everyone suffers, so that in the long-distance view, self-interest may itself demand a policy of cooperation with other nations, goodwill for other nations, as indeed it does demand.

India's interests lie in the context of world cooperation and world peace, in as far as world peace can be preserved. ¹¹

Chapter III

SAARC: Its Evolution, Objectives, Constraints/Challenges and prospects

Evolution of SAARC

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation was formed under Article 52 of the United Nations' Charter providing existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters, relating to the maintenance of international peace and security with the purpose and principles of UN charter. ¹²

It was established on 8th December, 1985 after about four and half years of its preparation. The basic aim of the Association is to accelerate the process of economic and social development in member countries through joint action in the agreed areas of cooperation. The region of SAARC lies in the South Himalayas surrounded by Hindu Kush mountains. ¹³ The idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was first initiated by late President Zia- Ur- Rehman of Bangladesh who visited Nepal, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka during 1977- 78 to explore the possibilities of regional economic cooperation among the SAARC Countries. He proposed for the collective self- reliance in a common quest for peace and development of all these countries. In May 1980, he issued a formal call for SAARC Regional Cooperation. His call received a positive response from all the SAARC countries. Hence,

¹¹ Jawaharlal Nehru (1961) "*Non- Alignment*," India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946- April 1961, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi- 6, p 24.

¹² Charter of the United Nations (December, 2006) "*Regional Arrangements*," Published by the United Nations Department of Public Information, DPI/511, New York- 10017, p 34.

¹³ Davinder Kumar Madaan (1997) "SAARC: Origin and Development," *Encyclopaedia of SAARC Nations*, Volume 1, ed. Verinder Grover, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 634- 636.

consultations at official level were carried out for the proposed cooperation. These preliminary exchanges brought out clearly that regional cooperation should on the hand, reflect the spirit of mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic appreciation of the political inspiration existing among the countries of the region, and on the other hand, such cooperation should be based in respect of the principles of sovereignty equality, territorial integrity, non- interference in internal affairs of other nations and mutual benefit.¹⁴

The first meeting of the foreign secretaries of the seven countries, viz., Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, was held in Colombo (Sri Lanka) in April 1981 for regional cooperation. It was agreed that regional cooperation should be based on mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic appreciation of the national aspirations of all the countries of the SAARC region. It led to the identification of five broad areas, for regional cooperation viz., Agriculture, Rural Development, Telecommunications, Meteorology, and Health and population activities.¹⁵

India since her freedom from foreign rule has always been keenly interested and deeply committed to regional cooperation for the solution of common problems in various fields viz. the cultural, economic political ones. Jawaharlal Nehru the great leader and first prime minister of India stresses for unity and solidarity of Asia in his speeches and writing repeatedly. On 7th September, 1946 in his very first ever broadcast to the nation, Jawaharlal Nehru said, “We are of Asia and the people of Asia are nearer and closer to us than other. India is so situated that she is pivot of Western, Southern and South-East Asia”. Similarly, on another occasion Nehru reiterated the same “When we talk of Asia, remember that India, not because of any ambition of hers, but because of the force of circumstances, because of geography, because of history and because of many other things, inevitably has to play a very important part in Asia... Even if you think in terms of regional organizations in Asia... you have to keep in touch with the other regions. And whatever regions you may in mind, the importance of India cannot be ignored.

Further, Nehru for the maintenance of an atmosphere of cordiality and cooperation in Asian relations conference in New Delhi emphasized the fact that countries of Asia have to meet together on an equal basis in a common task and endeavour. He said that “It is fitting that India should play her part in this

¹⁴ Ibid. pp 634- 636.

