

CHAPTER – I

Introduction

A new international system is being formed with unprecedented changes taking place in the recent decades. There is a continuous search for a durable structure to consign the bi-polar cold war world of history. Such a structure will have to accommodate the asymmetry between nation and states and the increasing interdependence between them. Thus, it is held that by recognizing the role of regionalism, more efficient global institutions can be brought into being.

In the search for this new world order to replace the bi-polar system of the Cold War era, it is hoped that global interaction will move in the positive direction with a regional thrust. Chapter 8 of the UN Charter recognizes the rights of the states to form regional organizations though the reference has been directly to the maintenance of international peace and security. Regional cooperation implies association of states to promote common goals, meet common needs and resolve common problems. The commonality of interest is the central motivating force for their cooperation on a regional basis and also for determining the level, area and extent of cooperation, including institutional arrangements for such cooperation.

This process of evolution of regional organization or idea of regional cooperation took shape after Second World War, when it became apparent that the pattern of international relationship which was taking shape in the post-war-world would not be able to solve problems like population explosion, arms race, economic backwardness, poverty, unemployment, decline in natural resources etc. which most of the countries were facing and which can be better solved through joint efforts by the community of nations. Though it had been decided at Dumbarton Oaks that regional issues were to be subordinated to global concerns and that regional bodies only had power to settle local disagreements with Security Council approval Article 52 of the UN Charter recognized the role of regional arrangements in bringing about peaceful settlement of local problems and Article 54 reaffirmed the Security Council's interest in regional agencies and their role in maintaining world peace.

Thus, in the post World War II period, the advent of regionalism in international politics is a major development and is rather a new phenomenon in

international politics. As such, a number of regional organizations with diverse nature, content and objectives emerged in the post War period like the NATO, SEATO, CENTO, WARSAW PACT, OAS, OAU, NAFTA, ASEAN, EU, etc.

The idea of regional cooperation among the South Asian states is comparatively of recent origin. In fact, the concept of South Asia as a region itself has a recent origin. For long, the present South Asia was considered as a part of South East Asia and later Southern Asia. Afterwards, both were separated and South Asia was regarded as an independent region. The need for regional cooperation in South Asia had been felt since much earlier by the leaders of the region. Nehru said in the Indian Parliament on 8th March 1949 that there is a need for the regional cooperation in several regions of Asia. However, because of India's preoccupations with global politics and Nehru's personal ambitions of India's status in world politics, the idea of South Asian regional cooperation could not be mooted. It was also not clear as to what should be the pattern of regional cooperation. But the smaller states of the region, because of their own problems took interest in regional cooperation. The idea of formation of an exclusive association of the South Asian countries was not seriously considered until Zia-Ur-Rahman, late President of Bangladesh played a pioneering role in this regard. He realized that for the inherent geographical and cultural unity South Asia needed an institutional expression and proceeded accordingly to give it a concrete shape. As such, he first made proposals for regional cooperation during his visit to neighbouring states between 1977 and 1980 and it was immediately endorsed by other states of the region. It was with the beginning of the 80's that their idea took a concrete shape to promote peace and stability on the one hand, and to encourage economic development on the other. Both aims were highlighted in the Memorandum of Association signed by seven South Asian States in New Delhi on 2nd August 1983 which was called the 'Declaration of South Asian Regional Cooperation', thereby christening the very first regional cooperation scheme known as SAARC. It was in 1985 that SAARC was formally launched at the Dhaka Summit of heads of States or Governments with Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka as members.

Thus, the SAARC was born to accelerate the process of socio-economic development in the region through a cooperative endeavour of the member states on

the agreed areas with a purpose to cooperate positively for regional betterment and not to get bogged down by bilateral contentious issues affecting the countries.

SAARC is thus a manifestation of the determination of the peoples of South Asia to cooperate regionally, to work together towards finding solutions to their common problem in a spirit of friendship, trust and understanding and to create an order based on mutual respect, equity and shared benefits. As South Asia's first and only regional organization, its performance, problems and prospects are of vital interest to the people of the region. But no doubt, at its present state of evolution, SAARC is faced with several constraints in the form of differing politico-security perceptions of the member states, diversity in terms of their size and levels of development, economic disparities, mutual distrust and suspicion and the like. In such a setting, SAARC was expected to play a crucial role in bringing the member states and their people closer, to realize beneficial integration at the international level but in reality, SAARC has not been able to emerge as an effective and viable regional organization. Besides other constraints it is the strained relations between India and Pakistan that seems to come in the way of efficient and fruitful working of the SAARC in its mission for effective regional cooperation thus making the organization allegedly for making wishful and laudable declarations only.