¹⁵ Ibid. pp 634- 636

new phase of Asian Development”. Nehru had an opinion and hoped that some permanent Asian Institute for the study of common problems and to bring about closer relations emerging perhaps as a school of Asian studies. While leaving the conference he said

Principles

- a. Cooperation within the framework of the Association is based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and mutual benefit.
- b. Such cooperation is to complement and not to substitute bilateral or multilateral cooperation.
- c. Such cooperation should be consistent with bilateral and multilateral obligations of the member states.
- d. Decisions at all levels in SAARC are taken on the basis of unanimity.
- e. Bilateral and contentious issues are excluded from its deliberations.¹⁶

Objectives

The objectives, principles and general provisions, as mentioned in the SAARC Charter, are as follows:

- i. To promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;
- ii. To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realise their full potentials;
- iii. To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia;
- iv. To contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
- v. To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;
- vi. To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries;
- vii. To strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interests; and
- viii. To cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

¹⁶ “*South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)*,” <http://actrav.itcilo.org/actrav-english/telearn/global/ilo/blokit/saarc.htm#OBJECTIVES>,

Chapter IV

North East India: Social, Political, Economic and Security Perspectives

An Introduction of North East India

North- East India is essentially the creation of the British. Before 1947, the whole of North- East India, excluding Manipur and Tripura was Assam. However, immediately after independence fissiparous forces lead to the dismemberment of greater Assam resulting in the formation of seven North- Eastern sisters, namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura have been dealt with. Geographically, this region is almost isolated from the rest of India. North- East is strategically important and is girdled by Tibet, Bhutan, China, Myanmar (formerly Burma) and Bangladesh. It is linked to the rest of the country by a narrow corridor in West Bengal.¹⁷

The North East region of India occupies strategic geopolitical situation due to its international boundaries with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Nepal. The region earlier comprised the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, popularly known as the ‘Seven Sisters.’ Recently, the State of Sikkim also come under the umbrella of this region owing to its proximity to the area and somewhat similar type of developmental and other problems.¹⁸

The term “North east Frontier” connotes with reference to present day, British India something entirely different from what it did with regard to the Mughal Empire of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While it is now applicable to the hilly region lying to the north and east of Sadiya, which commands the route to China, it meant in the Mughal age the Mongoloid states of Koch Bihar, Kamrup and Assam, which bordered serially on the province of Bengal in the north- east.¹⁹

¹⁷ “Sikkim and the Seven Sisters” (1996) *Encyclopaedia of India and Her States*” Volume 9, ed. Verinder Grover and Ranjan Arora, Published by Deep and Deep Publications, F- 159, Rajouri Gander, New Delhi- 110027, pp 684, 686.

¹⁸ “Preface” (2005), *Discovery of North East India*, Volume 3, ed. S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, Mittal Publications, A- 110, Mohan Garden, New Delhi 110059 (India).

¹⁹ Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharya (2005) “The North- East Frontier”, *Discovery of North East India*, Volume 1, ed. S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, Mittal Publications, , A- 110, Mohan Garden New Delhi 110059 (India), p 1.

Chapter V

Relevance of India's Foreign Policy for North East region: Political, economic and security

“Partnership with Asean is an essential component of our Look East policy. This is reflected in trade, investment and institutional linkages.” Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India²⁰

“We believe that a prosperous, stable and democratic Bangladesh is in the interest of both countries and the entire region.” S.M. Krishna, External Affairs Minister

“We require much better communication between India and China and no misunderstanding of each other's actions and motives.” Shivshankar Menon, National Security Adviser

In South Asia the concepts and issues of sovereignty, territory, national security, citizenship and political loyalty are concepts rooted in the region.²¹

Indeed, it is in pernicious form, demanding not only the loyalty and obligation of the individual citizen but also of the whole community. This kind of social activities would be termed as political contract by the margins and also a separatist or anti social element working within the nations in South Asia.²²

South Asia is a fetishism of territorial borders which has been particularly creating border wars between India and Pakistan, India and China threatening each others stability and security in the border and region in general.²³

A number of public policy, defence strategies and quasi-theoretical categories, of political, social and security issue is needed for the whole region of South Asia.²⁴

South Asia unlike many other regions of the world is slow in the development of economic and political integration and regional cooperation. Theoretical point of view it looks for development and outline possible strategies that change and bring about strategies in regional cooperation.²⁵

²⁰ Times of India, Friday, Guwahati , November 18, 2011.

²¹ A. Appadorai (1981) *“Introductory”*, Domestic Roots of India's Foreign Policy, published by R.Dayal, Oxford University Press 2/11 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110002.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia

Jawaharlal Nehru the first Indian Prime Minister in his book, *The Discovery of India*, in 1944: prophetically says, The Pacific is likely to take the place of the Atlantic in the future as the nerve center of the world. Though not directly a Pacific state, India will inevitably exercise an important influence there. India will also develop as the center of economic and political activity in the Indian Ocean area, in South–East Asia, right up to the Middle East. Her position gives an economic and strategic importance in a part of the world which is going to develop in the future. Further, Nehru wrote, India will have to play a very great part in security problems of Asia and the Indian Ocean, more especially of the Middle East and South-East Asia.²⁶

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Firstly, review the concept of ‘Regional Security Complex’ and ‘Regional Security Communities’. Secondly, it would look at the current situation in South Asia in view of the determination of ‘Regional Security Community’. Finally, the policy could advance towards the goal of creating such a Regional Security Community.³⁰

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ranjit Gupta (2007), “*India’s ‘Look East policy’*”, Foreign Service Institute, New Delhi, p 351.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

Analysis of India's Foreign Policy for North East region

S. Sankaranarayanan, the then Governor of Nagaland, while answering to a question said that the 'Look East Policy' in his perspective means development. Meanwhile further adding to that he said: 'without peace, no development, no development, no peace.'³¹

Professor Lama highlighted the importance of Indian foreign policy for peace, development, prosperity and security of the North East region. Further, Professor Lama also pointed out the current issues prevailing in South Asia and its impact on India's foreign policy and North East India.³²

Dr. Namrata Goswami of IDSA in her interview said the ground reality for Government of India is it is not doing much for 'Look East Policy'. Goswami expressed her view that through land cooperation Myanmar (Burma) could link India's northeast with the neighbouring countries. Further, she opined fast economic vibrancy and greater investment could solve the insurgency problems in the North East India.

Goswami also referred about possibility of trade in Mon areas of Nagaland which borders Myanmar. She also viewed that political corruption and extortion along the National Highways in North East India lead to conflict and hamper the efforts for linking North East region with the neighbouring countries of Myanmar and Bangladesh..

Goswami also pointed out that 'The more open, the better.' Answering the questions in her interview on Southeast Asia she wanted North East India to come up both on economic, political and trade fronts. Further, she also expressed that road infrastructure and connectivity is needed for the North East region. Apart from that North East Council (NEC) must have a better coordination for development, she added.³³

Dr. Pankaj Jha in his interview said infrastructure should be included in Planning Commission and should involve in planning better for the North East region. Road and electricity must developed in the

³¹ Interview with S. Sankaranarayanan, the Governor of Nagaland on 25th April, 2008 at Raj Bhawan, Kohima.

³² Interview with Mahendra P. Lama, Professor of School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and presently Vice Chancellor of Sikkim University at JNU on 29th April, 2007 and Sikkim University, Gangtok on 19th September, 2008.

³³ Interview with Dr. Namrata Goswami, Associate Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 17th February, 2010.

North East. He also observed that the people of North East are different and unique, explaining the meaning that market, tourism and tourist centred activities can spring up provided there is good educational set up culturing and nurturing development.

Jha also have a view that timber and wood can be got from Myanmar and finished goods could be exported to Thailand. Thailand is a good market for North East India, he added.

Jha was also optimistic that Nagaland has the potential for floriculture.³⁴

Dr. Udai Bhanu Singh in his interview highlighted that Southeast Asia consists of ten Asian countries and four North East states bordering Myanmar that are all effected by Look East Policy.

Singh also suggested for better road, air and communication linkage with South and Southeast Asia.