2. Objective of the Study

Explaining the necessity of SAARC, particularly in the economic field, the Bangladesh Working Paper said. "The efforts have not fully exploited the vast potential of regional cooperation that exists and the consequential benefit that this will bring, collectively and individually, to the countries of this region". Collective economic benefit has been the main rationale as well as the drive behind SAARC, but even economic cooperation is dictated so heavily by political constraints that it may be hard to exploit the regions potential. Thus potential avenues for regional cooperation among the South Asian Countries are many and varied. In fact, the full potential of regional cooperation, however, cannot be realized until the core sectors of development are brought within its ambit like trade, industrial cooperation in terms of the processed and manufactures consumer goods, capital goods and technology transfer, infrastructural goods and equipments. Goods like consumer electronics,

consumer durables, processed agricultural products, finer varieties of textile products as well as the simpler varieties of sports, stationary and cultural items would appear to have reasonable potential for increased intra-regional trade.

Given the relative difference in the stages of industrial and technological developments within the region there is a great deal of potential for soft technology transfer through training and consultancy activities.

South Asia's energy resources are far from adequate, but the potential for hydroelectric power in the Himalayas is enormous which will solve many of the problems of the North Indian States, subsequently Bangladesh and even Pakistan could benefit from it. Similarly, there are vast resources of natural gas in Bangladesh while India is rich in coal and also possesses some natural gas and petroleum. Thus, the process of SAARC was generally viewed by all the member states as a positive development with a huge potential for the region, not only in economic and social terms, but also in the long run in terms of political cooperation among member states.

But since its inauguration in 1985, SAARC has progressed with halts. The SAARC institutions have not functioned as effectively as they should have. The Summit meetings have also lost regularity through occasional postponements. The regional political environment may be one of the major explanations for this painfully slow growth. There is no doubt that there are important economic reasons behind the slow progress of SAARC, particularly in the field of trade, industry and finance but there has been a feeling among the elite of most of the members of SAARC that cooperation in these fields would mainly benefit India and not the other countries of the region whose interests might indeed suffer as a consequence of it.

Another real shortcoming of success of SAARC today which explain its present dilemma of uncertainty and falling short in performance are indeed its institutional deficiencies on which much has been said but very little has been done.

SAARC is still a fledgling regional organization and its future is uncertain. It is greatly handicapped by the legacy of the past, the many tensions that exist within and among the South Asian nations, and the profound asymmetry because of the overwhelming size and weight of India. Under the circumstances, the success of SAARC depends upon two fundamental factors. The first is the internal distribution

of power and bilateral relations among the different member states and the second is the degree of unity among the member states in the security, political and mainly economic fields. In other words, what is the relationship between the member states that hope for a community of interests in the agreed areas of cooperation and the actual economic security and political interests of individual member states? Are the economic interests of India and Pakistan strong enough to counteract and even to transcend their unfulfilled national aspirations? Would regionalism overcome nationalism? – these are still the moot questions that blur the vision of the SAARC. At the Dhaka Summit in 1985, Prime Minister of India, late Rajiv Gandhi apprehended that if bilateral issues were allowed in SAARC deliberations they would generate stresses and strains impinging on regional cooperation and ultimately jeopardizing its very existence. But the major hurdles that effectively hamper and jeopardize SAARC's progress is regional bilateral disputes. Perhaps the most important impediment on the road to collective self-reliance is not the incumbent asymmetry and the overwhelming stature of India but how other members perceive Indian intentions, attitude and policies.

Thus, a combination of factors has been responsible for the prevailing strategic discord in South Asia on various bilateral and global issues such as divergences in political systems, regime sustenance and nation building strategies, developmental patterns and defence and security policies, hierarchical power structure of the region with wide gap in the capabilities of India on the one hand and rest of the neighbors on the other, exploitation of these divergence and power asymmetry of the region by interested external powers in pursuance of their interests, etc.

Beside these, in South Asia, the major perceived threats are seen as arising from internal tensions and conflicts, especially in India and Pakistan which have had serious spill over effects, jeopardizing the security of neighbouring states as well and form tensions and conflicts with each other.

Thus, for a cooperative venture like SAARC to succeed, the member countries need to have a high degree of trust in one another. But, the major bilateral problems in the region e.g. Farakka, Tamils in Sri Lanka, Indian-Nepal migration and above all, Kashmir issue reinforce the fear that India endangers all the surroundings

very much and thus vitiates the relations of the countries of the region at the bilateral level and in turn, the process of regional cooperation. Perhaps, it would not be out of context to remark here that the idea of avoiding bilateralism in the SAARC has so far remained theoretical – honoured more in breach than in observance.

From the above discussion, it thus appears that SAARC presents a unique example of coexistence with conflict relationship. In fact, the centre piece of South Asia's potential system is the Indo-Pakistan relationship to which the prospects of SAARC are linked. Indian Pakistan relations for most of the period since independence have been marked by confrontation with each other, resulting in an arms race, unproductive wars and the wastage of their scarce resources on arms instead of using them for the developmental purposes to ameliorate the problems of the long suffering people on both sides of the border.

In the ultimate analysis it is the Indo-Pakistan relationship on which the viability of SAARC depends and the future of the SAARC is closely linked with mutual perceptions that both Pakistan and India have about each other.

In fact, there are several issues from the beginning on which India and Pakistan are confronting each other. India's threat perception about Pakistan became alive right at the creation of Pakistan as a very anti thesis of India's core values. Indian policy had to gear up when Pakistan became a partner in the US-led military alliances. Pak-US military relations kept growing all through the 1950s causing concern to India's security interests. On the other, Pakistani logic behind entering the military pacts was based on mutuality of interests between herself and the US in general and the requirement of the safety net against the perceived threat from India and India's policy of secularism that refuted the very basis of Pakistan, that is, the two-nation theory.

Another issue affecting India's policy towards Pakistan is Pakistan's support to terrorism and secessionism in India and it is believed that ISI is the main body of Pakistan that facilitate transfer of weapons across the border to the militants in the North-East, Punjab and Kashmir. Similarly, the nuclear programme of both the countries aggravates the environment. Both India and Pakistan have not signed the NPT and the CTBT for different reasons. India finds NPT and CTBT discriminatory and the failure of the nuclear powers in putting into practice any measures or

obligations towards nuclear disarmament; whereas Pakistan has refused to sign the NPT and the CTBT because India has not done so. India believes in global approach towards nuclear disarmament while Pakistani perception is that the issue can best be tackled by a regional approach.

Again, Indo-Pakistan relations have suffered setbacks to Pakistani attempts at internationalization of the Kashmir dispute much against the Simla spirit. India believes that more the issue is internationalised, the less chances of finding an amicable solution to the problem and it will complicate the matter further. For instance, in response to what Pakistan calls Kashmir as the "Unfinished agenda of partition", the then Indian Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao, retorted by saying that "the only unfinished task in Kashmir was the restoration of Pakistan occupied Kashmir to India."

Given all these, the proposed study seeks to identify and analyse the potentialities of the South Asian region in general and the SAARC in particular; relative success and/or failure of the SAARC as a viable organization for regional cooperation; and the reasons for the success and/or failure of the SAARC in its mission. While addressing to the reasons for the success and/or failure of the SAARC, the study also intends to measure the impact of the bilateral relations between the member states in general and India and Pakistan in particular that are alleged to have impaired the working and development of the SAARC.

3. Theoretical Framework

The post-war world, witnessed a proliferation of regional arrangements in the name of maintaining peace and security, socio-economic cooperation, resisting hegemony and expressing, defending and establishing identity at the international level. As such, a number of analytical frameworks were developed to explain the contemporary developments in the international system. All these are clubbed as the theory of integration in international relations. Among the important theoretical approaches under the umbrella of the integration theory are the 'functionalism', 'neo-functionalism', 'federalism', 'pluralism' and 'regionalism'. The integration theory lays emphasis on integrative process or relationships, whereby governments are cooperatively knit together by growing cultural homogeneity, attitudinal

responsiveness, socio-economic needs and interdependences accompanied by the establishment of supranational institutions in multiple dimensions to fulfill common needs. The ultimate outcome of an integrative process would be political union of separate states at global or regional level. If integration at the regional level is more institutionalised, centralized and closely knit through some supranational structures as is found in the federalist and neo-functionalist approaches then it is state-centric. On the other hand, less institutionalized, decentralized, loosely knit and emotional regional integration as is reflected in the pluralist and functionalist approaches results in community-centric regional organization where more emphasis is laid on the character of the relationship between the peoples – both the elites and the general public – whose states are involved in the process of integration. However, the regionalist approach speaks of either of the two models – state-centric model or community-centric model.