Insecurity in North East India can be overcome when developmental issues are taken care of, Singh added.³⁵

Dr. Partha S. Ghosh, Professor of School of International Studies, Centre for South, Central, Southeast Asian & Southeast Pacific Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi in his interview analyzed India's politics towards neighbouring countries with particular reference to India's North East. Ghosh while explaining India's policy towards neighbours like China, Myanmar and Nepal, said United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) hideouts in Bhutan have an internal and external security impacts. Ghosh in his interview said regional politics influences foreign policy. Further, he referred to North East India lack of influence in Parliament on foreign policy and decision making. Members of Parliament from North East India, Ghosh said, make no noise in the Parliament.³⁶

Dr. Sreeradha Datta in her interview said North East is an important area for India and Asia. The North East not only is important for developing relations with the neighbouring countries like Myanmar and Bangladesh but also to reach out whole of Asia. India's economic policy is concentrating on 'Look East Policy' and North East is a new corridor for trade, she added.

³⁴ Interview with Dr. Pankaj Jha Associate Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 17th February, 2010.

³⁵ Interview with Dr. Udai Bhanu Singh, Research Officer, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 22nd February, 2010.

³⁶ Interview with Dr. Partha S. Ghosh, Professor of School of International Studies, Centre for South, Central, Southeast Asian & Southeast Pacific Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi on 26th February, 2010.

Datta also pointed that North East is relevant and important for India's foreign policy as in general being territorially bordering with neighbouring countries.³⁷

Dr. Mahbub Ullah stresses the legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru and its influences on in India's foreign policy making towards Laos, China, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia etc.

Dr Ullah pointed out that geography, history, culture and psychological factors work as a bridge between India and its neighbouring countries and have great potential in impacting India's "look east policy." He talked about many commonalities between India and Bangladesh. He also touched upon the irritants in relations between the two nations governed by psychological factors and fear of India dominating the region.

Dr. Mahbub Ullah said that India is facing the twin challenges of national integration and conflicts on account of identity politics.

He said diplomacy is the only answer to solve problems between India and Bangladesh. The nature of relations between the two will have a great bearing upon peace, security and development in the North East region.

Ullah expressed his view how India is tackling the insurgency problems their own country. Adding to that integration and nationality arises within Indian country.

Dr Mahbub Ullah also have an opinion that diplomacy relations found in three kinds like warm, correct and cool.³⁸

Dr Delwar Hossain, Professor and Chair of International Relations, Dhaka University, Bangladesh in his interview said India and Bangladesh enjoy good relations and have relevance for studies in both the countries and particularly North East India as it has integral boundary with Bangladesh.

³⁷ Interview with Dr. Sreeradha Datta, Research Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi on 26th February, 2010.

³⁸ Interview with Dr Mahbub Ullah, Professor and Chairman, Department of Development Studies, Dhaka University, Bangladesh on 11th August, 2010.

Hossain said India helped Bangladesh during partition from Pakistan in 1971 and helped become independent state in the time of Indira Gandhi's prime ministership of India. The support of Bangladesh in 1971 was great for the country, he added. Hossain also pointed about the positive and negative aspects in relations between two countries relations like water sharing, trade relations, militancy problem and border issue.

Further, he stressed that the relationship between the two countries determine the prospect of peace and development in South Asia nations and particularly the success of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

According to Hossain opinion the relationship between countries is marked by ups and downs. And this depends on the regime of the country's approach on foreign policy issues.

Mistrust, apprehension arouse from the elite people instead of the common, general people, Hossain added. North East India had good historical relations with Bangladesh, he added. Transit issues create problems between the two countries. Hossain also suggested mutual understanding to be maintained between the two countries.

Hossain also recalled of India's complaints towards Bangladesh on insurgency and terrorism issue. However, Hossain believed that Bangladesh government would not support such anti-social activities. To create an environment by building trust, confidence and more understanding between the two governments would be a major requirement.

Further, Hossain while explaining the history of India and Bangladesh said that during the time of Mughal and Ashoka empire and during the British rule both the countries lived together. He also suggested that there must be deeper relation among South Asian nations in general to harbor and maintain an atmosphere of unity.

India is very important for South Asia. Moreover, India has a distinct culture among the region.

Hossain also added that India would benefit in any collaboration with Bangladesh by sharing each other's wealth and burdens which would essentially function to promote and develop cultural, social and political relations.