All these approaches, despite their explanatory capabilities of the formal institutional and structural aspects of regional organizations, appear to be limited in explaining the regional organization in South Asia, that is, the SAARC. The SAARC has emerged neither as a variant of state centric model with a supranational authority to bind the member states in their international behaviour nor has it developed as a community centric model with the people playing a predominant role in shaping and guiding the organization. On the contrary, the Organisation seems to be bogged down constantly by the bilateral relations of the member states in general and the relationship of India and Pakistan in particular. As such, the existing theoretical models appear to be lacking in explaining the working and development of the SAARC and its functional inefficiency due to the strained Indo-Pak relations that is more for subjective considerations and compulsions of the ruling elites of both the countries.

Under the circumstances, the proposed study seems to test the existing theoretical frameworks in the explanation of the SAARC and to propose a new framework of analysis that may take into consideration the reasons of strained bilateral relations among the member states that leave profound impact on the viability of the organization.

4. Research Questions

Given the broad objective of the proposed study and the theoretical framework outlined above, the study seeks to address to the following research questions :

- What are the motivational forces for the creation of the regional organizations in general and SAARC in particular?
- What are the potentialities of effective cooperation in South Asia and for that matter, of the SAARC?
- Why the SAARC could not emerge as the state-centric or community-centric regional organization ?
- To what extent does the bilateral relations between the member states impair the functioning of the SAARC as a viable regional organization ?
- To what extent and why does the Indo-Pakistan relations affect the functioning and development of the SAARC ?
- How could the SAARC be made a viable regional organization ?

5. A Brief Overview of Existing Literature

There is a vast literature on regional cooperation in general and SAARC and Indo-Pak relations in particular both at the theoretical level and in the context of SAARC and Indo-Pak relations. Various international and regional observers come out with their comprehensive and intensive studies relating to the constraints of multi-dimensional and analytical overview of South Asian Regional Cooperation and of the future of SAARC with focus on regional developments. These constitute important guidelines to research and policy formulation on redesigning SAARC and its inter and intra regional relations among the seven member countries.

On theory in general, there is abundance of scholarly writings with different perspectives. Theoreticians have proposed various approaches from different angles through their preference. In this connection, international integration theory claimed to be 'empirically-based theory' is an umbrella for a great variety of approaches and methods – functionalism, neo-functionalism, federalism, pluralism and regionalism.

Chief exponents of the federalist sub-school of thought are Rana, Paul Taylor, Ernest, Clark, Etzioni Nye and the like. They focus on many new sociological approaches in their books. A.P.Rana in his book 'Integrative possibilities of Regional order in the Third World. The theoretical writings point out that a central concern of regionalist organizations in the third world ought to be the alleviation of some of the more dysfunctional traditional aspirations of the sovereign state system on the ordering of its international relations. Prof. Rana categorises the writings under three differentiated headings. They focus on many new sociological approaches that have been advanced to challenge or to supplement the classical federalist theory - various writings on Greek city-states, pacifism, liberalism, constitutionalism, legalism etc. Duclos identified various notions of 'functional federalism.' Riker's bargaining approach applied to broader social process on the formation of supernational state out of a system of sovereign states. However, from the discussion of the above theoreticians analyses it is clear that the scope of federalism itself is much broader than the study of international integration.

Another school of thought identified with neo-functionalism which has its origin in a systematic critique of the functionalism. It has derived much of its dynamism and sustenance from the success of the European Economic Community and it took much of its conceptual and explanatory apparatus from the development of American political science in the fifties and sixties. The neo-functionalists assume the psychology of elites in an integration ideally culminating in the emergence of a new political system, whereas the older functionalists stressed a popular psychology of an integration process leading to a 'Universal Social-Psychological Community'. But Ernst B. Haas has been identified as one of the major exponent of this theory in his books *Beyond the Nation-State : Functionalism and International Organisation*, *Uniting of Europe : Political, Social and Economic Forces*. *The Study of Regional Integration : Religions on the Joy and Anguish of Pre- Theorizing*, 2 proposes to reformulate the older or classical functionalists proposition in the light of three requirements : first, that of making them more realistic and meaningful, secondly, that of bringing them into an ordered relationship with other theoretical approaches and themes in social sciences and thirdly, that of producing verifiable propositions

which could be tested against the empirical evidence obtainable from the history of European integration.

Functionalism is the oldest theory of integration or it would be appropriate to call it as a precursor of integration theory. After the coming of neo-functionalism it became older or classical functionalism. Most important proponent and forerunner of functionalism is David Mitrany. Mitrany in his *A Working Peace System and The Functionalist Theory of Politics* gives precedence to economics over politics. The father of functionalism, David Mitrany believes that functionalism is 'A Working Peace System'³ as it emphasizes the common index of needs.

Other known functionalists are Claude, Leonard Wolf, Norman Angel, Robert Cecil, G.D.H. Cole, Jean Monet Taylor and Groom.. Taylor in his book *International Cooperation Today*⁴; A.J.R.Groom in *Approaches to Conflict and cooperation in International Relations : Lessons from Theory for Practice*⁵ and *The Ford Foundation Lectures in International Relations Studies* lay emphasis not on creation of a world federal structure with all its constitutional structures but rather on building "Peace by Pieces" through transnational organizations that concentrated on "Shaping of Sovereignty" rather than on its surrender to supranational institutions(*Functionalism : Theory & Practice in International Relations*).⁶

Another subsequent school of thought identified with Karl W. Deutsch and his associates, employs the pluralist approach. Deutsch in his book *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area, France, Germany and the Western Alliance – A Study of Elite Attitudes on European Integration and World Politics and the Analysis of International Relations*⁷ analyses the approach which is known as one of the earliest and most significant approaches to a theory of international integration. Deutsch's assumption is that the tendencies of states to integrate or conflict with their neighbours are based on public attitudes and patterns of behaviours. Another basic assumption of his theory is the belief that the nation state is both the central fact of modern political analysis. Theodore A. Coulombis and James H. Wolfe in *Introduction to International Relations – Power and Justice*⁸ hold that pluralist security communities are mostly larger areas, such as the North American Continent and Western Europe. "For the communications school of thought, then, integration

can be seen both as a process leading toward political unification and as the end product of that process – amalgamated and pluralist security communities.”

Technically regional integration and regionalism are two different concepts. However, regionalism, under the umbrella of Integration Theory, has been used in the sense of regional integration to maintain uniformity of the other theories namely – federalism, secularism, functionalism and neo-functionalism. The chief exponents of regional approach are Russett, Cantori and Spiegel, Falk and Mendlovitz, Nye, Myrdal and Hindberg and Scheingold.

Russett in *International Regions and the International System : A Study in Political Ecology* ; Cantori and Spiegel in *International Politics of Region : A Comparative Approach* ; Falk and Saul H. Mendlovitz in *Regional Politics and World Order.*; Nye in *International Regionalism*,⁹ Myrdal in his book *Realities and Illusions in Regard to Inter-Governmental Organisations* and Hindberg and Scheingold in *European Economic Integration*¹⁰ highlight the different dimensions of regional approach to international relations and political dynamics. Hansen in *Regional Integration*¹¹ provide that regionalism is becoming a central and most vital approach to integration theory. These studies hold that success of the integration theory is possible only via regional integration.

Besides, SAARC – Challenge and Opportunities¹² by Nasir A Naqash : A.P. Rana's *Integrative Possibilities of Regional Order in the Third World : The Theoretical Organisations : A Third World Perspective*, Govind Ram Agarwal's *Nepal and Non-Alignment : Its South Regional Cooperation Perspective*¹³, David Seddon's - *Nepal – A State of poverty*¹⁴ . Sridhar Kr. Khatre's *South Asian Regional Cooperation : Consideration of Some Models and its Implications For Nepal* ; Pramod Kumar Mishra's *South Asia in International Politics* ; A.J.R.Groom and Paul Taylor's *Functionalism : Theory and Practice in International Relations* ; Joseph S. Nyre's *Peace in Parts ; Integration and Conflict in Regional Organisations* ; Ross Masood Hussain's , *The Dynamics of South Asia Regional Cooperation and SAARC* , advocate that political integration is the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new centre and look at the regional cooperative process as a transitional stage of regional integration rather than as an end in itself.