Realisation of this is in need from both India and Bangladesh. The relationship and benefit in any matter regarding India and Bangladesh would also benefit North East at the same time, Hossain added.

North East India is a strategic point for India and Bangladesh, he said. North East India- Bangladesh vice versa relations are important for each other and for India.

The type of country's regime perception may lead to hostility despite the good relations that the public share, Hossain added.

Delwar Hossain also clarified that people of Bangladesh are busy for their own livelihood rather than taking interests in global political issues.

In the year 1977 agreement on equitable sharing of water between India and Bangladesh was a noble work.

Meanwhile, during the interview of the Professor Delwar Hossain, I asked for his suggestion to reduce/eliminate mistrust and building confidence among the people of the two countries. Hossain pointed that mistrusts have to be reduced/eliminated from elite and the government level because general public do not arouse such problem. Moreover, India has a greater responsibility for building trust. Interaction also plays a vital role at the official as well as non-official levels. In addition, cultural exchange and students' delegation and dialogue are the mechanism for strengthening relations between both the countries.

North East India is important for India and Bangladesh relations. North East India has to establish wider relations, mutual understanding as a result of the geographical proximity of India with Bangladesh, Hossain maintained.

Above all, Hossain also stated that the people of Bangladesh are fond of India's films and television channels.

On 16th August during another interview, Hossain commented on the philosophy of Bangladesh's foreign policy. Hossain said Bangladesh is committed to regional and global peace, diplomatic and mutual development, international law and cooperation. Friendship to all without enmity or malice. He also appreciated the 'Look East Policy'. Viewing the problem of overpopulation Hossain added that

Bangladesh needs support on trade and technology thus emphasizing on the importance of interdependence among countries.³⁹

Professor M. Shahiduzzama in his interview suggested for open contact, travel, trade for both the countries of India and Bangladesh to be introduced. Easier accessibility should be provided by the government instead of border security restrictions. Shahiduzzama added absence of insurgency problems could facilitate progress and development for both the countries in every aspect. The scope of exchange of journalists and student delegation must be provided by both the countries. Adding that, tourism facility was also required to improve relations between two countries of India and Bangladesh.
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Professor Rebecca Haque in her interview says the need for both countries like India and Bangladesh is to give better contact and good opportunity to transit. Absence of contact among the people would lead to suspicion between the two countries. This is how the government should give more opportunity to the people for communication and contact particularly in the border areas, Haque added. Stressing on the fact, she said that human beings are social in nature, communication is very essential for countries sharing boundary with each other.⁴¹

Dr. Akmal Hussain, Professor of International Relations, Dhaka University, Bangladesh in his interview said India is important for Bangladesh having 4,095 kms bordering to their country. Besides, if India wants it can connect North East from the heart of their country to Bangladesh which would be a much shorter route consuming less time and expense.

According to Akmal Hussain imbalance in trade relations between India and Bangladesh would be solved if Bangladesh's trade is opened by the government of India formally and informally to the seven sisters of North East India states. Hussain also suggested an autonomy for direct link to North East with Bangladesh both tariff and non-tariff. The relations with North East should be strengthened

³⁹ Interview with Dr Delwar Hossain, Professor and Chair of International Relations, Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 11th & 16th August, 2010.

⁴⁰ Interview with Professor M. Shahiduzzama, Department of International Relations, Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 12th August, 2010.

⁴¹ Interview with Professor Rebecca Haque, Chair of English Department, Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 12th August, 2010.

that would mutually benefit all. Hussain Further added that he also recalled the past event between India and China's hostile relations when Bangladesh was a strategic place.

India's project at Palatana (Tripura) transporting material by using the water route in Bangladesh started on 13th August, 2010. Apart from that one billion \$ loan to Bangladesh, announced by Finance Minister of India, Pranab Mukerjee on 5th August, 2010 was of good significance between the two countries.