Some other scholars like Bhabani Sengupta, Amit Gupta, Prakash Nanda in their *Regional Cooperation and Development in South Asia*¹⁵ spoke of Institutional approach to regionalism and regional cooperation that was incorporated in the UN Charter, founded on the clashing power politics of the two power blocks in the post-Western approach to world politics known as the world order approaches and Richard A. Fald and Rajni Kothari are the noted protagonists of the world order approach.

Surya Bahadur Thapa, the former Prime Minister of Nepal spoke of a one-and-half track approach (*South Asian Survey*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1999) and focuses on South Asian Cooperation. Sederal Raja in his *South Asian Cooperation in Industry, Energy and Technology* aimed mostly at increasing national developmental capabilities rather than regional economic integration and restructuring of regional production adopting regional import substitution approach. Susil Kumar (*International Studies* Vol. 36, 2, 1999) in his State Centric approach and A.Z. Hilali (*Asian Studies*, XII, No.2, 1994) in his Experimental and Incremental Approach spoke of security in different policy areas by realizing its goals in opposition to private pressures.

In general, a comprehensive study on regionalism has been made by various international and regional scholars of the new nations of Asia, Africa and Arab League. Scholars like B. Ramesh Babu in *Globalization and the South Asian State*,¹⁶ Naren Chitty in *Framing South Asian Transformation – An Examination of the Regional Views on South Asian Cooperation*,¹⁷ view that SAARC is a creation of South Asian governing elites in response to internal pressures for regional development as well as challenges in the global environment with immense potentialities. In the perception of an Indian scholar A.P.Rana, regionalism with its supposedly limited geographical scope and its shared interests and values, is bestowed with an effective way of tackling problems of economic development, inter-state conflict and the hegemony of the super powers. Bimal Prasad in *Regional Cooperation in Sout Asia – Problems and Prospects*¹⁸ spoke of promoting the welfare of the people of South Asia through the countries that are in hurdles and difficulties. He also deals with economic background, potentialities, political imperatives, institutional framework and cultural dimensions of regional cooperation.

Scholars like Pramanand in *Political Development in South Asia*¹⁹ and B.S.Khanna in *Rural Local Government in India and South Asia*²⁰ aim to sketch the overall development of the seven nations included in the SAARC. As there is no integrated volume to give a comprehensive and comparative picture of political development of the seven countries, Paramanand logically and historically develops the theme from projecting the demographic data to the problems confronting the nations in keeping stability and bringing political acculturation. In this book, the author handles the problem of political development in the region with a reference to the context of colonialism and nationalism and makes a concise exposition of the various ramifications of political development in South Asia within a comparative framework. Khanna also devoted his study to examine the role of the seven countries in terms of their democratization and developments.

Besides, on SAARC, there have been made innumerable studies. Scholars like Partha Ghosh in *Cooperation and Conflict in South Asia*²¹ Eric Gonsalves in *South Asian Cooperation : An Agenda and a vision for the future*,²² Nancy Jetly in *Democratisation and Regional Cooperation in South Asia*²³ Govind R. Agarwal's *SAARC : Quest for a new Political and Economic Order*,²⁴ and Bimal Prasad in *India's Foreign Policy : Studies in Continuity and Change*,²⁵ take into account the problems and prospects involved in South Asia's march from conflict to cooperation. Gonsalves and Jetly in their book advocate the need for enhancing dialogue between the countries of South Asia in order to find a common ground both at the regional and at the global level.

Then, in the context of Indo-Pak relations, which is the core of the proposed research studies have also been made by different scholars in this respect. Even since the birth of Pakistan, the relations between India and Pakistan have been far from friendly as both the countries feel threatened by each and hence the story of Indo-Pak relations is a story of conflict. Keeping this in mind, the authors like Eric Gonsalves and Nancy Jetly in *The Dynamics of South Asia : Regional Cooperation and SAARC*²⁶, Verinder Grover and R. Arora in *World Community and Indo-Pak Relations : Events and Documents of Indo-Pak Relations*²⁷ Selig S. Harrison, Paul H. Kreissberg and Deunix Kux in their noted book *India and Pakistan: The First Fifty Years*²⁸ and E. James and Subroto Roy in their *Foundation of Pakistan's Political*

Economy : Towards an agenda for 1990s²⁹ focus mainly on Indo-Pak relations, on deadly conflicts, cooperation, on peace and on ups and downs, their bilateral relation, negotiation which is the cultural theme of the proposed work. Their volumes are an extended exercise in mapping out inter-state relations in the areas of political relations, security concerns, technological and commercial issues, intellectual and cultural commonalities and the impact of foreign aid.