Akmal Hussain viewed that India has to give commitment to Bangladesh to address the genuine grievance of Bangladesh regarding the water issue. There are 54 rivers originating from India. He also cautioned that when the rivers are diverted it would cripple the economy of Bangladesh. Further, he also stated that the role of Border Security Forces (BSF) of India was a tricky issue raising questions of mistrust and suspicion.

India being a big nation has to be open by providing means of accessibility to North Eastern part of India.

Insurgence groups like United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) getting shelter in Bangladesh was an internal problem for India. He also suggested that more economic generation and political freedom would solve such kind of problems.

A.Z. Phizo Naga freedom movement leader boarded to fly (Air) from Dhaka to London. Zaramthanga former Chief Minister of Mizoram and also leader of Mizo National Front were sheltered in Bangladesh which were cordial gestures towards India by their government, Hussain said.

Above all, bilateral relations depend on the regime of the government, he added. Stating that a policy of non-interference, non-allignment and anti-racism should be delegated for peaceful co-existence.⁴²

Interview with Professor Ghulam Murshid, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), London at Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka quoted that Bengali intellectuals of Bangladesh want relationship with India. Besides, a huge population of Muslims totaling to 85% of the country's population, its national policies are close to Islamic countries. The foreign policy of Bangladesh is on

⁴² Interview with Dr. Akmal Hussain, Professor of International Relations, Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 14th & 16th August, 2010.

the verge of confusion going nowhere, he added. There is a tendency to be neutral in international politics being a poor economic nation. Further, he also clarified that Bangladesh has to depend on India not being capable to fight with foreign nation. Besides, army people are the most privilege as 13% of the economy spends on it. Murshid opined that a peaceful and harmonial state does not require military force at the cost of nation's economy.

Professor Murshid viewed that Bangladesh has the fear that India would dominate. Thus, they try to utilize anti-India activities among Muslim community in Bangladesh. To balance the fear of Anti-India was a campaign started opposite Islamic nationalism. To pursue anti India Bangladesh relied on help from Pakistan and China which were against India's favour.⁴³

Professor Sirajul Islam answering to the question expressing his personal feeling and concern for foreign policy said that being a citizen of Bangladesh, on the perspectives of geography, economy, and small defence unlike a big country India is challenging. Stressing to that it cannot be too ambitious in its role on world's foreign policy. Comparing Bangladesh to a small bird, he cited an example of Myanmar as successful in internal matters. Likewise internal human rights, economy, qualities of life are most essential. Islam also has a view to follow big state leadership.

Switzerland does not have any army. Navy coast guard is to free the coast from criminal activities preventing smuggling. Similarly, air force is there for quick supply in times of crisis like disaster. Bangladesh should aspire a global role to recommend it and should be satisfied with supportive neighbouring countries.⁴⁴

Professor Sajahan Miah, Managing Editor, Banglapedia Trust, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 16th August, 2010 in his chamber said India sent army to Bangladesh in 1971 not to doubt India's support for their country. Being a small country Bangladesh should be more accommodative and friendly. He opined that foreign policy should be beneficial. Bangladesh has a huge market for India. Therefore, for keeping a good relationship a lot depends on good relationship in political power. According to Sajahan Miah improving relationship between the two countries would

⁴³ Interview with Professor Ghulam Murshid, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), London at Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka on 16th August, 2010.

⁴⁴ Interviewed with Professor Sirajul Islam, President of Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka on 16th August, 2010.

not cause any loss or harm. Instead war and terrorism would take away all freedom and profit from both countries.⁴⁵

Chapter VI

Conclusion: Findings and Suggestions

Asia is the largest continent of the world and South Asia, one of the four sub-regions of the continent, generally consists of eight nations namely India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Republic of the Maldives and Afghanistan. With a total of 1.4 billion inhabitants, these countries represent about 22% of the world population, but only 2% of the world GNP.

South Asia presents a picture of bewildering and daunting diversity of heterogeneity. Schism of every kind such as national boundaries, religion, ethnicity and language, are apparent. India represents as the largest democracy of the world while Pakistan has been the place of dictatorship. Two of its members like Sri Lanka and Nepal are torn by internal racial and political strife. Bangladesh has recent origin and the country is struggling hard for its economic survival and prosperity. Maldives is the smallest territory among these eight states.

These states were the British colonial rule for decades where they shared almost common administrative pattern and cherished common desire to be independent of the colonial rule. It was India, which first became independent in 1947 and Pakistan as an integral part of India emerged as a sovereign state after India's a partition in the same year. Bangladesh, which was known as the East Pakistan before its independent its independent status, emerged as an independent state in 1971 after successful revolution against the government of dictatorial Pakistan.

India being the largest among them have been successfully managing democratic pattern of the government, but other states of South Asia are still struggling hard for democratic system of

⁴⁵ Interview with Professor Sajahan Miah, Managing Editor, Banglapedia Trust, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka, Bangladesh on 16th August, 2010.

government. No doubt, Pakistan claims itself as a democratic state, but its history shows that democracy never got deep root in Pakistan.

Despite much similarity in geographical, cultural, religious and linguistic conditions these countries hardly tried to come together and form mutual and association for their economic development. It is only after formation of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation on 8th December, 1985, which may be termed as historic move for regional cooperation in South Asia, the seven countries of South Asia formed themselves into a regional cooperative organisation to promote common economic, social and cultural development.

Since then, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has been meeting regularly at many governmental levels and maintained active intra-regional cooperative attitude on all fronts of development, despite geographical tension between two prominent members i.e., India and Pakistan. A brief description of its geographical area and location, kind of government/ political system, population, language, religion and economic scenario is mentioned below.

Findings of the study

The study establishes the linkage between foreign policy and national security. The national security is determined by the direction of the foreign policy that a nation tries to develop. This is true particularly in the context of India's foreign policy towards its neighbouring countries of South Asia and the security of Northeast India.

India's relations with South Asian neighbours such as Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal have determined the socio-economic and politico-security parameters in India's northeast as the region (northeast India) shares territorial/ geographical contiguity, ethnic and cultural commonality and more importantly historical antecedents.

The evolution of SAARC has provided a great opportunity to link the region of Northeast India with South Asian neighbours through India's foreign policy. The success of regional cooperation will ensure social, economic and political security in Northeast India thus laying down the parameters of comprehensive security architecture in the region based on human and economic security.

The study shows that the social and political turmoil in the northeast region has direct linkage with the prevailing social, economic, political and security scenario in our neighbouring countries. The problems of insurgency, sub-nationalist, separatist and secessionist movements, drug trafficking, arms peddling and nacro-terrorism derive ideological, political, financial and military support and sustenance from our neighbouring countries sharing borders with the northeast region.

Whenever India's relations with the neighbouring countries both at bilateral and multilateral levels have been cooperative and cordial, it had positive and favourable impact on security architecture of the northeast region. The recent developments in the northeast region particularly talks between Government of India and United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) prove this point.

The study further establishes the geo-strategic importance of the northeast region for the success of India's foreign policy towards South Asia, East Asia and Southeast Asia. India's foreign policy approaches such as good neighbourliness through SAARC, Look East Policy and Bay of Bengal initiatives cannot take off and succeed without a conducive and congenial socio-economic and politico-security order in the Northeast India.

The study thus establishes the hypothesis that the course, content and contour of India's foreign policy towards South Asia would determine the nature of political stability, economic development and security perspectives in the northeast India and Northeast India holds key to success of India's foreign policy towards the neighbouring countries of South, East and Southeast Asia.

Suggestions

As our former Prime Minister Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee had remarked 'We can change our friends and enemies but not our neighbours', we have to follow this dictum while framing foreign policy parameters and principles.

Similarly our foreign policy makers should keep the strategic significance and relevance of Northeast India into consideration while building ties with the South, East and Southeast neighbours.

Northeast India should not only be used as serving the political, security, strategic, economic and commercial interests of India but should be treated as the central and equal partner in the pursuit of progress while building relations with the neighbouring countries. Only then a politically stable and economically sustainable Northeast India would emerge ensuring a comprehensive and sustainable security paradigm both within the region and outside.

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