In addition, Norton James H.W. in *The Third World*³⁰, Jain : Rashmi in *US – Pak Relations, 1947-83*,³¹ Venkataramani, M.S. in *Alliance with Pakistan : The Evolution and Cause of An Uneasy Partnership*³²; R.C.Gupta in his *US Policy Towards India and Pakistan*³³, Kheli Shirum Tahir, in *The United States and Pakistan : The Evolution of an Influence Relations*,³⁴ M.A.Chaudhry in *Pakistan and the Great Power*³⁵, Veric, L.J, *India's quest for Security*³⁶, Bohari Imtihan, H, in his *South Asian Regional Cooperation : Progress, Potential and Proposal*,³⁷ Rehman Sobhan in *Political Dimensiosn of South Asia Cooperation . The Perspective of Bangladesh*³⁸, V.P. Menon in his *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*³⁹ have made an objective evaluation of Indo-Pak relations.

From a different angle, in addition, there has been a large number of micro or macro studies dealing with some specific phenomena of Indo-Pak relations. To mention a few, Harish Kapur in *India's Foreign Policy, 1947-1992*⁴⁰ shadows and substance. Shelton U. Kodikara in *External Compulsions of South Asian Politics*,⁴¹ S.P.Verma and K.P.Misra (eds). *Foreign Policies in South Asia*; Kalyan Dutta in *Third World Countries; Struggle for New Economic Order* analyse foreign policy behaviours of India and other South Asian countries which has evolved since independence as well as the factors that have contributed to their evolution and explore the interactions of domestic policies in the South Asian States, and the larger question of the impact of the international environment on the region. Arif A. Waqif in *Regional Cooperation on Industry and Energy : Prospects for South Asia*.⁴² Mohammad Ayoob in *Conflict and Intervention in the Third World*,⁴³ Ponna Wignaraja and Akmal Hussain in *The Challenge in South Asia ., Development, Democracy and Regional Cooperation*⁴⁴ S. K. Khanna and K.N.Sundaram in *Encyclopaedia of South Asia : Allan Heston in Economic Policies and Performance of India and Pakistan*; Krishnalekha Sood in *Trade and Economic Development :*

India, Pakistan and Bangladesh ; Robert Laporte's Pakistan in 1995 : The Continuing Crisis ; Deepak Tripathi's India's Foreign Policy ; Shahid Javed Burki's Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons – All the Pieces in Place ; J. Bandopadhyaya's The Making of India's Foreign Policy : Determinants, Institutions, Processes and Personalities.⁴⁶ Masoor Ahmed Beg's Defence and Economic Growth in Developing Countries; C.P.Bhambhri's Foreign Policy of India⁴⁷ ; Robert W. Bradnock in India's Foreign Policy Since 1971; Abha Dixit's Sino-Pakistan Relations and Their Implications for India ; Narottam Gaan in Indira Gandhi and Foreign Policy Making : The Bangladesh Crisis ; Pranay gupta's The Challenge of Change; Bimal Jalan on The Indian Economy ; Problems and Prospects; Edward A. Kolodziej and Robert E. Hartzey in Security Policies of Developing Countries ; N. Krishnan in Africa Funds ; Y. Yertzburger in The Political Economy of Sino-Pak Relations; Bhavani Sengupta in Towards Good Neighbourness⁴⁸ Pran Chopra and M. Shamsul Huq et al ⁴⁹. Future of South Asia – all offer large chunk of knowledge in economic, political and foreign policy issue, in trade and commerce and other fields of the countries of South Asia particularly of India and Pakistan including their foreign policy issue.

In addition, Virendra Narain and B.C.Upreti in their edited book SAARC : A Study of Perceptions and Policies⁵⁰ opine that though there are always conflicts and tensions among the member countries on ethnic, cultural, political economic issues, there are some commonalities among the States of the region that make them able to live under the same umbrella.

S.D.Muni in his book Understanding South Asia⁵¹ has focused on India's interactions with one or more neighbours and the domestic thrusts of the foreign policy questions.

The book Intra and Inter-State Conflicts in South Asia⁵² edited by Sudhir Jacob George gives a detailed analysis of intra and inter-state conflicts of South Asian countries and covers a wide range of conflicts emanating from political, social environmental security related issues.

M.G.Chitkara in his book Indo-Pak Relations; Challenges before New Millennium⁵³ has discussed about the never ending conflict between India and Pakistan regarding Kashmir issue. The author expresses his hope that the mutual



understanding and cooperation is likely to make Indian subcontinent an economically viable unit. And with this the book *South Asian Perspectives, Seven Nations in Conflict and Cooperation*⁵⁴ by Bhabani Sengupta gives a collage of perspectives on South Asia. It tries to look at major problems of South Asia from the perspectives of all its component members. It begins with a comprehensive issues in South Asia, which are currently and will remain in the coming years, the single most potential source of domestic and inter-state conflicts in the region. The rest of the articles deal with inter-state relations in South Asia, domestic issues that have a bearing and reports on individual countries cited by the author.

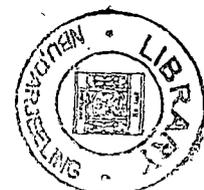
In addition, Koasar J. Ajam, in his *Ethnicity, Identity and the State in South Asia*⁵⁵ divided his book into three sections and gives a detailed analysis of theoretical perspectives and of Regionalism in South Asia with some case studies of SAARC countries.

T. Nirmala Devi in both her books *Socio-Economic Profile of SAARC Countries and Population and Development in SAARC*⁵⁶ sheds light on policy implications. The second book also focuses on population growth and development in the region. The first one also covers the information relating to the members of SAARC and highlights economic, political, social, historical or sociological progress in detail. These two books endeavour to look at the region in an inter-regional framework and also to highlight the gaps that exist in our understanding. Rajesh S. Kharat in his *Bhutan in SAARC, Role of a Small State in a Regional Alliance*⁵⁷ investigates the role of Bhutan in SAARC and it examines the major factors behind its joining the regional forum. This book also traces the contribution of Bhutan in the various stages of development of SAARC through its participation in different programmes and committees. This book also emphasizes the significance of SAARC for Bhutan to secure its foreign policy objective and extent of relations with the outside world other than India.

In addition, S K Khanna and K N Sudarshan, in their *Encyclopaedia of South Asia*,⁵⁸ aims to make their work accessible to as wide a public as possible. The seven volumes are arranged in chapters that readers may absorb a large chunk of knowledge, say in history or in culture.

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Vishnu Prajapati in his *South Asia : Power and Politics*⁵⁹ in three volumes deals respectively with political evolution and power structure, India's national interests and international commitments, and political priorities and economic imperatives. In his another book *Politics and Power in South Asia*,⁶⁰ he presents a truthful and in-depth analysis of the political, power structure and evolution of South Asian sub-continent.

Lastly V. Jayapalan in his *India and her Neighbours*⁶¹ and Farhat Ehsas in *SAARC – Relevance in New World Order*⁶² deals with all aspects of India and her neighbours in detail and the last chapter 'India and SAARC studies India's relations with SAARC in a lucid manner and evaluate SAARC as a living and developing organization and efforts have been made to cover all the aspects in an objective manner.

6. Significance of the Study

However, in all these studies reviewed we find that these studies either deal with regional cooperation at the theoretical level, or exclusively on the evolution, organization, functioning and evolution of the SAARC or on the intricacies involved in the complexity of Indo-Pak relations. Hardly, there is any serious research work that links the functioning of the SAARC with the constraints of Indo-Pak strained relations. In other words, there is an obvious research gap in the chain of knowledge as to what extent the strained relationship between India and Pakistan tend to affect the success and/or failure of the SAARC. Herein lies the significance of the present research as it intends to enrich the theoretical understanding of regional cooperation in general as also to identify the irritations of the Indo-Pak relations that come in the way of effective functioning of the SAARC as the formal institutional mechanism for regional cooperation in the South Asian region.

7. Methodology

Since the objective of the present study is to identify and analyse the potentialities of the SAARC as a regional organization and to measure the impact of strained Indo-Pak relation that is thought to impair the viability of SAARC, the present study is going to be an exploratory research. As such, the research design of

exploratory research was followed by way of surveying the literature on the problem followed by survey and scrutiny of experiences of personalities involved with the SAARC and Indo-Pak relations. Attempts were also made to identify some in-sight stimulating cases relating to the impaired relations between India and Pakistan that has its impact felt on the functioning and impairing of the SAARC to supplement informations to be collected through survey of literature and the exsperience survey. Thus, maximum reliance was on the historical-analytical technique.

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